AN AVNCIENT Hiſtorie and exquiſite Chronicle *of the Romanes warres, both* Ciuile and Foren.

Written in Greeke by the noble Orator and Hiſtoriographer, *Appian* of *Alexandria*, one of the learned Counſell to the moſt mightie Emperoures, *Traiane* and *Adriane*.

In the which is declared:

Their greedy deſire to conquere others.
Their mortall malice to deſtroy themſelues.
Their ſeeking of matters to make warre abroade.
Their picking of quarels to fall out at home.
All the degrees of Sedition, and all the effects of Ambition.
A firme determination of Fate, thorowe all the changes of Fortune.
And finally, an euident demonſtration, That peoples rule muſt giue place, and Princes power preuayle.

With a continuarion, bicauſe that parte of *Appian* is not extant, from the death of *Sextus Pompeius*, ſecond ſonne to *Pompey* the Great, *till the ouerthrow of* Antonie *and* Cleopatra, after the vvhich time, *Octauianus Cæſar*, had the Lordship of all, alone.

Βασιλίδι χάριν, δεσποτίδι τ' ἐπιθυμίαν.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON by Henrie Bynniman.

Anno. 1578.



¶ TO THE RIGHT HONO-rable, his singular good Mayster, Sir *Christopher Hatton, Knight, Ca-*pitaine of the Queenes Maiesties *Garde, Vicechamberlaine to hir Highnesse, and one of hir Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsayle.*



HAT care the almightie King of Heauen hathe, of the Princes and States of the earthe, though sacred Scripture did not teache vs, Prophane doctrine might instruct vs. *Homer* shevveth, that God throvveth his shielde in the vvarre, to defende the Prince from harme, and that he appoynteth to euerye gouernour, a peculiar God for his protection.

Hovv God plagueth them that conspire againste theyr Prince, this Historie declareth at the full. For of all them, that coniured against *Caius Cæsar*, not one did escape violent death. The vvhich this Author hathe a pleasure to declare, bycause he vvould affray all men from disloyaltie tovvard their Soueraigne.

The greatest seruice that men can doe, is to saue theyr Countrey from daunger. The *Romanes* gaue him a crovvne that saued one Citizen. Then hovv many crovvnes deserueth he, that helpeth to saue a number?

They vsed to make a coyne for his commendation, vvith this inscription: *The Senate and people of Rome for Citizens saued.*

Cicero vvas called, Father of the Countrey, by cause hee

kept it from decay. All they that in theyr conſultations, do ſeeke the like benefite to their Countrey, doe deſerue the like reward and prayſe, and in the teſtimonie of good mēs hearts, they are ſure to haue it.

Then ſeeyng this Authoures onely purpoſe is, to extoll the princely rule, and to procure the ſafetie of the people, I haue preſumed to make a preſente of hym to youre Honoure, that you being in caſe to do the like good, maye receyue the ſame triumph of your deſert.

Hovv vvorthy the VVryter is to be redde, I referre it to the vvitneſſe of one vvorthy*Prelate of this lāde, vvho (as he ſayd of *Plato*) ſhal ſuffice for a multitude. Further, vvith the manner of the Authoures vvriting I doe not meane to trouble you, himſelfe ſhall tell your Honour, that ſuch as be in your caſe, may bring to paſſe that he deſireth, to the glory of God, the honour of the Prince, the benefite of the Countrey, and renoume of your ſelfe.

The reuerend father in God T.C. Biſhop of Lincolne, in his booke entituled Theſaurus linguæ Latinæ & Britannicæ.

Your Honoures ſeruaunt
moſt duetifully bounden:

H. BINNIMAN.



THe Romaine people and the Senate, did many times contend, for making of Lawes, releasing of debts, deuision of landes, or election of officers, yet was there no tumult nor vproare, but onlye discorde and debates in ciuill maner, and that was done with great reuerence one to another. The people, on a time hauing bene at warre, and falling into like contention, did not abuse their armour presentlye, but kept aside vnto an hil, which therof was called Holy, where was no violence done, but a creation made of an officer of themselues, whom they called Tribune of the people, to be a restraint to the Consuls chosen by the Senate, that they shoulde not haue the only rule in the Common wealth. Of this great hatred and variance grew betwéne these officers: the Senate and the people being deuided for them, and stirred by ambition, sought the one to ouer-rule the other. *Martius Coriolanus*, in such a contétion beyng vniustly banished, fled to the *Volscians*, and made warre against his countrey. This only feate of force, should a man finde among the old strifes, which neuerthelesse was the act of an outlawe. But in their common metings, was neuer weapon drawn, nor ciuill murder done, before *Tiberius Gracchus* Tribune of the people and a deuiser of the Lawes, did firste perishe in sedition, and many moe with him taken in the* Capitol, were slain about the Temple. Notwithstanding, discorde ceassed not by this disgrace, euery man being euidently bente against other, bringing many times their weapons, and now one officer, and then another (by this diuisiō) was dispatched, in the temples, in assemblies and in Courts, the Tribunes, Pretors, or Consuls, eyther prouoking to it, or working this occasion of it. Uncomely contumely of euery

Foure causes of discorde among the Romaines.

Holy *Hil* dedicate to *Iupiter*, three myles beyond Rome, ouer the riuer *Aniene*, now *Tiberone*.

Creation of the Tribune of the people.

Volscians people betwene *Hostia* and *Circeia*.

M. Coriolanus, the first that rose against his countrey, his name was *C. Martius*, bycause the Citie of *Coriolie*, belonging to the *Volscians*, was wonne chiefly by his meane, he bare the name of the city The Romaines had their proper names, as *Caius*, *Quintus*, or *Marcus*, the name of their house, as *Martius Valerius*, *Tullius*, and of some fact or figure, as *Publicola*, *Corioianus*, *Affricanus*

B.

*Capitol an Hil where was the chiefe palace and temple, so called of a mans heade that was found It was begunne of *Tarquinius Priscus*, & finished by *Tarquinius Superbus*, but not dedicated. In the foundation *Tarquinius* spente xl. M. li. waight of silver. M *Horatius* the secōde consul in *Brutus* place did dedicate it, It was burned in *Sylla* his time, and builded againe, and dedicated by *Catullus*, *Sylla* being deade. Then was it burned in *Vitellius* time and restored by *Vespasian*: and also after his death it was burned againe and his sonne *Domiciane* builded it, and dedicated it, and made it so sumptuous in guilding and trimming of it, as he spente aboue xvj. M. talentes vpon it, nor for no great holynesse, but for his pleasure, for his Galleries and his banqueting houses passed thys.

euery trifle, and foule contempt of law and right, did euer play a part. This euil growing great, manifeſt inſurrections wer made againſt the ſtate, mightie and fierce armyes were rayſed againſt the countrey, baniſhed mẽ ſtriuing for reſtitutiõ, or magiſtrates contending among them ſelues, for offices at home, or army abroade. Some there were, in power like princes, and as Monarkes, made leaders of ſeditious armies: ſome would not leaue the army that was deliuered them of the people: ſome without authoritie, would leuie ſtraunge ſouldiers againſt their enimies, ſtriuing whether of thẽ ſhould firſt get the Citie, in word againſt the cõtrary factiõ, but in dæde againſt ỳ countrey: for they inuaded it, as an enemy. Cruell murders were vſed in ſome, in others proſcriptions to deathe, baniſhments, confiſcations, & torments intollerable, ſo as no kinde of crueltie was left vndone, till *Cornelius Sylla*, one of the mightie Captaines of rebellion, fifty yeares after *Gracchus* healing euil with euil, made himſelfe a Monarke for a time: the which kinde of officers, they called *Dictators*, vſed in moſt daungerous times, and commonly giuen ouer after ſixe monethes were ended. But *Sylla*, being in dæde *Dictator* by force, perpetuall, yet in ſpeach pretending to be elected, when he had his fill of that rule alone, was the firſt man, (as I thinke) that durſt freely giue ouer a Tiranicall power, affirming he woulde aunſwere for his doings, if any woulde accuſe him: and in the ſighte of all ſortes, as a priuate man, many times he went to the common place, and returned home againe without hurte. Suche a feare was there yet of his authoritie, in them that behelde hym, or an aſtoniſhmente, of the reſigning of it, or a reuerence, that he offered to aunſweare for hys doynges, or ſome other curteſie and conſideration, acknowledging his Tyranny to haue bene profitable to the countrey.

Dictator, vvas he that ruled alone, yet at the battell he might not be on horſebacke.

Thus a while ſedition ceaſſed with *Sylla*, and there was a remedie of the euils that *Sylla* had done: but after hym it began againe, til *Caius Caſar*, by election ſent to gouerne *Fraunce*, & after a long time being cõmaũded by the Senate to giue ouer, he aunſwered, that it was *Pompey* his enimie, leading an army in *Italy*, & repining

Cæſar, conquered Fraunce, paſſed the floud *Rene*, and ſayled into England.

repining at his authozitie in *Fraunce*, that sought to remoue him, & not the Senate. Yet notwithstãding, he propounded cõditions.

That eyther both of them shoulde reteyne their armyes, to auoyde suspition of perill:

Caesar offereth conditions.

Or that *Pompey* also, should leaue his power, and liue a priuate life accozding to the lawes.

Obteyning neyther of these, he marched out of *Fraunce* against *Pompey* and his countrey, the which he inuaded, and lyen, being fledde, he pursued into *Thessalie*, and ouercame him verye victoriously in a valiant battayle, whom fleeing from thence, hee followed into *Egipt*, where he was slaine of that countrey men. And when he hadde tarried and set a stay among the princes of *Egipt*, and ouerthrown his greatest enemye, who for his worthynesse in the warres, was surnamed Great, no man nowe being bolde to do anything against him, he returned to *Rome*, and was chosen the second *Dictator* perpetuall after *Sylla*. Then al sedition reased out of hande, tyll *Brutus* and *Cassius*, eyther for enuye of his greatnesse, or for zeale of their countrey, killed him in the Senate house, being most accepted to the people, and most expert in gouernement. The people, of all other, most lamented him, & required his strykers to be punished: they burned his body in the common place, where they erected a temple, and sacrifised vnto him as to a God. Then discord renued and increased so farre, as slaughter, banishmente, attendures, both of Senate men and Gentlemen followed confusedlye, the seditious of both sides seeking to sequester his enemye, he cared not howe, not sparing friendes nor brethren. So muche did deadly desire of debate, ouerwhelme al natural friendshyp and alliaunce. Yea they wente so farre, as three men, þ is to say, *Lepidus*, *Antony*, and he that first was called *Octauius*, (who being of *Cesars* bloud, and his son by adoption, toke of him the name of *Caesar*) did deuide the Romaine Empire, as a priuate possession, after the whiche deuision, falling some out, as was none other lyke, *Octauius Caesar* exceeding them both in wysedome and experience, fyrste bereste *Lepidus* of *Lybia*, which fell vnto him by lotte, and then ouerthrew *Antonie* at * *Actio*, and toke frõ him al þ rule he had

The place vvas called *Pharsalia*, from the vvhich *Pompey* fled into *Egipt*, vvhere he vvas killed of the yong Kings Counselliers.

Pompey, for his valiantnesse, had the name of *Magnus*, that is Great, giuen vnto him.

Brutus, *Cassius*.

These attendures the Romaines called proscriptions, vvhen a decree vvas vvritten to condemne a man vvithout aunswere, and kill him vvithout lavv.

Lepidus.
Antonius.
Octauius.

* *Actio* a place in *Epire*.

The Gulfe of *Ionia* is from *Trundusia* to *Mont Gargone*, the rest is called the Gulfe of *Venice*.

from *Syria* to the Duke of *Iona*: after these most mightie actes, wherewith all men were amased, with hys nauy he wanne *Egipt*, the greteſt kingdome and of longeſt continuance, after *Alexanders* reigne, and only lefte to make the Romaine ſtate as it is, by the which, being yet aliue, he was of the people of Rome called *Auguſtus*, and the firſte that ſo had that title. He ſhewed himſelfe to be an other *Cæſar*, yea more mightie than *Cæſar* was, as wel touching the ſubiection of his owne countrey, as of all other nations, not nedyng any election, or forme of creation, to be a pretence to his doings. In continuaunce of time, being ſetled in his ſtate, and in all things happy and beloued, he left behind him a ſucceſſion, and a lynage to raigne likewiſe after him. Thus the Common welth of the Romaines, after diuerſe debates, came to vnitie, and the rule of one. How theſe things were done, I haue written, gathering the moſt notable matter, that they that lyſte, may ſee the vnſatiable ambition of men in grædy deſire of kingdome, ioyned with intollerable paynes, and innumerable kindes of calamities. The which I haue the rather take in hand, bicauſe dealing with the Hiſtorie of *Egipt*, and al theſe things going before and ending there, I was compelled to make reherſal of the. For by this occaſion was *Egipte* alſo conquered, when *Cleopatra* toke parte with *Antony*. Now bycauſe of the multitude of matters, I haue deuided them thus. The firſt ſhall ſhewe the thynges done from *Sempronius Gracchus*, to *Cornelius Sylla*. The ſeconde ſhall conteine al the actes from that time vnto the death of *Cæſar*. The reſt ſhall declare all the diſſention that was betweene the three men, one againſt an other, and the Citizens of Rome and them, vntill the laſt and greateſt feate of Ciuill force, in the whyche *Auguſtus* ouercame *Antonie* and *Cleopatra* at *Actio*, from the which time the Chronicle of *Egipt* ſhal take his beginning.

Egipt.

Auguſtus is a name, by the vvhich the Romaines did cal their holy things as *Auguſta templa* & *Auguriom*, and vvhatſoeuer *Iupiter* encreaſeth by hys mighrie powver. The Senate did conſult to cal him *Romulus*, but this name ſemed more holy and reuerent, that vvhiles hee vvas aliue, hee might be conſecrated as a god.

The order of the ſtory, vvhiche is left out in the *Italian* tranſlation.

VVhen *Cæſar Octauian* had ouercome *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, & made *Egipt* a prouince to the Empire of Rome, he made one *Cornelius Gallus* lieftenant there, and in token of the Conquering of that countrey firſte by him, hee coyned a money, in the vvhiche vvas the picture of a Crocodile, vvhich is there only to be ſeene in the floud *Nilus*, chayned to a palme tree, & trees of Palmes laide ouer him, vvith an inſcription. *Col. Nem.* that is, *Colligauit Nemo*, ſignifiyng that hee triumphed of *Egipt*, ſprinkling it vvith deavv in ſtead of rayne, of vvhich there is none.

The

¶ The Hiſtorie of *Appianus Alexandrinus of the Ciuil diſſentions of the* Romaines.

The firſt booke.



It vvas 500. yeares before the Romaines could conquere *Italy*.

When the Romaines firſt conquered *Italy*, whych they did by little & little, they toke part of the land, and buylded new Cities, or ſent of their owne people to inhabite the old, that by this meane, they might be ſure of the countrey. The grounde that was tilled, eyther they diſtributed, or ſold it, or let it to ferme to the inhabitants. The waſt, which by reaſon of the warre was very much, not hauing euer leyſure to make diuiſion of it, they proclaymed in this ſort, to them that would manure it.

This manner of inhabitants they called *Colonies*, vvhich vvere taken by lot, as the Greeke vvorde expreſſeth, vvhich is κληρουχία.

The Romaines order for inhabiting the grouñ

For the yearely increaſe of ſæde grounde, they required the tenth part.

For the places planted with trées and woode, they would haue a fifth part.

For Cattel eyther great or ſmall, they appointed a tribute accordingly.

The Romaines make account of the *Italian* nation.

Thys they did, for the maintenaunce of the *Italian* nation, whom they accounted to be men of beſt ſeruice, that they might alwayes, in the warres, haue the vſe of that were their owne: but it came ſone otherwiſe to paſſe, for ẏ rich mẽ, hauing got ẏ greater part of the vndeuided lande, preſumed vpon long preſcription of time, that no man would moleſt them, and the poore mens ſmall portions, lying nygh them, either they boughte for a little by perſuaſion, or they encrochedto them by very violence, and oppreſſion, ſo as now, in ſtéade of ſmaller places, they had as it were whole countries: & becauſe they would not haue their husbandemen called anye time awaye to the warres, they bought theyr

Hynes and Herdes, to laboure the grounds, and would not sette their countrymen to any worke at all: by reason whereof, theyr gaine was incredible, as well for the yearely profit of their possessions, as for the multitude of encrease of those slaues, whyche were neuer called to ỹ warre. Thus the great mẽ grew exceeding riche, and euery place was ful of seruile generation: but the *Italians* fel into decaye and wante of men, and were also oppressed with powerty, by occasion of their continuall pressing to the war, and dayly exactions put vpon them. And if at any time they were eased of these, they felt a further incõueniẽce, for where they had no land of their owne, the rich mẽ being Lords of al, and they vsing the labour of bondmen in steade of frẽ men, the *Italians* were vtterly corrupted with reste ỹ pleines. The people of Rome was much offended herewith, bicause they could not haue such seruice of the *Italians*, as they had before, and whensoeuer they made any expedition abroade, they were not without daunger, for the great multitude of bondemen at home: they could not tel how to remedy this matter, for it was not easy, nor altogither equal, to thrust them out of possession, that had had so long continuance in their landes and houses, which they had so wel planted and prouided. At length wyth much adoe, the Tribunes toke the matter in hand and ordeyned,

Increase of slaues.

Decay of *Italians*.

This was called *Lex Licinia*.

That no man should kéepe aboue fiue hundred Acres of lande.

An Acre was so much ground as a payre of Oxen could arie in a day, the measure wherof 240. foote in length & a120. in breadth.

That no man shoulde féede aboue one hundered greate cattel.

That no man should féede aboue fiue hundred little cattel.

And for the better obseruation hereof, they appointed a number of frémen, to marke what was done, and to make declaration of the same from time to time.

The measure of a foote was 4. handes, and one hand was foure fingers, and the measure of a finger, according to Geometry, three barely cornes. This is added in the *Italian* translation.

The law was allowed, the penaltie assigned, and the commissioners were sworne, supposing that by this meane, some lande would be lefte, that for a small price, might be awarded to the powre. But regarde was there none, neyther of Lawe nor of the othe, and if some did séeme for manners sake, to obey the lawe, and make a counterfeyte deuision to theyr neyghbours, the moste parte dyd vtterly contemne the lawe, tyll *Tiberius Sempronius*

pronius Gracchus a goodlye noble man, honourable and eloquente, wherby he was more notable than al the other Tribunes, made a solemne oration, in the prayse of the *Italian* people, lamentyng that so warlike a nation, and of the Romaines alliaunce, shoulde shortly be dispeopled and brought to penurie without all hope of remedy. He inueyed againste the race of Slaues, as vnfitte for the warre, and vntrustye to their Lordes: he called to remembraunce, a fresh affliction in *Cicelie*, by slauish seruauntes against their maisters, the which had their increase also, by being vsed in countrie businesse, whom the Romaines could not subdue, without long and sharpe warre, full of variable and daungerous successe: and hauing spoken to this effecte, hee renewed the law.

That no manne shoulde haue more than fiue hundered Acres.

That their children should haue halfe so muche: which he added to the old lawe.

That three men chosen and changeable euerye yeare, shoulde make diuision to the poore.

The riche men toke this matter verye grieuously. For nowe they coulde not illude the Lawe, as they did before, because of them that were appointed for the deuision, nor purchase their Landes, that hadde their partes assigned, for *Gracchus* hadde prouided for that, forbydding all manner of sale. They assembled togyther in seuerall companies, fyndyng faulte wyth the Lawe. They were in a marueylous disdaine and griefe, that the poore shoulde possesse their auncient inheritaunce, their plantings & buildings, and that they shold forgoe the purchase of the lands that they had payd for to some of their neyghbours. Others repyned at the losse of their forefathers * Sepultures, conteyned within their groundes, and the partitions of their portions, lefte of their parentes.

Some obiected their wyues marriage money, and

Thys *Gracchus* vvas sent *Pretor* to *Numantia*, vvhere the Cõsul *Mancinus* vvas ouerthrovvne, and seking for peace the *Numantines* vvould graunt none, excepte *Gracchus* vvere sent to thẽ, vvhiche being done, a peace vvas made, the vvhiche the Senate did not approue, though xx. M. Citizens vvere saued thereby, beside the slaues and rascals, in so much as the consul vvas sent thither againe naked & bounde, but *Gracchus*, the people praysed that had saued so many Citizẽs vpon vvhich occasion he became an enemye to the Senate, and a friend to the people.

* A Syrian slaue in *Sicelie* after a mad sorte raging vvith a desire to make rebellion, pretended a religion of doing honor to the goddesse of *Syria*, and called bondemento libertie and ar-

mes, and that he might seeme to do that by the vvil of God, he held a nutte in his mouth stuffed vvyth Sulphure, and fire, the vvhich vvhen he spake, did cast forth flames.

* The olde Romaines did bury in their possessiõs and it vvas long after Christ, ere mẽ vvere buried in sacred places,

consumed vppon the same, or the lande of inheritaunce to theyr childzen: and some declared what debt they were fallen into, by reason of interest, so as there was great disorder, quarelling, and indignation among them.

The poore offended.

The poore men on the contrary side, complaine that they were brought from good wealth, to extreme want, and thereby to decay of continuaunce, not being able to bring vp their childzen. They shewed how many tymes they had bin a warfare to winne thys land, and myght not beare to be bereft their publike portiõ. They rayled on the riche, that in the steade of free men, Citizens, and souldiers, they had chosen bonde seruauntes, a generation euer vnfaithfull and slubborne, therfore not fitte for the warre. Thus the one reuiling and vpbrayding the other, the multitude, that either were of the Romaine foundation, or of their owne gouernement, and al other, that any wayes were partakers of the lande, fearing the losse therof, resorted togither, and were deuided wyth the one or the other, and so being enbolded by number, they waxed fierce, stirring rebellion, and abiding til the law should be discussed: the one by no mean to suffer it to preuaile: the other, that it might take place to the vttermost. Both sides were ambitiously bent for the sequele of it, and against the appointed day prepared themselues. *Gracchus* minde stode vppon a resolution, not to further aboundance of riches, but the encrease of men, in procuryng of the which commoditie, he muche magnifyed himselfe, as in a trauell that to *Italie* could not be of more honor nor importance, the difficultye wherof he did not conceiue. When the day of making Lawes was come, he made a long plausible Preface, and asked of them, If it wer right ỹ publike things shold be deuided in common: and if a citizen were to be preferred before a seruant: and if a souldier were more profitable, than he that was vnapt for the warre, and a partaker of publike profit more wel willing:

The Latin translation of *P. Candidus* and the *Italian* differeth from the Greeke.

Gracchus talke.

Not tarying lõg in this comparison, as nedlesse, he streight turned his tale to vtter the hopes and feares of his countrey, that where they had by the warre wonne so muche lande of their enemies, and had good hope to get the rest of the earth, they woulde nowe put al in hazarde, whether to conquer al that remayned, by

encrease

encreale of lytte mē, or to lose this through want of their owne, and enuie of their enimies. He set forth the glory and wealth of the one, and the daunger and doubt of the other. He exhorted the rich to regard, if it were not more for their profite to gratifie the people with land to bring vp their childrē, in hope of the wealth to come, than to striue for trifling matters, and to neglect the greater things, they hauing sufficient recompence of their charges bestowed, by possession of fiue hundred acres of choyce, free and certen land, and to euery of their children (if they had anye) halfe so much. After this sort *Gracchus* speaking much, kindling the yre, and other to, that stode vpon reason, rather than desire of possession, he commaunded the Clearke to pronounce the law. But *Marcus Octauius* the other Tribune, whome the possessioners had made to resist, and with the *Romaines* being euer more able to forbidde, commaunded the Clearke to silence. Then *Gracchus* greatly blaming him, deferred the Court till the next day, when, hauing prepared a sufficient force to compell *Octauius*, commaunded the Clearke with threates to propound the lawe to the people: but *Octauius* forbadde him againe, and put him to silēce. Then the Tribunes fell to chasing one with an other, so as the lawe could take no place for the tumult, wherefore the great men required to committe their difference to the Senate. *Gracchus* toke holde of that offer, thinking euery reasonable man to be wylling with the lawe, & ranne into ỹ Senate house, where being reproued of the rich, as among the few chiefe men in * a straight, hee ranne agayne into the commō place, and sayd he woulde deferre the tryall, till this next dayes assemblie, both for the law, and for the authoritie of *Octauius*, and whether by order, a Tribune resisting the law, mighte reteyne his office: and so he did, at whyche time *Octauius* nothing abashed, made resistance againe. Wherefore *Gracchus* put the matter firste to the voyces, and when one company had giuen against *Octauius*, *Gracchus* turned to him, and prayed him to leaue his purpose, but he cared not for it, and so they proceeded. There was fiue and thirtie companies, whereof seauentéene had giuen against him with greate furie, and where ỹ eyghteenth should haue determined the matter, *Gracchus* againe

M. *Octauius* resisteth the lawe.

Gracchus to the Senate.

* The word signifyeth the great men, or a streight.

Fiue and thirtie companies in Rome.

in the sighte of the people, lamentably desired him, that being in that daunger, he woulde not hynder so profitable and honorable an acte to all *Italy*: nor to withstande so greate desire of the people whyche he ought to further, beyng a Tribune: nor to suffer the disgrace of losing hys office. Thus hee spake, and called God to witnesse, that agaynste hys wyll hys fellowe was deposed. But when no persuasion woulde serue, hee made the decree: *Octauius* beyng deprined, he secretely conueyed hymselfe away, *Quintus Mummius* was chosen Tribune in his place. The lawe of landes was pronounced, and the firste officers appoynted to see it executed, was *Gracchus* hymselfe the lawmaker, and a brother of hys name, and *Appius Claudius* hys father in lawe. So muche dyd the people feare, that all the laboure of the lawe shoulde bee lost, vnlesse *Gracchus* and all hys familie hadde the execution of it. *Gracchus* was maruellously magnifyed for thys lawe, and accompanyed of the people to his house as a preseruer, not of one Citie or Countrey, but of all the nations of *Italy*. Thys beyng done, they that had the day, returned to the landes in the Countrey from whence they came for that purpose, but they that lost the day, remayned discontented, and talked that *Gracchus* shoulde not escape blame when he shoulde bee out of office, that durst violate a Magistrate of so greate authoritie, and gyue occasion of so manifest sedition in *Italy*. Nowe was it Sommer, and the tyme of choosing Tribunes at hande. It seemed that the ryche woulde so laboure, as the office shoulde bee gyuen to some of *Gracchus* greatest enimies. The tryall beeyng at hande, and hee afrayde that hee shoulde not bee elected Tribune for the yeare to come, called people out of the Countrey, to gyue voyce in the election, but they beeyng occupyed in Sommer businesse, and the daye drawyng nygh, hee was compelled to make the people of the Citie hys refuge, and wente aboute to euery one aparte, to desire them to make hym Tribune agayne, beeyng in daunger for theyr sakes. When the daye was come, the two firste companyes chose *Gracchus*, but the ryche men cryed, that it was not lawfull for one to bee Tribune twyce togyther. *Rubrio* a Tribune, to whose turne it came

Gracchus excuseth himselfe of the deprination of his fellowe.

Octauius deprined.

Q. Mummius chosen.

Lawe of landes.

Officers for the lawe.

Appius Claudius

Gracchus labours the people.

came to bée chiefe of the election, doubted of the matter. *Mummius* succeſſor to *Octauius*, prayed hys fellowe to committe the order of the election to hym, whyche hée dyd, but the other Tribunes affyrmed, that thys muſt be tryed by lotte, for where *Rubrio* hadde hys turne, the appoyntmente dyd apperteyne to them all. Doubt in the election.

The contention béeyng greate, and *Gracchus* hauyng the worſe, he deferred the diſcuſſing tyll the nexte daye, and béeyng vtterlye diſcouraged, although yet in office, he remayned the reſt of the whole daye in the common place, beſéechyng euerye man to bée hys helpe, as though he ſhoulde ſtreyghte haue bin deſtroyed of hys enimies. The poore men were moued wyth compaſſion, and conſideryng that they were not vſed indifferently as Citizens, but rather as ſlaues to the luſt of the ryche, and fearyng for *Gracchus* ſtate, who ſuffered for theyr ſake with lamentation, they all broughte hym to hys houſe at nyghte, and bade hym bée of good chéere againſte the nexte daye. *Gracchus* béeyng thus encouraged, aſſembled hys parte in the nyghte, and gaue them a watchworde to fyghte it out if néede required. Then hée went to the Temple of the Capitoll, where the election ſhoulde bée, and when the aſſemblie was come togyther, and hée in the myddeſt of them, ſome of the Tribunes and the ryche men woulde not ſuffer the election to proceéde for hym: wherefore hée gaue hys watche worde, they that were priuie to it made a greate ſhoute, and beganne the fray, ſome ſtode aboute *Gracchus* to guarde hys perſon, ſome tore the ſeates, ſome wrang the roddes and maces out of the Sergeantes handes, ſome rente aſunder euerye thyng, and bet the ryche menne out of the place, wyth ſuche a tumulte and terroure, as all the Tribunes ranne awaye, and the Prieſtes ſhutte the Temple dores. The flying and running was confuſed, and the ſpéeche not well vnderſtanded. Some thoughte that *Gracchus* hadde depoſed an other Tribune, for ſpying none of them there, it was lyke to bée ſo. Some thoughte hée hadde made hym ſelfe Tribune agayne wythoute anye Election. Tumult by *Gracchus*.

In the meane time the Senate assembled in the Temple of Faith. Surely I marueil, that where the office of one ruler had many times before preserued the state in like troubles, that now they dyd not chose a *Dictator*. In former times it was founde most necessarie, but nowe neyther in memorie, nor after cared for. When the Senate, as wel as they could, had resolued what was to be done, they went vp to the Capitoll, and *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, by the name of chiefe Bishop led the way, and spake with a loude voice that they should follow him that would haue their Countrey safe. Then he pulled the shirte of his gowne ouer hys head, eyther to giue a token by his garmẽt, that the more might followe him, or for a signe to them that sawe it, that he woulde fight, or for that he would as it were hide from the Gods what he meant to do. Being come to the Temple, and thrusting in among *Gracchus* route, they gaue place vnto him, as to a most worthy man, whome they sawe all the Senate follow: then dyd his company wring the weapons out of the others handes, and gathered the peces of the broken seates, with any other things that they could get in the place, and bet *Gracchus* part so violently, as they droue them to the brinke of the hill, in the whyche tumulte *Gracchus* was slayne, and many with him at the Temple dores, before the Images of the Kings. Thus *Gracchus*, beyng sonne of that *Gracchus* that had bin twice Consull, whose mother was *Cornelia* daughter to *Scipio* that conquered *Affrica*, meaning well to his Countrey, but going about it vnsecretely, was slayne in the Capitoll, being yet Tribune.

As this was the firste mischiefe that was done in the place of election, so did it not ceasse till many more were done from time to time. The Citie was deuided into two and ioy for *Gracchus* death, some lamented for themselues as well as for him, that the present state was no more a common wealth, but rather a Tyrannie and crueltie. Other reioyced at that was done, whereby they had obteyned their purpose. This was done, whē *Aristonicus* contended with the *Romaines* for the Lordship of *Asia*. *Gracchus* being

Temple of Fayth.

Dictator.

Chiefe Bishop. F. *Scipio Nasica.*

Superstition.

The fray.

Gracchus slayne, who was a gentle curteous man, sober and eloquent, with modestie.

First Sedition.

"*Aristonicus*" was a base sonne to *Eumenes*, by a wench of *Ephesus*, that was a Mindrels daughter. *Attalus* sonne to *Eumenes*, made his Testament after this sorte, *Populus Romanus bonorum meorum hæres esto.* The *Romaines* stayed the prouince of *Pergamo*. *Aristonicus* as heyre to his father inuaded it, and killed *Licinius Gracchus* that was sent against him. Then *M. Perpenna* ouerthrew him at *Stratonice*, and was killed in prison by the Senates commaundement.

being thus slayne, and *Appius Claudius* dead, straight way *Fulvius Flaccus*, *Papirius Carbo*, and *Gracchus* the yonger, toke vppon them the defence of the law, and where the possessioners denyed their lands to be surueyed, they made Proclamation, that the ouerseers should acuse them, of the whiche growe a multitude of difficult matter, for all the lande adioyning togither, whither it was solde or deuided to their companions in warre, came to bee examined how it was sold, and how it was diuided. Euery man had not his conueyance, nor the portions appoynted them, and they that had, were found doubtfull. And where lande should bee diuided agayne according to the order, some of the owners must be put from their grounds and manors, to barren seede, and from frutefull and well planted places, to Fennes and marrish grounds. And where at the beginning of the lands conquered, there was no great certentie kept, & now that by decree all land diuisible must be laboured, many had entred vpō their neighbors bounds, whereby the forme of the places were confounded, and time hadde so altered the rest, as it was hard to find the wrong that the rich had done, although it were great: so was there nothing but confusion, euery one changing & chopping into others right. The *Italians* were very much greeued at this sharpe dealing of the commissioners, and made sute to *Cornelius Scipio* that ouercame *Carthage*, to be their defence againste those iniuries, who for that he had had there good seruice in the warres, was much greeued they shoulde be misused, wherefore he came into the Senate house, where he did not directlye speake agaynste *Gracchus* lawe, but shewed the difficultie of the matter, and wished it should not be determined of them that had the dealing of it, bycause of suspition, but of some other that might be thought indifferent, the which he quickly obteined as a thing reasonable. *Tuditanus* the Consull was appointed to be the iudge, but he entring into the cause, and finding it so intricate, toke in hande a voyage againste the *Illirians*, seeking that occasion to be ridde of this. They that were first appointed for the diuision, bycause no man required iustice of them, did nothing in the same. Hereof an hatred and grudge of the people did growe againste *Scipio*,

F. Flaccus. P. Carbo.

Proclamation.

The *Italians* sueth to *Scipio*.

Scipio.

Tuditanus.

The *Illirians* novv *Slauonians*.

that he woulde haue moze care of the nations of *Italie*, than of the people of *Rome*, whyche foꝛ hys sake had dyuers tymes gotten the displeasure of the greate men, and twice made him Consull befoꝛe he might so be by the lawe. This beyng knowen, his enimies spake manifestly agaynst hym, affyꝛming that he went aboute vtterlye to bꝛeake *Gracchus* lawe by foꝛce and violence, whyche when the people heaꝛde, they were afrayde, tyll *Scipio* in an euening, takyng a payꝛe of Tables to note what hée woulde say the nexte day, was founde dead without any wound, eyther by the pꝛactise of *Cornelia* mother to *Gracchus*, that hys lawe shoulde not be foꝛdone, and by the helpe of *Sempronia* hyꝛ daughter, who was married vnto *Scipio*, whome she loued not, noꝛ he hir, foꝛ that she was foule and barren, oꝛ rather (as some thynke) that hée kylled hymselfe, bycause he could not fulfill hys pꝛomise. Some saye, that hys seruauntes beeyng racked, confessed, that certayne straunge men vnknowen to them, were lette in at the backe doꝛe, and that they did choke their maister, and bycause they sawe the people angry with him, and to bée glad of his deathe, they durst not bewꝛay it. Thus dyed *Scipio*, and was not thoughte woꝛthy a publike funerall, although he had done so great seruice to his Countrey. So muche could pꝛesente displeasure pꝛeuayle ouer benefytes passed. This happe gaue courage to *Gracchus* faction, although the diuision of landes was diuerslie deferred by the possessioners, wheroꝛ some thought good that all companions in warre shoulde be called to the fréedome of the Citie, to make the benefyte the moze common, and so leaue the contention foꝛ land. The *Italians* accepted this very gladly, and pꝛeferred the fréedome of the Citie, befoꝛe the lande in the Countrey. *Fulvius Flaccus* being Consull, and a diuider of land, was a great doer in this matter, but the Senate did not allowe, that they that were their inferiours, shoulde now become their fellowes: so this deuice toke no place, and the people that was in hope of the diuision, was vtterly discouraged, till *Caius Gracchus*, bꝛother to him that made the lawe of landes, was thoughte the moste méete man to be a Tribune, who since hys bꝛothers deathe had liued in rest: and though many of the Senate

The people of *Rome* against *Scipio*.

Sempronia and *Cornelia* suspected of *Scipios* death.

This vvas *Scipio Iunior Africanus*, nephevv to *Scipio Affricanus* that ouerthrevv *Annibal*.

Seruauntes confession.

Ingratitude.

Freedome of the Citie.

Fulvius Flaccus.

Caius Gracchus the seconde Tribune.

nate enuyed hym, yet he stode for the office, and obteyned it with great glory. He deuised to deceyue the Senate, by makyng a lawe that the people should haue a distribution of a monethes Corne of the common store, whiche thing was neuer seene before, whereby streight he wanne the peoples heartes, and *Fuluius* beyng his friende, he was declared Tribune for the yeare to come: for now there was a lawe made, that if a Tribune hadde nede of furtherance to performe his promise, the people afore all other should make choyce of hym, and so *Caius Gracchus* was chosen Tribune the second time. Hauing thus allured the people by his largesse, he wanne also the Gentlemen by an other deuice. They being in dignitie next the Senatours, in the middest betweene them and the people, he turned the iudgementes diffamed by corruption from the Senatoures to the Gentlemen, obiecting against them things lately committed, that *Cornelius Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *Manius Acilius*, who subdued *Asia*, being openly condemned of bribery, were releassed by the Iudges, when the Embassadours were present, goyng about, and crying out vpon them with great slaunder, wherof the Senate beeyng ashamed, gaue place to the lawe, the people proclaymed it. Thus were these iudgements translated from the Senatoures to the Gentlemen. When this law was made, *Gracchus* (as they report) sayd, he would dispatch the Senate quickly, which saying was found true by that followed thereof, for where the Gentlemen had the iudgements of corruption, banishment and diffamation, whyche they vsed extreamely ouer the *Romaines* and the *Italians*, yea the Senatours themselues, all the Gentlemē were like Princes extolled, and the Senatoures like slaues deiected, beside forth the Gentlemen ioyning with the Tribunes in elections, to gratifye them againe in euery thing they would. The Senatours were fallen into so great a feare, as though the state should streyght haue bin changed, they only hauing the name, and the Gentlemē the authoritie, who in processe of time, did not only ouerrule the Senatours, but did them open spight against all lawe. They dealte with matters of corruption, and felte so of continuall gayne, as they vsed theyr authoritie more rigorously

Distribution.

A lawe for the Tribunes benefite.

Gentlemen, *Equites*, The next degree to the Senators after the order of the *Athenians*, vvhen they vvere able to find an horse.

Iudgements of corruption. *Cornelius Cotta*. *Salinator* made the toll of salt. *Manius Acilius* ouercame *Antiochus*.

Corruption. Translation of Iudgements.

Crueltie of the Gentlemen.

and moderately. They brought in priuie accusours against the rich, and by their faction and force ouerthrew the lawes of corruption, so as the custome of triall of iudgementes was vtterly ouerthrowne, and a new disturbance concerning lawes of Iudges stirred vp, as like so long to continne as the former. Nowe was *Gracchus* making of long high wayes in *Italy*, seeking thereby to help the multitudes of the labouring men, to haue them ready in any enterprise at his commaundement. He also placed diuers newe inhabitances, and furthermore stirred the Latine nation to require the frædome of the *Romaines*, as a thing to procure hate to the Senate, if they should denie it to that natiõ that was so nigh allied vnto them. He also gaue authoritie to other confederates of *Rome*, to giue voyces in elections, whiche might not so do by auntient manner, that he might haue the more helpe to procure lawes at his pleasure, for the which the Senate was much troubled, and commaunded the Consuls to make proclamation, that no man, vnlesse he had a right in elections, should resort into the Citie, or approch within fiue miles of the same, during the time of assemble for the lawes. They perswaded *Liuius Drusus* the other Tribune, to resist *Gracchus* lawes, not making the people acquainted with it, and it was graunted, that who so would resist, should not nede to shew cause thereof. And to win the commons heartes, they decreed twelue new inhabitancies to be made, wherewith the people was so wonne, as they cared not for the lawes. *Gracchus* being thus deceyued of the peoples fauour, sayled into *Afrike* with *Fuluius Flaccus*, who was Tribune with *Gracchus* after he had bin Consull, where an inhabitance was appoynted, bycause of the plentie of the soyle, whych was done of purpose, that by the absence of the people, the Senate might haue some rest from these sturres. Thys inhabitance was appoynted where *Carthage* was, little regarding that *Scipio* the winner of it, did vowe it for euer to be a place of pasture. Fyue thousand was assigned, which by law ought to haue bin lesse, that they might the rather please the people. They returned to *Rome*, and gathered the fyue thousand out of al *Italie*, but when it was written out of *Africa*, that the Wolues had destroyed

Gracchus maketh newy vvayes.

Gracchus giueth voyce in elections.

Liuius Drusus.

The Senates deuice to ouerthrovv the lavves.

Gracchus sayleth into *Afrike*.

Colonie.

An inhabitance vvhere *Carthage* vvas.

stroyed the plat of the citie, which *Gracchus* and *Fuluius* had layd, the Southsayers affirmed, that the inhabitantes should be vnlucky, wherefore the Senate called a counsell, that the lawe of inhabitance might be reuoked. *Gracchus* and *Fuluius* being deceyued of this hope also, like mad men, sayd the Senate did lye, touching the token of the Wolues. The vnruly sorte of the cõmons fauouring them, came with their weapõs to the Capitoll, where the assemblie shoulde be for this inhabitance. Whẽ the people was assembled, and *Fuluius* beganne to speake, *Gracchus* came vp to the Capitoll, garded with them that were priuie of his purpose, but being resisted of them that vnderstoode he woulde make new businesse, he lefte the way to the Capitoll, and toke a lowe Gallerie, there wayting to deceyue his aduersaries. One *Attilius*, a man of the commõ sort, seeyng him in these turmoyles, and making sacrifice in that gallerie, came and toke hym by the hand, eyther to persuade him, or suspecting him, or otherwise to talke with him, prayed him he woulde spare his Countrey: hée was ỹ more troubled, as fearing to be apprehended, & loked angerly vpõ him, whereat one of his people, without any commandement or token giuen, but only by cõiecture of *Gracchus* grimme loke, thought it now to be time to please his Captayne, if he began the fray, drew his sword, & ranne *Attilius* through. A greate shoute being made, and the dead body seene among them, euery man fledde out of the Temple with feare of lyke displeasure. *Gracchus* wente to the common place, minding to say somewhat to the people touching this facte, but no man woulde harken to him, euery mã detesting it as a wicked fact. *Gracchus* and *Flacchus* were out of hope, hauing lost this occasion, which they thoughte to haue preuented, and ranne home to their houses, accompanyed with their companions. The rest of the people, as in time of daunger, about midnight toke the common place, and by breake of day, *Opimius* the Consull had appoynted men in armoure to kéepe the Capitoll, and called the Senate togither by publike officers, himselfe in the meane time abiding in the Temple of *Iupiters* children, to prouide for the necessitie. This being thus ordeyned, the Senate sent for *Gracchus* and *Fuluius* to aunswere for

Inhabitance reuoked.

Attilius.

Attilius killed.

Gracchus acte detested.

L. *Opimius*.

themselues in the Counsell house, but they in armoure wente to the hill called *Auentine*, hoping by the strength of the place to bring the Senate to some composition, and offered libertie to bondmen that would repayre vnto them: but no man made anye accompt of them, wherefore they toke the Temple of *Diana*, and fortifyed it. Then they sent *Quintus*, sonne to *Flaccus* vnto the Senate, requesting a pause with a truce of concord. The Senate willed them to leaue their armoure, and come to say what they could for themselues, or else to sende no more: neuertheles hee came agayne, and *Opimius* the Consull not taking him for a messenger bycause of their disobedience, caused him to be deteyned, and sent souldiours against *Gracchus*, and he fledde ouer the wodden bridge, vnto the other side of the floude into a groue, wyth one man, to whome when he saw he shoulde be taken, he offered his throte to be cutte. *Flaccus* fledde into a shoppe of one of hys acquaintance. They that followed him, threatned to burne the whole stréte, vnlesse they deliuered him. His friend being ashamed to betray him in his calamitie, bade an other do it, and so was *Flaccus* taken and killed, and both their heads were brought to the Consull *Opimius*, who gaue the waight of gold for reward, and the people spoyled their houses. The Consull toke their cõpanions, & committed them, till they were executed. To *Quintus* he granted to chose what maner of death he would: then he purged the Citie of bloudshed, & by the Senates sentence, erected the Tẽple of concord in ỹ cõmon place. This was ỹ ende of *Gracchus* ỹ second his seditiõ. Not long after a lawe was made, that anye man might sel the land ỹ was in controuersie, the which the former *Gracchus* had forbidden, whereby the riche men agayne dyd buy the powre mens parts, or thrust them out by violence, til *Spurius Borius* the Tribune did deuise a law, ỹ land shuld be no more deuided, but remaine with the owners, & a tribute to be raysed of it for the people, the money whereof should be distributed, wherby the powre had some relefe, but to the increase of mẽ it was no help at al. Thus was *Gracchus* law abrogated by a sleight, which might haue bin very good and profitable, if it had bin vsed accordingly. Not lõg after, by an other Tribune, the distribution also was

Auentine was one of the seuen hils of *Rome*.

Second seditiõ.

The vvoodden bridge vvas at that part of *Tiber* that goeth to the hill *Ianiculo*.

Gracchus and *Fulvius* slayne. This *Gracchus* vvas very eloquent, but so vehement, as he vvould moue vp and dovvne, and cast his Govvne off hys shoulders.

Purgation of the Citie.

Temple of Concorde.

Lavv to sell lande.

Diuision by money.

Sp. Borius.

was take away, so as the people was vtterly destitute of al help, whereof followed wante of Citizens and souldyers, reuenewe of lande, of stipende, and of lawes, the space of fifténe yeares after *Gracchus* lawe, with a more quietnesse. In this meane tyme *Scipio* the Consull threw downe a Theatre that *Lucius Cassius* had begun and almost ended, eyther as an occasion of new sedition, or for that he woulde not haue the *Romaine* people acquainted with the *Greekes* pastimes. *Q. Metellus* a maister of maners, minded to haue remoued *Glaucias* that had bin Consul, and *Apuleius* hauing bin Tribune, from their dignitie, for their euill life, but he coulde not do it, bycause his fellowe was againste it. A little while after to be reuenged of *Metellus*, *Apuleius* laboured to bée Tribune againe, bycause *Glaucias* was Pretor, & should be chiefe in the election: but *Nonius* a noble mã, vsing frée speech agaynste him, & reprouing *Glaucias*, was chosen Tribune. They fearyng that he being in authoritie, would punish them, sent a band of busie fellowes as he went from the election, and killed him, entring into a shoppe to saue himselfe. This murther being committed, they of *Glaucias* faction, before the people could assemble agayne, chose *Apuleius* Tribune carely in the morning, & by this meane was the deathe of *Nonius* not followed, men being afraide of the Tribune. *Metellus* was banished by ỳ help of *C. Marius* now sixe times Consull, who bearing secrete hate againste him, conspired with his enimies. *Apuleius* did make a lawe to deuide certayne landes of the *Frenche*, wonne by the *Cymbrianes*, whome *Marius* hadde driuen away, as nowe no longer of the *Frenche*, but belongyng to the *Romaines*, and therefore might be deuided. It was promised that if the people woulde allow the lawe, the Senate should confirme it the fifth day by an oth, and he that refused to sweare to it, should be remoued frõ the Senate, and be cõdemned to the people in twenty Talents. This was a deuice to be reuenged of *Metellus*, who for his grauitie woulde not sweare vnto it. The law being in this forwardnesse, *Apuleius* appointed ỳ day, and in the meane time sent into ỳ Countrey for such as had serued *Marius* in ỳ warres, to haue their help, but bycause ỳ *Italians* shoulde be more aduaunced by this lawe than the *Romaines*,

A Theatre vvas a place of Playes to bee seene of the people, and it vvas round sauing in one place. An Amphitheatre vvas round euerye vvhere. Sometime the Theatres serued for the people to learne Oratiõs.

Q. Metellus Censor.

This *Nonius*, of other is called *Memmius* and *Mumius*.

Nonius killed.

In this matter this Author seemeth to varie from other.

Metellus.

C. Marius vvas an enimie to the nobilitie, and a laborers sonne, voyde of learning, and rude in manners, yet so good a Souldiour, as vvhen *Scipio* vnder vvhome he serued in *Spayne*, vvas asked vvhome hee thought meete to be generall after him, hee clapped *Marius* on the shoulder and sayd, peraduenture this mã

the people was not content with it. So discord arose in the time of the meeting. *Apuleius* did put backe from the higher place all that were against the law. The people of the Citie cryed that it thundered, which when it hapned, it was not lawfull for the *Romaines* to conclude any thing in their consultations. Neuertheless *Apuleius* bande vsed violence still, wherefore the Citizens girded their gownes, and toke such weapons of woodde as they coulde get, and resisted the Countreymen. They againe being encouraged by *Apuleius*, stucke to it, and with their staues and battes beate the Citizens so, as the lawe was wonne. *Marius* the Consull forthwith propounded the oth, and bycause he knew *Metellus* a constant and sound man in his purposes, he firste shewed his owne opinion, affirming he would not sweare, and all to deceyue *Metellus* who sayd the same, wherefore both of them beyng commended of others, *Marius* brake vp the house. The fifth daye after, which was the time appoynted for the oth, the Consull assembled the Senate on a suddaine about tenne of the clocke, and sayde, he was afrayd of the people that fauored the lawe so feruently, yet he had deuised a shift and a subtiltie for it, and that was this, that a man might sweare to the words of the lawe so farre forthe as it was lawfull, and so for the time the Countrey people might be sente home, and after it might be well proued that it was no law, which by violence and by the thundering of *Iupiter* was made contrary to the order of the Countrey. Whē he had sayd thus, euery man was silent for feare of entrapping, and the suddaynesse of the time: wherefore he arose and went to the Temple of *Saturne*, where the common treasourers shoulde sweare. Himselfe sware firste, so did his frieds: other Senators did the like for feare. Only *Metellus* would not sweare, continuing in his former sentence without dread. *Apuleius* the nexte day sent a Sergeant to pull him out of the Courte, but the Tribunes defended him. Then *Apuleius* and *Claudius* ranne to the Countrey multitude, affirming that they neither could haue lād, nor law take place, vnlesse *Metellus* were banished: wherefore a decrée of his banishmente was made, and a Proclamation from the Consull, that no man shoulde succoure *Metellus*, neyther wyth

Obiection against the lawe.

Thunder stopperth any proceeding in elections and assemblies.

The Citizens against the Countreymen.

The lawe vvonne by force.

Marius dissembleth.

A deuice of *Marius* to illude the lawe.

The vvords be, Μηχάνημα and σοφισμα *commentum & subtilitas.*

Metellus refuseth the oth.

fyre nor water: and one only day was giuen him for deliberation of the matter. The people of the Citie were offended, and wente aboute *Metellus* with their weapons: he thanked them for their good will, but said, his Countrey should not be brought into trouble for him. So *Apuleius* pronounced the decree of his exile, and *Marius* confirmed it. Thus was the most worthy man of the Citie banished, after the which *Apuleius* was Tribune the third time, and for his fellow, one *Gracchus* a runnagate was appointed, reporting that he was sonne to olde *Gracchus*, the people fauouring him for the names sake. The election of the Consuls being at hand, *Marcus Antonius* was chosen for the one, without any sticking: for the other, *Glaucias* and *Memmius* contended. *Memmius* was of more estimation in the Citie. *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* feared themselues, and sente certayne men with wasters into the assemblie, whiche layde vpon *Memmius*, and kylled him. Thus was the solemne assemblie disturbed, no regarde being had now of law or iustice, nor reuerēce of God or man. The people was greeued at it, and the nexte day gathered togither to dispatche *Apuleius*, but he got the company of his new multitude of Countreymē, with *Glaucias* and *C. Sapheius* a treasourer, and toke the Capitoll. The Senate commaunded they shoulde be taken and dispatched, but *Marius* vnwilling to it, did for a shew arme men very slowly. Some there were that did cutte away the water that wente into the Temple, wherefore *Sapheius* that could not abide the lacke of water, persuaded thē to set the Temple a fyre, but *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* yeelded themselues first, and after so did *Sapheius*. And where euery man called vpon their execution, *Marius* shutte them in the Senate house, as to deale with them more according to lawe. But the people perceiuing this to be a delay, pulled the staues of ỹ roofe of the Tēple, and neuer left throwing vpon them, till they had killed all three, whereof one was a Questor, an other a Tribune, and the third a Pretor, and all at that time clad with the robes of their office. With them also was slayne a greate number of the people, entangled with their sedition, and in it the other Tribune, that was thought to be sonne to *Gracchus*, the first day of the entring

The moderatiō of *Metellus*.

Metellus banished.

Gracchus the runnagate, vvho vvas aduanced by *Marius*.

Memmius killed.

Sapheius, *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* killed.

into his Tribuneshyp, for now neyther libertie nor dignitie, neyther law nor office was able to releeue any mã, whē as the Tribunes office, created for the repressing of wrongs, and defence of the people, as a sanctuary and holy thing, was waren a worker of iniuries, and had iniurie done against it selfe. After *Apuleius* and the rest were killed, the Senate and the people decrēde to call home *Metellus*, but *P. Furius* Tribune, not borne of a frē man to his father, but made frē of a bond man, boldly did resist them, and retected his sonne *Metellus*, beseeching him with teares vpon his knees in the sight of all the people, which yong man for that pitifull acte, was euer after called *Metellus* the dutifull. *Caius Canuleius* Tribune the next yeare, did accuse *Furius*, and the people that would not tarrie to haue him tried by iudgement, did teare him in peeces. Thus euer one mischiefe or other was committed in the common place. *Metellus* was called home, and (as they say) a daye did not suffice for them that came to welcome hym home at the gates of the Citie. Thus the thirde sedition, after the two former, made of the two *Gracchi*, begunne by *Apuleius*, and working muche trouble to the *Romaynes*, was ended. In the meane tyme kyndled a stirre called the fellowes warre, whiche as it was sodayne, so it shortlye grewe verye great, and caused dissention to ceasse at home, for feare of trouble abrode, and when it was ended, it rayled newe turmoyles and workers of discorde, not for makyng of Cities, or creating of officers among the people, but wyth myghtye armyes seekyng one anothers destruction, the whyche I thought good to ioyne with thys Hystorie, because it proceded of ciuill dissention, and increased to a farre greater tumulte, the begynnyng whereof was thys. *Fuluius Flaccus* beeyng Consull, was the fyrste that openly encouraged the *Italians* to aske the freedome of *Rome*, that of subiectes they myghte bee coequall in authoritie. And because hee was so earnest in the cause, the Senatoures sente hym to a farrayne warre, where hee laboured to bee Tribune. When hys office shoulde ende, and brought to passe that hee was chosen Tribune wyth *Gracchus* the yonger, both the whyche going aboute to make lawes in the fauoure of the *Italians*, were slayne

Furius.

Metellus the dutifull.

Furius torne in peeces.

Metellus reuoked.

The thirde sedition.

Fellowes warr, and the cause of it.

Flaccus sent into Tiberia.

(as

(as yée haue heard,) whereby the *Italians* were the more sharplye set, taking it greuously, that they were rather vsed lyke vnderlyngs than fellowes, and that *Fuluius* and *Gracchus* for theyr sakes were so destroyed, after whome, *Liuius Drusus* a noble man and Tribune, hadde promised the *Italians* to make a lawe in theyr fauoure, touchyng the freedome of the Citie, whereof they were verye desirous, as the onely meane, of Seruauntes to bée made Superioures. To gratifye the people of *Rome*, the Tribune ledde newe inhabitances, as well into *Italie* as *Sicelie*, determined before, but tyll that tyme deferred. Hée also toke in hande to make pacification betweene the Senatoures and the Gentlemen whyche were fallen out for authoritie of iudiciall matters, and when hée sawe hée coulde not directlye restore the Senate to theyr former iurisdiction, he vsed a policie wyth them both, for where the Senate by reason of sedition, were scarcely the number of thrée hundred, hée deuised that so many more shoulde bée chosen of the Gentlemen, and of them all, Iudges to bée chosen in tyme to come, to heare matters of corruption, whyche was nowe no more regarded, for men were waren so shameleſſe, as it was thoughte no faulte: but thys policie hadde contrarie succeſſe, for the Senate was greeued that so many Gentlemen shoulde so suddaynely bée made theyr fellowes, béeyng vnlyke that they in lyke authoritie would agrée with them. The Gentlemen were afrayde that the whole order of iudgementes shoulde be in the Senate, the which thing, now hauing tasted of great gaine, with much authoritie they began, (not without cause) to suspect: beside forth an emulation grew among themselues, which of thē shoulde be thought worthier than other, to be chosen to the thrée C. and he that was, was sure to be enuied: but nothing did more trouble them, than that the triall of corruption shoulde be called agayne to the ordinary court, the which was now out of vse, and in this, the Senate and the Gentlemen, though they agréed not among themselues, yet they both conspired agaynste *Drusus*. The people was pleased wyth theyr newe habitations. But the *Italians*, for whose sakes the Tribune hadde begunne all

Liuius Drusus.

Encreaſe of Senators.

Drusus said there vvas nothing novv left to be deuided, but earth or ayre.

It should seeme by some that he vvould haue reuoked certayne inhabitancies.

all these things, could not away with the placing of newe habitacions, for if the diuision of common land should ceasse, the rich men, some by force and some by fraude woulde winne it, and streight get it from them, and be euill neyghbours to them that would withholde them. The *Tuscanes* and the *Vmbrians* hauing the like affection, were brought of the Consull in pretence to dispatche *Drusus*, but in very deede to resist the lawe, againste the which they openly cryed and expected the day of determination. When the Tribune hearde of this, he came not abroade, but gaue audience at home in a darke gallerie, and in an euening dismissing the people, it hapned so that he cryed, I am hurt, and with ỹ word he fell downe dead, & it was found ỹ he was stricke with a Shomakers knife in ỹ flanke. Thus *Drusus* ỹ Tribune was slayne. The Gentlemen of this determination toke occasion to picke quarels againste their enimies, and induced *Q. Valerius* the Tribune to take vppon him to accuse all them that eyther priuily or apertly had furthered the *Italians* in the publique matters, hoping thereby the great men should haue bin brought into slaunders and diffamation, and they be their Judges, whych being ridde away, they shoulde yet haue greater power in the common wealth. And whereas other Tribunes did refuse to propound the lawe, the Gentlemen with swords in hand, did compasse the place, and caused the law to be made, which as sone as they had obteyned, they brought in accusers againste the Senatours, whereof one *Bestius* woulde not obey, but wente into voluntarie banishment, as he that would not giue himselfe into the hands of his enimies. *Cotta* appeared in iudgement, and when he had very boldly declared his seruice for the common wealth, and reprehended the Gentlemen, before he shoulde be cast out by decree, he wente away willingly. *Mummius* that ouercame *Greece*, being promised of the Gentlemen to be released, was deceyued, and forced with shame to flee iudgement, and to leade his lyfe in the Ile of *Delos*. The people began to be greeued at this disorder increasing dayly againste the best men, lamenting that so many and so good Citizẽs should be so suddainely taken from them. The *Italians* hearing of *Drusus* death, and the cause of so many

Drusus slayne.

Q. Valerius.

Bestius exiles himselfe.

Cotta vvillingly exiled.

Mummius exiled vvho ouerthrevv *Cornelius* and thereof vvas called *Achaicus*, bycause it stoode in *Achaia*.

mens

mens exile, thinking no longer to be suffered, that such a sort of their chiefe patrones should be thus vsed, and not hoping any other way to obteyne the frædome of the Citie, determined to leaue the *Romaines*, and to make warre vpon them. At the beginning of this confederacie, they secretely gaue hostages for assurance of their faith, which thing was long hidde to the *Romaines*, bycause of their dissention and iudiciall causes, but when it was perceyued, they sente diuers abroade to vnderstand the thyng closely, one of the whiche, marking that a yong man of the Citie of * *Asculi* was deliuered to an other citie as pledge, he did vtter it to *Seruilius* the Præsident of that prouince: for at that time, it should seeme, that the *Romaines* had præsidents in diuers partes of *Italy*, whiche manner *Hadriane* when he was Emperoure desired to renue, but it cõtinued not lõg after his time. *Seruilius* came in great anger to *Asculi* at a feast, and sharply rebuked them, wherevpon they killed him, bycause they were discouered by hym. They killed also *Fonteius* ỹ was his legate. They had ỹ name of Legates among the *Romaines*, that were sent in commission to the Præsidents of the Countrey. After these two were slayne, there was as little courtesie shewed to the rest of the *Romaines*, for they were al killed, and their goodes set to spoyle. The conspiracie being now opened, all the neighbours about *Asculi* wente to armes. The *Marsians*, the *Malinians*, the *Vestinians*, the *Marucians*, and beside them the *Picentines*, the *Ferentines*, the *Hyrpinians*, the *Hirsians*, the *Pompeyans*, the *Venusians*, the *Iapigianes*, and the *Samnites*, whiche people before had euer bin enimies, and hurtfull to the *Romaines*. All other nations from the floud * *Lario*, which floweth, as I take it at * *Linterno*, to ỹ Gulfe of *Ionia*, did send theyr Embassadors to the *Romaines*, complayning, that where the Senate had vsed their seruice and trauell, alwayes in getting theyr great Empire, they made no regard of it, nor for all their paines thought them worthy to be partaker of their Citie. To whome the Senate sharply answered, that if they repented theyr former doings, they shoulde send Embassadors, if not, they shoulde sende none. They as men desperate, prepared for the warre, and made a common army of all the Cities, one of fotemen, and an other

* *Ascolo*, Thys Citie is in that part that is called *Abruzzo*, neere to the territorie of *Ancona*, appertayning to the Pope.

There is another of thys name in *Apulia*, called *Ascoli di Satriano* for a difference.

Presidents.

Hadriane the Emperoure.

Proconsulles.

Seruilius killed at *Asculi*.

Fonteius killed.

Marsians in Campania di Roma.

Malmiãs in Campania felici.

Vestinians in Abruzzo.

Marusians Abruzzo.

Picentines Campanites di Lauoro.

Ferentines in Catio.

Hirsians Abruzzo.

Pompeyans in terra di Lauoro.

Venusians in Apulia.

Iapigianes otrãto.

Samnites Abruzzo.

All these natiõs be beyõd *Rome.*

* The floud *Lario*, now *Glariano* in *Campania.*

* *Linterno* was a Citie in *Campania*, where *Scipio* chose to ende his life, after he had found the people of *Rome* vnthankefull.

of Horſemen, to the number of one hundred thouſande. The *Romaines* made power as greate againſte them, partly of their owne, and partlye of the Confederate Cities that yet remayned in league. *Sextus Iulius Cæſar*, and *Publius Rutilius Lupus*, then Conſulles, were leaders both, as in a warre at hande, and daungerous. The reſt remayned at home to defende the gates and the walles, and bycauſe mens mindes were entangled thys waye and that waye, by reaſon of the newe lawe, they appoynted aſſiſtantes to the Conſulles, whome they called Legates, menne of the beſt ſorte. To *Rutilius*, was ioyned *Cneus Pompeyus*, father to *Pompey* that was ſurnamed Greate, *Quintus Capio*, *Caius Perpenna*, and *Valerius Meſſala*. To *Sextus Cæſar P. Lentulus*, brother of the ſayde *Cæſar*, *Titus Didius*, *Licinius Craſſus*, and *Cornelius Sylla*. And beſide theſe, *Marcus Marcellus*. Theſe many appoynted to the Conſuls, ſerued as Lieutenantes in ſeuerall places, and the Conſuls wente ouer all, to whome and to the other the *Romaines* ſente euer newe ſupplyes, as in a trouble of greate daunger.

The army of the *Italians*.

Sex. Iulius Cæſar. P. Rutilius Conſulles.

Aſſiſtantes to the Conſulles.

The *Italians* hadde theyr Captaynes out of euerye Citie, beſyde the whyche, as in a generall cauſe, theſe were the Generalles, *T. Afranius*, *C. Poncilius*, *Marius Ignatius*, *Quintus Pompedius*, *C. Papius*, *M. Lampronius*, *C. Iudacilius*, *Hirius Aſinius*, and *Vetius Cato*. Theſe deuidyng theyr armyes togyther, wente againſte the Romayne Captaynes many tymes with the aduantage, and many tymes wyth the loſſe, the chiefe of both the whyche briefly to declare, were theſe: *Vetius Cato* putte to flighte, *Sextus Iulius* kylled two thouſande of hys menne, and droue him to *Aſernia*, a Citie of the Romayne deuotion; where ſtandyng to theyr defence, *L. Scipio* and *L. Acilius* in ſlaues apparell fledde awaye, and the enimies wyth tyme and hunger conſumed them. *Marius Ignatius* toke *Venafro* by treaſon, and kylled two companies of the *Romaines*.

Generalles of the *Italians*.

Sextus Iulius ouerthrowyne.

Venafro loſt. It is neere the mount *Vulturne*.

P. Preſenteius dyd ouerthrowe *Perpenna* a leader of tenne thouſande, kylled foure thouſande, and toke the armoure from the

Perpenna ouerthrowyne and diſcharged.

moſt

moste parte of the reſt. Wherefore *Rutilius* the Conſull diſcharged *Perpenna* of hys leading, and committed the remnaunte of the Armye to *C. Marius*. *M. Lamponius* ſlewe eyghte hundred of them that were with *Licinius Craſſus*, and chaſed the other to the Citie of *Grumento*. *C. Papius* gate *Nola* by treacherie, and made Proclamation to two thouſande *Romaines* that were there, to come and ſerue, whyche they dyd, and hée accepted them: but the Captaynes that refuſed to obey hys Proclamation, hée toke, and famiſhed them to deathe. He wanne alſo *Caſtabuli*, *Minturnio*, and *Salerno*, that were habitations of *Rome*, and cauſed all the priſoners and Captyues to ſerue in hys Campe. He burned all aboute the compaſſe of *Nuceria*, whyche cauſed the nexte Cities to yéelde for feare. Hée requyryng an armye of them, they ſente hym tenne thouſande menne, and one thouſande Horſe, wyth the whyche hée beſeeged *Acerre*. *Sextus Cæſar* wyth tenne thouſande Frenche ſotemen, and manye *Numidian* Horſemenne, approched to *Acerre*.

Grumento. *Li. Craſſius* loſt. *Nola* vvonne, a Citie not farre from *Naples*.

Caſtabuli in *Campania*, *Minturna* in *Campania*, vvhere *Marius* hidde himſelfe. *Salerno* beyonde *Naples*. *Nuceria* beſeeged, thirtie miles from *Naples*. *Acerre* a Citie in *Campania*, vvhiche *Anniball* burned, the people beeyng eſcaped.

Papius brought out of *Venuſio*, *Oxintha*, ſonne to *Iugurthe* ſometyme kyng of *Numidia*, where hée was kepte of the *Romaines*, and claddyng hym wyth Purple, ſhewed hym manye tymes to the *Numidianes* that were wyth *Cæſar*, of the whyche manye fledde thycke vnto hym as to theyr kyng. Wherefore *Cæſar* ſente awaye the reſt as ſuſpected into theyr Countrey, after the whiche, *Papius* came vppon hym wyth contempte, and bette downe parte of hys trenche. Hée ſente hys Horſemenne aboute, whyche kylled fyre thouſande of *Papius* Souldyoures, whiche done, *Cæſar* remoued the Campe from *Acerre*.

Oxintha ſonne to *Iugurth*. *Venuſio* in *Apulia*. *Numidians*. *Papius* loſeth.

To *Iudacilius* in *Iapigia*, the *Canuſians*, *Venuſians*, and manye other Cyties dyd yéelde, ſome that woulde not hée ouercome, and as manye noble menne of the *Romaynes* as he founde, hée ſlewe, the Commons and the ſlaues hée vſed in hys Hoſt.

Rutilius the Conſull, and *C. Marius* made Bryages, not farre aſunder, to paſſe ouer the Riuer of *Liris*. *Petius Cato* camped

nigh the bridge of *Marius*, and layde an ambushe ouer agaynste the Consuls bridge. In the morning he suffered him to passe ouer, and set vpon him with that fleyght, and many of his people he killed on the lande, many also he drowned in the floud. The Consull in this conflict was hurt in the head, and dyed shortlye after. *Marius* being at the other bridge, and perceyuing ỹ chance by the bodyes that were brought by the streame, passed the floud with great spæde, and set vppon *Catos* Camp, kept off a fewe, and made him lodge the nighte where he had wonne the day, from whence for lacke of victuall he was compelled to depart. *Futilius* corpse, and many other Gentlemen, being sent to *Rome* to be burned, it was an heauie sight to see the Consull and so many other destroyed, and cause of many daies mourning: wherfore the Senate decréde, that they that dyed in the warre should be buryed there, least the other by the sight should be made afraide to goe to the fielde. No successor was made to *Rutilius* that yeare, bycause *Sextus Cæsar* had no leysure to goe to the election, but hys hoste, the Senate appointed *Caius Marius* and *Q. Capio* to rule. *Q. Pompedius* lying against *Capio*, fledde as a rúnagate, and brought two slaues as pledges, cladde in purple as his sonnes: and to haue the more credite, he brought certayne wedges of leade, layde ouer with siluer and golde. He erhorted him to set vpon his men being without a Captayne easie to be ouerthrowen. *Capio* was so light of beliefe, as he wente with him. When *Pompedius* was nigh the place of embushment, he ranne vp to an hill as to espie the enimie, to whome when he had giuen his token, they appeared, and ouerthrew *Capio*, and many moe with him. The Senate committed the rest of his army to *Marius*. *Sextus Cæsar* marching with thirtie thousand fotemen, and fiue thousand horses, among hilles and rocky streyghtes, *Marius Ignatius* fell suddaynely vpon him, and compassed him in the same. He fledde awaye in a litter (bycause he was sicke) to a riuer, where was but one bridge to passe, there he lost the greater part of his armye, the other threw away their armoure, with whome he hardly escaped to *Theano*, then he armed agayne as well as he could, and with an other multitude that came vnto him hand ouer head, he

The Consull killed. *Marius*.

Heauinesse at *Rome* for the death of the Consull.

Pompedius deceyueth *Capio*.

Capio slayne.

Sextus Cæsar fleeth.

Theano in the end of *Apulia*.

approched

approched to *Acherre*, which *Papio* had beſeeged. Their Campes lay hard togither, yet for feare durſt not prouoke one the other. *Cornelius Sylla*, and *C. Marius* did followe valiantly the *Marſians* that lay againſt them, vnto the hedges of the Vineyardes. The *Marſians* with much adoe gote through the hedges, in the whiche *Marius* and *Sylla* thought not good to purſue them, but *Sylla* wayting with his Camp on the other ſide of the Vineyards, encountred them as they would haue eſcaped out, and killed manye of them, ſo as the ſlaughter of that day was aboue fiue thouſande, and the harneſſe that the *Romaines* toke, was a great deale more. By this chaunce the *Marſians* like madde men were the more fierce, and armed themſelues againe, and went on to prouoke the *Romaines*, who durſt not come to hand with them, nor begin the fight, for they be a nation moſt warlike, and through this chance this only triumph was made of them, where before (as the ſaying is) neyther was there triumph of them, nor without them. About the mount of *Ealerno*, *Indacilius*, *Titus Afranius*, and *P. Vetidius* togither, did ouerthrowe *C. Pompeyus*, and droue him to the Citie of *Firmo*. They wente their way, and lefte *Afranius* to beſeege *Pompey*, who armed his men ſpeedely, but woulde not come to fighte, yet by the comming of an other army, he ſente *Sulpitius* about to be on the backe of *Afranius*, and he came forthe on the face. The fight being doubtfull on both ſides, *Sulpitius* ſet the enimies Camp on fire, which when they ſawe, they fledde to *Aſcoli* without order or obedience, where *Afranius* was killed continuing in the fight. *Pompeyus* proceeded to the winning of *Aſcoli*. *Indacilius* was borne at *Aſcoli*, and fearing the loſſe thereof, hee toke eyght companies and went toward it, ſending to the *Aſculians* before, that as ſone as they ſaw him a farre off, they ſhould yſſue vppon the enimies, that they might be aſſayled on both ſides: but they would none of it. Notwithſtanding *Indacilius* entred through the Camp with as many as he could, and reproued his Countreymen for vnfaithfulneſſe, and cowardlineſſe, but hauing no hope to ſaue the Citie, firſte he killed all his auntient enimies, then thoſe that of late had cauſed the multitude to diſobey him at this inſtant. That done, he prepared a fyre in the

Marſi a valiant people in *Latio*, novv *Campania*.

Falerio in *Campania* vvhere the good vvine is prayſed.

Firmo a tovvne in the march of *Ancona*.

Afranius killed.

Indacilius.

Crueltie of *Indacilius*.

Temple, and sette a bedde vppon it, then he did banquet with hys friendes, and after he hadde made merrie with them, he dranke off hys poyson, and layde hym dowine on the strawe, and bade them sette it on fyre. Thus *Iudacilius* desyrous to dye honourablie for hys Countrey, made hys ende. *Iudacilius death.*

Sextus Cæsar, the tyme of hys office beyng expyred, was made Viceconsull of the Senate. He sette vppon twentie thousande as they remoued theyr Campe, and kylled eyghte thousande of them, and vnarmed many more, lying long at the sæge at *Æsculi*, he dyed of a disease, and appoynted *C. Bebius* to serue in his place. These were the things done in *Italy*, aboute the *Ionian* sea. *S. Cæsar dyeth.*

The *Hetrurians* and *Vmbrianes* on the other syde of *Rome* hearyng of this, they and other Countreys theyr neyghboures were disposed to rebell. The Senate beeing afrayde, leaste the enimie being rounde aboute them, they shoulde bee vndefended, sente garrisons of frée made menne to all the coaste betweene the Citie and *Cuma*. This was the firste tyme that they were admytted to serue in Warre for wante of frée menne. Those *Italians* that remayned in good faith, they made frée of the Citie, of the whyche all were desirous. Thys benefyte they sente also to the *Hetrurianes*, who receyued that frédome verye friendelye. The Senate by thys curteste made theyr welwyllers the more wyllyng, putte them oute of doubte that were in feare, and caused the enimie (for hope of the lyke) to bée the more remisse. The *Romaines* dyd not receyue theese newe Citizens into the fyue and thirtie companyes (for so manye they were) leaste that they beeyng more than the olde, shoulde prevayle in elections, but broughte them into newe companyes, deuided by tennes, whereby they were laste in the elections, and manye tymes theyr voyces were in vayne, bycause the olde fyue and thirtie were firste called, and more than halfe. Whether thys was not knowen at the firste, or that the *Italians* were contente wyth it, afterwarde it was cause of newe contention. They aboute the *Ionian*

Cuma in Campania felici. Freemade men sent to vvarre.

Hetrurians novv *Tuscanes.*

The *Italians* made Citizens of *Rome.*

nian Sea, not hearyng of the *Hetrurianes* repentaunce, sente fiftæne thousande menne in ayde to *Hetruria*, with long and laborious iourneys. *C. Pompeius* nowe Consull, mette wyth them, and kylled fyue thousande of them, the reſt returnyng home by wayleſſe places, sharpe season of Wynter, and by eatyng of Acornes, were the halfe deſtroyed.

That same Wynter, *Cato*, *Pompeius* fellowe, made warre vppon he *Marſianes*, and was slayne. *Sylla* laye in Campe at Mount *Pompey*. *L. Ignatius* wyth greate deſpyghte, encamped wythin halfe a myle of hym. *Sylla* coulde not abyde thys contumelie, but sette vppon hym, not tarryng for hys forragiers, and was dryuen to flée, but when hys forragiers were come, he sette vppon hym agayne and putte hym to flyghte. Hée then Camped farther off, hauing a supplye of Frenchmen. He agayne placed hys Campe nére to *Sylla*. The armyes béyng thus nygh togither, a Frenchman of mighty stature came forthe alone, and challenged anye of the Romaynes to fyghte wyth hym: a little *Marusian* aunswered hym, and kylled hym, wyth the whyche, the Frenchmenne were so diſcouraged, as they fledde theyr way, whereby the Campe béyng troubled, no companye of *Cluentius* wouldc tarrie, but wyth confuſion fledde to *Nola*. *Sylla* purſued, and kylled thirtie thousande in the chaſe. And whereas the *Nolanes* receyued them but at one gate, for feare the enimie shoulde also enter, he slewe aboute the walles twentye thousande, among whome *Cluentius* manfullye fyghting, was also slayne.

Cato slayne.

Sylla fleeth.

Sylla putteth to flight.

A Combate.

A *Numidian*.

Cluentius slayne.

Sylla wente agaynſte the *Hirpinianes*, and beſéged *Aquilano*. They looking for the *Lucanes* ayde that daye, deſired reſpite to conſider: hée perceyuing theyr craftе, gaue them one houre, and in the meane tyme sette Ladders to the walles, whyche were made of woodde, and at the ende of the houre sette them on fyre. They béyng afrayde yéelded, yet he ſpoyled it, bycauſe they yéelded not of

Hirpini in the *Irrutians*.

Lucanes be they that nowv be of *Paſilicata*.

Aquilano taken.

Citie in *Ertuty*.

good

good will, but of necessitie. Other that yelded he receyued, till he had subdued all the *Hirpian* nation. Then he wente againste the *Samnites*, not that way which *Mutilus* their Captaine kepte, but an other vnknowen by a compasse, and came vppon them suddainely, and killed many of them, and the other ranne hither and thither, and *Mutilus* was hurt, and with a few fledde to *Asernia*. *Sylla* went against the *Brianes*, where the common counsell of the factions were kept. This Citie had three fortresses, and whyles the *Brianes* came wholly against *Sylla*, he sente aboute certayne, whome he willed to take any of the fortresses that they coulde, and to signifye it by a smoke, whiche being done, he gaue a hote assault on the front three houres togither, and gote the Towne. These things that Sommer were happily done of *Sylla*, and toward winter he went to *Rome* to stand for the Consulship. *C. Pompeius* subdued the *Marsians*, *Marusians*, and the *Venusians*. *C. Cossonius* a Lieutenant did burne *Salapia*, and toke *Canne*. By the comming of the *Samnites*, with whome he fought valiantly, till many dyed on both sides. He was fayne to leaue the seege of *Canutio*, and goe to *Canue*. *Trebatius* the Captayne of the *Samnites*, sente vnto *Cossonius*, that eyther he should come ouer the riuer that deuided their armies, to fight, or goe backe, that he might come to him: he wēt backe, and when *Trebatius* was comming ouer, *Cossonius* set vppon him, and had the better in the fight, and as he woulde haue fledde ouer againe, he killed fiftéene thousande of *Trebatius* men, who with them that were left, fledde to *Canusio*. *Cossonius* hauing spoyled the landes of the *Larineans*, *Venutians*, and *Asculans*, inuaded the *Podiceans*, whome he wanne in two dayes. *Cecilius Metellus* became his successor to his army, who went against the *Iapigians*, and ouerthrew them by battayle, in the which *Pompedius* one of the Generalles of the reuolted people was killed, the resk fled by heapes to *Cæcilius*. This was the sharpe contention in *Italy*, called the fellowes warre, till all the same were receyued into the ciuilitie of *Rome*. Except the *Lucanes* and *Samnites*, the whyche (as it should séeme) were after receyued also, and were appointed to their seuerall companies as the former, least beyng ioyned with the olde, they should, being more in number, haue the vpper hand

Mutilus ouerthrowen.

Aserniain Brutij.

Brianes nowe *Brisano* in *Abruzzo.*

Salapia a Citie of *Apulia*, where *Annibal* was caught in loue.

Canue nowe *Berletta.*

Canutio a citie in *Apulia*, where is the best wooll in *Italy*, nowe *Canossa.*

The cloud *Anfido.*

Trebatius is discomfited by *Cossonius.*

Larinates &c. people of *Apulia.*

Pediculi in *Calabria.*

Pōpedius killed.

Italians receiued to the freedome of *Rome.*

hand in elections.

Now beganne the Vsurers to contende one against an other in the Citie, bycause some had bought debtes with the interest, beyng forbidden to take vsurie vpon vsuries by an olde law, and a payne appoynted to him that so woulde vse his vsuries. It should seeme that the olde *Romaines* detested vsurie as muche as the *Greekes*, as a matter intollerable to the poore, and cause of debate and euill will. The *Persians* also by like reason did accompte it full of fraude and leasing, but vsurie being confirmed by custome and time, they required it accordingly. The other alleadged cause of delay through war and sedition, and some threatned the vsurers with the statute. *Asellio* a Judge, to whome that iurisdiction belonged, sought to agree them, but coulde not, wherefore he gaue them leaue to trie the controuersie by lawe, putting the Judges in remembrance, as well of the custome, as of the law, as a thing doubtfull. When the Vsurers hearde *Asellius* make mention of the olde law, they were greeued, and kylled him after this manner: It was his turne to make oblation in the common place to *Iupiters* children, the multitude standing about the sacrifice, one of the former threw a stone at him, and hit him, wherefore he slong downe the vessell of sacrifice, and ranne toward the Temple of *Vesta*, where being preuented and excluded, he fledde into a shoppe, and there they slew him. Many that went after him thinking he had bin fledde among the *Virgines*, ranne into places where it was not lawfull for men to come. Thus *Asellio* a Judge, sacrificing and cladde with an holy vesture of golde, as in such solemnities is wont, was killed the second houre among the Temples in the midst of the common place. The Senate made Proclamation, that who so euer woulde bewray the killer, if he were a freemã, he should haue siluer: if he were bond, he shoulde haue freedome: if he were priuie to it, he shoulde haue pardon: but no mã would do it, for the Vsurers kept it secrete. These murthers and ciuill dissentions hapned yet now and then, but afterward Captaynes of sedition with great armies contended togither by law of warre, their Countrey stãding as a pray to them that could catch it, the beginning & proceeding whereof

Vsurie.

Romaines, Grecians, and Persians, hate Vsurie.

Asellio.

Sacrifice to *Iupiters* childrē.

Vesta the Goddesse of Virginitie.

Disorder.

Asilius killed.

after the sellowes warre was this.

Beginning of Ciuill vvarres.

When *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and other nations hadde inuaded *Bithinia*, *Phrigia*, and *Asia*, confining to the same (as I haue shewed in my Booke of that matter,) it was by lotte assigned to *Sylla* the Consull, beeyng yet in *Rome*, to gouerne the armye in *Asia*, in that warre of *Mithridates*. But *Marius*, who thoughte thys warre woulde be easie to dispatch, and very muche woyth, desirous also of the Generalles rowme, attempted *P. Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, with manye promises, to be hys friende. And he putte the newe Citizens of *Italy* in good hope, that were inferioure in elections, to be distributed thorough all the Companies, not shewing that hee wente aboute any matter of his owne, that hee myghte vse them as faithfull ministers in all assayes. *Sulpitius* straightway propounded a law for it, which if it had taken place, *Marius* and *Sulpitius* should haue had their willes in all, bycause the new Citizens did so farre exceede the olde, which thing the auntients perceiuing, did stoutely resist the new, and both sides vsed stones and staues in their defence. This euill growing still greater, and the Consuls fearing the passing of the law that was at hãd, did proclayme a vacation for many dayes, as in festiuall tymes was wont to be done, that some intermission mighte be hadde of this lawe and inconuenience. *Sulpitius* coulde not abyde thys vacation, and therefore willed hys faction to come to the common place with weapons hidde, and do as should fall out, not sparing the very Consuls if nede were. Thys done, he spake agaynste the vacation, as a thing contrarye to the lawe, and bad the Consulles, *Sylla*, and *Q. Pompey* forthwyth to reuoke it, that he mighte proceede to the approbation of the lawe. A tumulte began, and they beeyng prepared, drewe their daggers, and threatned to kyll the Consulles if they spake agaynste them: wherefore *Pompey* secretely fledde, and *Sylla* went asyde, as to take aduice: But *Pompeys* sonne, beeyng sonne in lawe to *Sylla*, was kylled of *Sulpitius* faction, bycause hee spake somewhat liberally agaynste them. Then *Sylla* returned, and reuoked the vacation, and wente to *Capua*, to the army which was to passe into *Asia*, for the warre

Marius.

Sulpitius.

Vacation.

Sulpitius against the vacation.

Vacation reuoked.

of

of *Mithridates*, not knowing any thing yet what was meante agaynſte hym. The vacation bæyng diſſolued, and *Sylla* gone out of the Citie, *Sulpitius* propounded the lawe, and to *C. Marius* for whome he had done all this, he aſſigned the rule of the warre agaynſte *Mithridates* in *Sylla* hys place. *Sylla* hearing of it, and determining to trye it by fight, called hys Souldyoures togyther, whyche were deſirous to goe thys iourney for the gayne thereof, and knewe that *Marius* woulde vſe other Souldyources in it, and declared vnto them what ſpyghte *Sulpitius* and *Marius* hadde done hym, not ſhewyng playnely hys meaning, for hée durſt not yet make mention of any ſuche warre, but only exhorted them to bée readye, as occaſion ſhoulde requyre. They vnderſtanding hys intente, and afrayde to be preuented of thys warfare, opened *Syllas* cogitation, and badde hym boldly leade them to *Rome*. Hée beyng gladde thereof, marched wyth fyre Legions. All the officers of hys Campe, but one Treſourer, poſted to *Rome*, and coulde not abyde to goe agaynſte theyr Countrey.

Capua the chiefe Citie of *Campania*.
The warre of *Mithridates* appoynted to *Marius*.
Sylla to hys Souldyers.
Sylla returneth to *Rome* in Armes.
Officers of good cõſcience.

Embaſſadoures came to hym by the way, and aſked hym why wyth armes hée dyd inuade hys Countrey: he aunſwered, to deliuer it from Tyrauntes. Hée made thys aunſwere twice or thrice to ſeuerall Embaſſadors, and wythall required, that the Senate wyth *Marius* and *Sulpitius* myghte méete hym in the fielde of *Mars*, and there hée woulde doe, as by counſell ſhould ſéeme good.

Aunſwere of *Sylla*.

When hée was come nygh, *Pompeyus* hys fellowe reſorted to hym, allowing and prayſing hys doynges, and ioynyng wyth hym in all thynges. *Marius* and *Sulpitius* not prepared for ſo ſhorte a diſtaunce, ſente other Embaſſadoures, as directed from the Senate, wyllyng hym not to come nygher than fyue myles to the Citie, tyll they hadde conſulted of the preſente ſtate. *Sylla* and *Pompey* well vnderſtandyng theyr meaning, promiſed ſo to doe, yet followed as ſone as they were gone. Then *Sylla* toke the gate called *Celimontana*, and the wall nexte it, with one Legion, and *Pompey* toke *Collina* Gate wyth an other. The thyrde hée placed

Celimontana Gate.
Collina Gate.

at the bridge of wodde, the fourth he left as a warde vnder the walles, with the rest he entred the Citie with enimies mind and deede: wherefore the dwellers aboute did stoppe him, by castyng vpon him from aboue. He threatned to burne their houses, and then they ceassed. *Marius* and *Sulpitius* came against him in the playne of *Esquily*, with as manye, as of the suddayne they coulde bring armed. This was the first fight that euer was in *Rome* of suche enimies, not nowe for anye pretence of dissention, but by playne force, with Trumpet and ensignes, as in lawe of warre. To such inconueniences were they now come by nourishing of dissentions. *Sylla* hys souldyoures gaue backe, wherefore he toke the standerd, and stode to it with daunger, so as the reuerence of their Generall, and the feare of dishonor that come to them that forsake their ensigne, did stay them straighte from fleeyng. *Sylla* called freshe Souldyers from the Campe without, and sente others to the streete called *Suburra*, to compasse the enimies on the backehalfe. *Marius* company made but faint resistãce against these new men, and fearing to be compassed on euery side, called to the Citizens that fought yet in their houses, and proclaymed libertie to seruauntes if they would come to help: but none comming forthe, and they in vtter despayre, fledde out of the Citie, and so did euery noble man that was of their faction. *Sylla* passed to the way called *Holy*, and such as made any spoyle, he punished in the sight of all men. He also set garrisons in the Citie, and both he and *Pompey* watched, going aboute euery where, that no hurt should be done, eyther of them that had lost, or of them that had wonne. Day being come, they called the people to a counsel, they lamented that the state was betrayed of certayne troublesome men, and that they were constreyned by necessitie to doo that they had done. Further they affirmed, that nothing of importance should be propounded to the people, but that were before debated of the Senate, renuing an auntient lawe, nowe of long time out of vse, and that the elections shoulde not be of the ordinarie companies of wardes, but of the generall assemblie by the rate of substance, according to the institution of kyng *Tullus*, supposing by these two things, that if no lawe were propounded

Sylla entreth the Citie with armes.

Æsquilie was the hill in *Rome*, vppon the which *Tullus Hostilius* kept his Souldioures.

First fight of the armies in *Rome*.

The boldnesse of *Sylla*.

Suburra, in the old writing *Succurra*, a streete in *Rome*, where Souldyers were placed, to releeue them of *Esquilia*.

Marius fleeth.

Holy way in *Rome* so named of the peace that *Romulus* made with *Tatius*.

Sylla renueth olde lawes.

Comicia Cẽturiata where the best men gaue voyces.

King *Tullus*.

pounded to the people before the Senate, and that elections should not consist in the poore and bolde sorte, in steede of the wise and substantiall men, there shoulde not be suche occasion of sedition. Many other things they spake of the Tribunes, in writing against that power as Tyrannicall, whereby the Senate was growen into contempt by so vnfyt men: therefore they chose together three hundred of the best sorte, and whatsoeuer had bin done by *Sulpitius* after the vacation of the Consuls, they reuoked it as vnlawfull. Thus sedition from strife and contention, dyd growe to murther, and from murthers to very warre, and thys was the first army of Citizens that inuaded the Countrey as enimies. Yet sedition ceassed not by this trial of armes, for continuall inuasions were made against *Rome*, the walles were beaten downe, and all other extremities of warre done, no reuerence eyther of lawe, common wealthe, or Countrey, being able to refrayne the violent mindes. Then was banished *Sulpitius* the Tribune, and with him *Marius*, fyre times Consul, and his sonne *P. Cethegus, Iunius Brutus, C. & Q. Granius, P. Albinouanus, M. Lectorius*, and other, to the number of twelue Senators, as stirrers of tumult, rebellious to the Consuls, prouokers of slaues to reuolt, by offering them libertie, for the whiche they were proclaymed enimies to the Romaine state, and that it should be lawfull to kil them without punishment, or bring them to the Consuls. Their goodes were confiscate, and serchers ranne aboute to catch the, who founde *Sulpitius*, and slew him. *Marius* alone without seruant or fellow fledde to *Minturna*, the rulers of that Citie for feare of the Proclamation, keeping him in a close house, that hadde bin fyre times Consull, and done so many notable feates, would not be authours of his death, but sente a Frenchman that was there by chance, with a sword to kill him. The Frenchman (as they say) wente in to him lying on the strawe in the darke house, and was afrayde, for he thoughte that his eyes dyd cast forthe beames and flames of fire, and that he did rise from hys couch, and cryed with a loude voyce, darest thou kil *Caius Marius*. The Frenchman fledde as fast as he could out of the house like a madde man, crying, I can not kyl *Marius*, whereby the Rulers

Marius &c. proclaymed Traytors.

Sulpitius slayne.

Mynturna in *Campania* betwene *Formia* and *Sinnessa*.

Marius fleeth to *Minturna*.

A Frenchman appointed to kil *Marius*, can not do it.

Marius escapeth.

that doubtfully hadde determined this, were stricken with a diuine feare, and a fame spoken from his childhoode, that the man shoulde be seauen times Consull, for they say, when he was a childe, seuen yong Eagles fell into his lappe, whiche the Southsayers did shewe, that he shoulde seauen times haue the greatest honor. The Magistrates of *Minturna* remembring this, and thinking the Frenchman was feared by Gods operation, they conueyd *Marius* out of their Citie, to saue himselfe as well as he could. He knowing that he was sought for of *Sylla*, and followed of the Horsemen, went toward the Sea by vnbeatē wayes, and chansing vpon a Cotage, stayed there, and couered hys body with leaues, he hearde a noyse, and lay still couered wyth hys leaues, but hearing it more and more, he lept into an old Fishermans bote, and toke it away spight of his teeth: a tempest arose, and he cutte the Cable, and hoysted the saile, and committed himselfe to fortune, and so he came to an Iland, where he founde a Shippe of his friendes, with whome he sayled into *Lybia*, but beeing reiected from thence by *Sextus* the Presidente, as an enimie, he liued all that Winter in the Sea, vnder the Mountaynes of *Numidia*. Being thus againe a seabord and knowen of hys friends, there sayled to him *Corbegus*, *Granius*, *Albenouanus*, *Lectorius*, and others, and his sonne, all the whiche being valiant men, fledde from *Rome* to a *Numidian* Prince, and being afrayde of Treason, departed from thence. These had good will to set vpon *Sylla*, whome they thought violently to vse their Countrey, but lacking army, they tarried till occasion might serue. *Sylla* beeyng the first that euer entred the Citie with armes, and able to haue made himselfe in *Rome* equall with a Monarch, after he was auenged of his enimie, he did willingly refrayne from violēce. He sent his army to *Capua*, and ruled agayne as a Consull. The faction of the banished, chiefly the riche menne and women that were full of money, being deliuered of feare of the army, were earnest for the returne of their men, and omitted neyther care nor cost, laying wayte for the Consulles bodyes, bycause if they were well, their matter were dashed. Nowe when *Sylla* shoulde leaue his office, the army that was appoynted him against *Mithridates*

Token of Marius honor.

Hard happe of Marius in escaping.

thridates ſhould be his defence. *Pompey* the other Conſull, the people pitying his caſe, appoynted him the gouernemente of *Italy*, with the army that was vnder *C. Pompeius*. When *Cneus* heard of this, he toke it euill, yet he receyued *Quintus* into the Campe, who the next day doing his office, *Cneus* wente aſide as a priuate man, till a number pretending to heare the Conſull, encloſed him and killed him, other fleeing away. *Cneus* returned as though he had bin maruellous angry that the Conſul ſhould be ſo vnlawfully ſlayne, but angry as he was, he ſtraight toke the rule vpon him agayne. When the newes of the Conſuls deathe was brought to the Citie, *Sylla* was afrayd of himſelfe, and ſtrayght carried his friendes with him whereſoeuer he wente, and in the night had them about him alſo, and ſo not tarrying lõg, he went to *Capua* to his army, and frõ thence ſayled into *Aſia*. The friẽds of the fledde men had great confidence in *Cinna* that was Conſul after *Sylla*, and ſtirred the new Citizens to the deuiſes of *Marius*, and thought it meete that they ſhoulde be mixt with the olde companies, leaſt being laſt of all, their romes ſhoulde be loſt. This was the plat, for *Marius* and his friends returne. The olde Citizens ſtode ſtiffely againſt it. *Cinna* ſtode with the newe Citizens, corrupted (as it is thought) with three hundred Talentes. *Oſtauius* the other Conſull defended the olde. *Cinna* his companie, cloſely armed, toke the cõmon place, & cryed to be mixed with ỹ cõpanies. The other multitude better minded, reſorted to *Oſtauius* with their weapons alſo, to whome tarrying at home to take aduiſement, worde was brought, ỹ the moſt part of ỹ Tribunes did reſiſt theſe doings, & that there was a tumult of the new Citizẽs, with weapons drawne in the way againſte the Tribunes of ỹ contrary ſide, rushing into the cõmon place. When *Oſtauius* heard of this, he wẽt the way called *Holy*, with a great cõpany, & throging through ỹ middeſt of ỹ cõtrary ſide, gote ỹ cõmonplace & ſtayed thẽ. Whẽ he had thus afraide thẽ, he went into ỹ Tẽple of *Iupiters* childrẽ to auoide *Cinna*, but they that were with him, without any commaundement, ranne vppon the newe Citizens, and killed manye of them, and chaced the other fleeyng to the Gates. *Cinna* hauyng hys truſt in the newe Citizens, and

Pompey the Conſull killed.

Cinna.

Oſtauius.

VVay Holy.

Tumult in the vvhich the neyv Citizens are killed.

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Pompey the Consull killed.

Cinna.

Octauius.

VVay Holy.

Tumult in the which the newe Citizens are killed.

and

and thinking to haue done all by force, and now contrarie to his opinion, seeing the boldnesse of a few to haue ouercome, he went about the Citie, and called slaues to libertie, but when none came, he ranne to the nexte Cities, whiche not long before were made free of *Rome*, that is, *Tibur*, *Preneste*, and other as farre as *Nola*, and stirred them to sedition, and gathered money for the warre. *Cinna* being thus occupyed and deuising, some Senators of his minde fledde vnto him, as *C. Melonius*, *Quintus Sertorius*, and the other *C. Marius*. The Senate did decree, that *Cinna* should no more be taken as Consull nor Citizen, bycause being Consull, he left the Citie in tumulte, and called bondmen to libertie, and in his place they appoynted *Lucius Merula*, *Iupiters* Priest. They saye that this holye Priest only might euer weare the wand of his hatte alway, where as other might not do it, but in sacrifices only. *Cinna* went to *Capua*, where was an other armye of the *Romaines*. He did make sute to the Rulers of it, and to as many Senators as were there. He went in the middest as Consull. He threwe away his mates, and like a priuate man wepte, and sayde. Of you (O Citizens) receyued I this dignitie, the people gaue it me, and the Senate haue taken it from me without you, and as I suffer in mine owne cause, so am I greeued for your sakes: why should we now desire fauoure at the companies in our elections? What neede haue we of you? how shal you be any longer Lords of elections, of assemblies, or of chiefe officers, if you can not maintayne that you haue giuen, and take away when you see cause? When he had spoken thus to stirre them, and lamenting muche his owne cause, he rente his garment, and ranne from the Chaire, and fell flatte among the, and still lay downe, till they for pities sake toke him vp, and set him againe in his Chaire, and toke him the bundelles of authoritie, and bade him hope well, as became a Consull, and to vse them as occasion should require. The officers of the Campe by this meane did relent, and sware to *Cinna* the oth of a Souldiour, and so did all the rest. This done, he wente boldly to the confederate Cities, and stirred them, as for whose sakes he suffered this calamitie. They releued him with money, & many of the other great

Tibur nowe *Tiuole* sixteene miles from *Rome*. *Preneste* nowe *Pilastrina* in *Campania* of *Rome*. *Nola* nine miles from *Naples*. *Cinna* deposed.

The thing was called *Apex*, which was a wand wound about with wooll in the heigth of his hatte. *Iupiters* Priest. *Cinna* to the Souldiers.

Cinna restored to his dignitie.

great men of the Citie came vnto him, whiche did not like the quiet state of the common wealth. Thus *Cinna* did. *Octauius* and *Merula* the Consuls, fortifyed the Citie with rampiers, and preparation of engines of warre. They sente for Souldyers to the Cities that remayned obediente, and into *Fraunce* their next neyghboure. They also called home *Cneus Pompeius* the Proconsull, leading an armye at the coast of the *Ionian* Sea, to come with all spéede to serue hys Countrey. He so dyd, and planted hys host at the Gate called *Collina*. *Cinna* came also, and encamped by him.

The Consels prepare for defence.

Collina a gate in *Rome*, nowe *Salaria*.

Caius Marius hearing of thys, passed the Sea to *Hetruria* with his fellowes banished, and Seruauntes, and there came to him aboute fyue hundred of hys friendes of *Rome*: he with vile apparell and long heare to moue pitie went to the Cities, shewing his victories and honoures agaynste the *Germanes*, and hys fyre tymes Consulshippe, and (that whyche pleased them best) promised to doe for them in the lawe of elections: and so hée gathered fyre thousande *Toscanes*, and came wyth them to *Cinna*, who gladly receyued hym into the societie of his doynges.

Marius returneth.

The *Germanes* were called *Cimbrianes*, nowe thought to be *Danes*.

Beyng mette togyther, they ordered theyr army at the floude *Tiber*, and deuided it into thrée partes, *Cinna* and *Carbo* ouer agaynste the Citie, *Sertorius* aboue it, and *Marius* towarde the Sea.

Ostia spoyled, being at the mouth of *Tiber*, aboat twelue miles from *Rome*.

They made Bridges ouer the Riuer, that they myghte kéepe victuals from the Citie. *Marius* toke *Ostia* and spoyled it. *Cinna* sente to take *Arimeno*, that no army shoulde come out of myghe *Fraunce*. The Consuls were afrayde, hauyng néede of an other army, and bycause they coulde not call home *Sylla* béeyng entred into *Asia*, they commaunded *Cecilius Metellus* that was aboute the remnaunt of the fellowes warre againste the *Samnites*, that he shoulde dispatche it as honestly as he coulde, and come to helpe hys Countrey that was inuaded. He stode too muche vpon termes wyth the *Samnites*, whyche when *Marius* heard, he graunted them all theyr demaundes, and so the *Samnites* ioyned with *Marius*. *Appius Claudius* a Captayne, and

Arimino is in that part that nowe is called *Romania*, next to *Lombardie*, and was the diuision of olde *Italy* at the floud *Rubicon*. *Cecilius Metellus* is too precise, and giueth occasion of aduantage to his enimie.

Marius entreth *Rome*.

Appius Claudius receyueth *Marius* into the Citie.

keeper of the hyll *Ianiculo*, and the walles there, hauing receyued a good turne, and myndfull of the benefyte, opened the gate by breake of day, and so *Marius* entred, and *Cinna* followed, but they were sone repulsed by *Octauius* and *Pompey*, that came agaynste them.

Marius repulsed.

Pompey destroyed by lightning.

It chaunced so, that there was greate lyghtnings that fell vpon *Pompeys* armye, whereby he and manye noble menne were destroyed. *Marius* kepte all victuals from the Citie that came from the Sea, or aboue from the freshe water, and hee rode to the nigh Cities, where anye Corne was layde for the *Romayne* store, and by suddayne comming to *Antio*, *Aritia*, and *Lanuuio*, hee toke them all, and some other Cities by Treason. And thus kéeping awaye victuals by lande also, hee approched towarde *Rome* boldly, by the way called *Appia*, before any victualles coulde bee brought from anye other place, and wyth *Cinna*, *Carbo*, and *Sertorius*, Camped twelue myles from *Rome*, *Octauius*, *Crassus*, and *Metellus* dyd lye agaynste them at Mount *Albano*, and considering for the tyme to come, although they were superioure in strength and number, yet hadde they a compassion to putte theyr Countrey in hazarde by one battayle.

Antium, novv *Neptuno*.
Aritia tenne mile from *Rome*.
Lanuuium novv *Indouina*.
Marius keepeth victuals from *Rome*.
The vvay called *Appia* vvent from *Porta Capena* to *Brundusium*, paued vvith foure square stone.
Mount Albano nigh *Rome*, vvith a lake, of the vvhich a prophecie vvent of the *Romaines* victorie.

Cinna sente Trumpettes aboute the Citie, proclaymyng libertie to Seruauntes, whereby a multitude of fugitiues came vnto hym. The Senate was afrayde thereby, and doubtyng of the people, bycause of the want of thyngs in the Citie, chaunged theyr mynde, and sente Embassadoures to *Cinna* for reconciliation. Hée asked them firste, whether they came to hym as a Consull, or as a priuate person. They doubted what to answere, and returned to *Rome*.

Resorte to *Cinna*.

Nowe many of the freemen came vnto him, some for faction, and some for feare of famine, and to see the sequeale of it: and nowe proudely he approched the walles, and Camped within an arrowe shotte. They that were with *Octauius* were in feare and doubte, and slowe to fighte, bycause of the runnawayes, and ofte sendyng betweene, the Senate was greately amazed.

They

They thoughte it vnfit to depose *Lucius Merula*, *Iupiters* Flicke, that was chosen in *Cinnas* place, and hadde not offended, but beeyng oppressed wyth the greate myseries, they sente to *Cinna* as Consull, and as they loked for no greate good thereby, so they requyred *Cinna* to sweare, that hee wouldo commytte no murther. Hee refused to sweare, but promised that willinglye hee wouldo bee no cause of manslaughter. Hee wylled also, that *Octauius* that came in at the other gates, shoulde gette hym away, least some displeasure mighte be done hym agaynste hys wyll. Thys he aunswered from an hygh Throne as Consull, to the Embassadoures of the Citie. *Marius* standyng nexte the Senate, was silente, but by hys cruell countenaunce, it was perceyued that he was bente to murther. The Senate sendeth to *Cinna* as Consull. Doubtfull aunswere. *Marius*.

The Senate accepted thys, and willed *Cinna* and *Marius* to enter, well knowyng that *Marius* dyd all, and *Cinna* assented to it. *Marius* spake in iestyng wyse, that it was not lawfull for a banished manne to enter, wherefore the Tribunes dyd reuoke the banishmente, and dissolue the decree made againste hym by *Sylla*. Then they entred the Citie wyth the feare of all that receyued them. They made spoyle of the contrarye parte, wythoute stoppe. *Cinna* and *Marius* sente theyr othes to *Octauius*, but the Southsayers and Diuiners badde hym not truste them, and hys friendes counselled hym to flee, but hee protesting neuer to leaue the Citie, whyles hee was Consull, wente among them to *Ianiculo*, with the noble men, and parte of the armye, where hee remayned, and sate downe in the seate, cladde with his robe of rule, being wayted vpon wyth the roddes and axes, as Consulles were wont. *Censorinus* came agaynste hym with certayne Horsemenne, hys friendes perswadyng hym to flee with hys armye, and bringing hym an Horse, he wouldo not allowe of it, nor once ryse, but abode the deathe. *Censorinus* cutte off hys heade, and broughte it to *Cinna*, and was the fyrste Consulles head that was sette vppe in the common place: but after him, the heads of the other that were slayne were set vp also, and this mischiefe Marius scorneth. The banishment of *Marius* reuoked. *Marius* and *Cinna* giue their oth for *Octauius*. He is counselled to flee. The constancie of *Octauius*. *Censorinus* commeth to kill *Octauius* contrary to the oth. *Octauius* Consull headed.

beginning with *Octauius*, continued still in such murthers of them that were counted enimies. Searchers ranne straighte aboute for to fynde their foes, and there was no regarde of Senator or Gentleman, nor no difference made. All the heads of the Senators were put vp in the common place. There was neyther reuerence of the Gods, nor respect of men, or anye matter made of murther, but all bent to cruell actes, and from actes to horrible sightes, killing, crueltie, and cuttyng off the heads of them that were kylled, to the feare & astonishmēt of the beholders, making thereof most miserable shewe. *C.* & *Lucius Iulius*, Brethren, *Atilius*, *Eranius*, *P. Lentulus*, *G. Numitorius*, and *M. Bebius* were slayne, beyng mette in the way. *Crassus* fledde wyth his sonne, and preuented them in killing him, then himselfe was killed of the pursuers. *Marcus Antonius* an Orator fledde into a Ferme house, the keper whereof receyued him gentlye, and hydde hym, and sendyng a Seruaunte for Wyne to a Tauerne ofter than hee was wonte, the Tauerner asked hym why hee boughte Wyne so ofte, he tolde hym secretely in his eare, then the Wintner sente one straighte to *Marius*, and opened the matter, whereof hee was so glad, as he mynded to haue gone and kylled hym hymselfe, but beyng stayed of his friendes, a Captayne of a bande was appoynted to it, who sente hys Souldyoures into the house, whome *Antonius*, beyng so singulare an Orator, dyd detayne wyth swéete speeches, dyuers wayes mouyng them to pitie. The Captayne maruellyng at the matter, wente into the house, and founde them attentiuely hearkenyng to hys tale, wherefore hymselfe kylled hym, as he was yet eloquente in speakyng, and sente hys head to *Marius*. *Cornutus* lying hydde in a Cotage, hys menne carefullye kepte hym. They founde a dead bodye, whyche they threwe into a fyre that they hadde made, and when the searchers came, they sayde it was theyr maisters bodye, whome they hadde fyrste strangled. Thus was hée saued by hys Seruauntes.

Confusion.

Noble men killed.

Crassus killed.

M. Antonius Orator, bewrayd by a Vintner.

Marius glad to haue *Antonius* killed.

Eloquence.

Cornutus saued by his Seruauntes.

Q. Ancharius wayted when *Marius* shoulde make Sacrifice in the Capitoll, trustyng in the tyme of Sacrifice to fynde hym the more mercifull. When he hadde begunne the Sacrifice,

crifice, and salue *Ancharius* commyng vnto him, he commaunded hym to be killed there, so hys head, *Antonius*, and other Consulles and Senatours were sette vp in the common place. *Ancharius* killed in the Temple.

Many of theyr bodies thus slayne, were thoughte worthye to bee buried, but the carcasses of so many noble men, were throwne downe to be deuoured of Dogges and Foule. Many other horrible actes were done vpon them, expulsion from their possessions, publication of their goodes, depriuatiō of their dignities, & reuocation of all things that *Sylla* had done, whose friends and kinsfolke were killed, his house pulled downe, his goods confiscate, and he proclaymed enemie to his countrie, his wife and his daughter with great daunger escaped: finally, there was all sortes of miseries and mischiefe that could be inuented, and for a shewe of law and authoritie, after so many murders without law, accusings were broughte in againste *Merula Iupiters* priest, for anger of his office, whiche he toke without any displeasure to *Cinna*, and againste *Catulus Luctatius* who was felow with *Marius*, in the warre agaynst the *Cimbrians*, and once saued by *Marius*, but now thought vnthankfull, for that he was sore agaynst him after he was banished. They were kept in close prison till the court day, and then called to iudgement, & where they must be foure times cited by certen distaunce of houres, *Merula* in the meane time cut hys vaynes, and by a writing made by him, did testifie, that he had layde of his priestly attyre when he cut his vaynes, for it was not lawfull for a Priest to die with that vpon him. *Catulus* choked himself in a chamber new made and moysty with a smoke, and thus they two died. The bondmen that came to *Cinna* by proclamation were al made frée. and seruyng him as Soldiours they did not onely runne aboute and spoyle euery house, but also slew whome soeuer they mette, not sparyng their olde maysters. *Cinna* many times did monishe thē, but they were neuer the better, wherefore in the night when they were at rest, he sent ỹ French bandes, and killed them euery one. Thus these slaues receyued worthy punishment, for theyr vnfaithfulnesse agaynst their maysters. The yeare folowyng, *Cinna*, the seconde tyme, and *Marius* the vij. tyme were chosen Consuls, to whom

Sylla proclaymed rebell.

Accusers. *Merula*.

Catulus Luctatius

Merula dieth.

Catulus dieth.

Cinna killeth the free made.

after his banishment, and proclamation that any man might kill him, the token of seuen Egles appeared agayne vnto him. He being bent to all extremitie agaynst *Sylla*, died the firste moneth of his seuēth Cōsulship. *Cinna* toke *Valerius Flaccus* in hys place, and sente him into *Asia*, who beyng dead also, he chose *Carbo* to be his felow in office.

Marius dyeth.

Flaccus in *Marius* place, dyeth in *Asia*.

Sylla thynkyng long to returne agaynst hys enimies, made shorte ende with *Mithridates*, and, as wee haue sayde before, in three yeares, and them not complete, he destroyed one hundred and threescore thousande menne. He restored to the Romaine Empyre, *Gracia*, *Macedonia*, *Asia* and *Ionia*, with other nations that *Mithridates* had oppressed. Hee toke from hym hys nauie, & shutte hym within the compasse of his Fathers kyngdome: hee returned with an armie mightie, obedient, experte, and corageous in theyr doyngs passe, he brought also a multitude of shippes, money and furniture of all thyngs fitte, whereby hee was feared of hys enimies. *Cinna* and *Carbo* beyng perplexed, sente diuerse ouer all *Italie* to prouide money, menne and victuall, the ryche menne with theyr substaunce they made sure, the Cities they stayred, especially the newe made Citizens, as for whose sake they were now in daunger. They prepared a nauy with great spēde, they called home the shippes of *Cicelie*, they kepte the coaste sure, & omitted nothing that might be done, with spēdy care and diligence. *Sylla* with haughty harte wrote to the Senate of himselfe, shewyng what hee had done in *Lybia*, when he was Treasourer, agaynst *Iugurth* kyng of *Numidia*, what agaynst the *Cimbrians*, what in *Cicelie*, when he was Admirall, and what in the felowes warre, when he was Consull: but the late affayres done agaynst *Mithridates*, he chiefly extolled, rehearsing at large the infinite sorte of nations that he had taken from hym and made subiecte to the *Romaynes*, notwithstandyng all the whiche, bycause hee had receyued certayne afflicted Gentlemen of *Rome* banished by *Cinna*, and comforted them in calamitie, hee was of hys enimies proclaymed rebell to hys countrey, hys house was pulled downe, hys friendes were slayne, his wyfe and chyldren coulde scarcely saue themselues

Actes of *Sylla* in *Asia*.

Sylla wrighteth to the Senate.

and

and flée vnto hym. But nowe he woulde come and be auenged of them and the whole Cittie for theyr doynges, as for the other Citizens, and them that were newe made he woulde not blame any of them. These letters being redde, euery man was afrayd, they sent Embassadours, to treate of attonement with his aduersaries, and if he requyred any assuraunce, that the Senate woulde fulfill it, and commaunded *Cinna* his officers to leaue gathering of mē, till *Sylla* aunswere were heard. They promised so to do, but when the Embassadors were gone, they made themselues Consuls for the nexte yeare, bycause they woulde not returne of the suddayne, for the elections, and wente aboute *Italy*, gathering men, whiche they sente into *Lyburnia*, as they were ready, there intending to sette vpon *Sylla*. The firste that wente had prosperous iourney, the nexte were beaten with tempest, so as when they came to lande, they returned euery man to theyr Countrey, as though they woulde not willingly serue agaynste the Citizens. The other hearing of thys, refused to sayle into *Lyburnia*. *Cinna* was displeased, and warned them to assemble, mynding to compell them: they with anger wente, thynking to be reuenged. One of the Sergeantes makyng way for *Cinna*, and hitting one of the Souldyers ouer the legges, an other of the army stroke the Sergeant agayne. *Cinna* commaunding him to be taken, they all made a great shoute, and fell to throwing of stones. They that were next him drew their swordes, and kylled him. Thus *Cinna* being Consul, was murthered. *Carbo* called frō *Lyburnia* them ẏ sayled thither, and being afraid of these doings, woulde not returne to *Rome*, albeit ẏ Tribunes did earnestly require him to come to ẏ election of a new fellow in office, at lēgth threatning him ẏ they would make him priuate, he came & propounded ẏ electiō of a new Consul. The day being vnlucky, hée appointed an other. That daye also lightnings falling vpon the Temple of the Moone, & Goddesse of Corne, ẏ maisters of Ceremonies did differre ẏ election, til after ẏ standing high of ẏ Sommer Sunne, & so *Carbo* was Cōsul alone. In the meane time *Sylla* made this answere to thē that came to him frō the Senate, that he could not be friend to them, that had dealte so outragiously by

Dalmatia is nowe part of *Slauonia*.

The Souldyers refused to goe against their Countreymen.

Cinna killed. *Carbo* afrayde to goe to *Rome*.

Lightnings vpon the Tēple of the Moone and *Ceres*.

The aunswere of *Sylla*.

by him, but with the Citie, that desired his preseruation, he had no quarrell: yet he said they should be most sure, that would truste to him, whome to defend, he had a welwilling armye. By thys worde it was chiefly vnderstanded, that he woulde not dissolue his army, but intended to play the Tyrante. He requyred hys dignitie, hys substance, his Priesthode, and anye other office he had, to be restored vnto him without exception, and with the Embassadoures he sente certayne of his, to require the same, the whiche hearing that *Cinna* was slayne, and the Citie troubled, returned from *Brunduse* to *Sylla*, doing nothing: then *Sylla* with fiue Legiones of *Italyans*, syxe thousand Horse, and certaine other of *Peloponeso* and *Macedonia*, marched, hauing in the whole foztie thousande, from *Pireo* to *Patra*, and from *Patra* to *Brunduse*, with rvj. hundzeth Shippes. The *Brunduſianes* receyued him willingly, wherfore he gaue them priuiledges which they yet holde. From thence he remoued his army and went forward. *Metellus* surnamed the ductifull, that was lefte to finishe the fellowes warre, and for *Cinna* and *Marius* came not into the citie, but remayned in *Liguria* to see what would happe, came vnto him vncalled, as fellow in the warre, and he accepted his societie as yet Proconsull, for they that be once chosen, do continue till they returne to *Rome*. After *Metellus*, *Cn. Pompeius*, that not long after was called greate, sonne to him that was killed with the lightning, as we sayde before, came vnto him with a legion of the *Picenes*, who for the glory of his father, mighte doe muche with that people, and to auoyde suspition, not thought to be *Sylla's* friende, and shortly after brought two legions more, and was the moste forwarde man in the auauncement of *Sylla*, wherfore *Sylla* had him in greate honour, and as they say, would onely rise to him when he came, though he was but very yong: and this warre ceasing, he sente him into *Lybia* to breake *Carbos* friendes there, and to restore *Hiempsall*, whome the *Numidians* had expulsed, for the whiche *Sylla* graunted him to triumph of the *Numidians* beyng yet yong, and but a gentleman. By this meane, *Pompey* growyng greate, he was sente into *Spayne* agaynste *Sertorius*, and after into *Pontus* agaynst *Mithridates*. *Cethegus* also came

Peloponeso nowe *Morea*.

Pireo was the porte of *Athens* nowe *Porto leone*.

Patra in *Achaia*.

Sylla giueth priuileges to *Brunduse*.

Metellus the ductifull commeth to *Sylla*.

Pompeius commeth.

Pompey honored of *Sylla*.

Hiempsall restored by *Pompey*.

Cethegus.

came to *Sylla*, that was his most earnest enimie, with *Cinna* and *Marius*, and with them put out of the Citie. He humbled himselfe vnto him, and promised to do what seruice he woulde haue hym. Thus hauing a very greate army, and many noble friendes, hee vsed them as Lieutenants, but he and *Metellus* were yet Proconsuls, and had the highest place: for it was thought that *Sylla* being Proconsul in the warre against *Mithridates*, was not yet discharged of it, though he were iudged a Rebell of *Marius*. The hate he bare to his enimies, was greeuous and close, who being in the Citie, and well coniecturing of his nature by his last inuasion thereof, hauing the taking of the same yet in their eyes, and their decrees made against him still in memorie, his house ouerthrowē in their sight, his goodes confiscated, his friends killed, and his familie hardly escaped, were in maruellous feare, and thinking no meane to be betweene victorie and vtter destruction, did with feare conspire with the Consuls against him. They sente aboute *Italy*, they gathered men and money, leauing off nothing in thys extremitie, eyther of forcsight or diligence. *Caius Norbanus*, *Lucius Scipio*, both Consuls, and with them *Carbo*, who the yeare before was in authoritie, hauing all like hate againste *Sylla* with feare & conscience of ỹ they had done, against him more than other, gathered in the Citie as great an army as they could, and an other out of *Italy*, and went seuerally againste *Sylla* with two hundred bands of fiftie men at the firste, but after with more than these, for the fauor of most men enclyned towarde the Consuls: for the doings of *Sylla* comming againste his countrey, had the shewe of an enimie, but that the Consuls and their friends dyd, had a pretence of the state. The common sorte knowing their former offences, ioyned with them, as partakers of their dread, for they perceiued certainly that *Sylla* did not minde the correction, afraying, or punishment of a fewe, but the destruction, slaughter, and vtter vndoing generally of all, whiche opinion was not vayne, for this warre consumed all, in the which, teme thousand, & twētie thousand did many times fall in one fight, and about the Citie fiftie thousande of both sides was slayne, and to the rest *Sylla* lefte no kinde of crueltie vnwone, neyther to priuate men, nor to

The preparation of *Sylla* enemies.

C. Norbanus.
L. Scipio.
Carbo.

The Consuls against *Sylla*. Twenty thousand men.

Sylla seemeth as an enimie to his Countrey.
Consuls cary authoritie.

whole Cities, till he had made himselfe a Monarke of the Romaine Empire, and brought all to his will and pleasure. All this was (as it were) by inspiration shewed before vnto them, for fearefull things againste reason did vexe all men priuately and publikely ouer all *Italy*, and the olde prophesies most fearefull were called to memorie, and manye Monsters were dayly seene.

Prophecies.

Monstrous tokens.

A Mule did bring forthe. A Woman delivered a Viper for a child. God with earthquakes shaked the Citie, and ouerthrewe many Temples: and that that most greeued ȳ *Romaines*, the Capitoll that before from the Kings had continued foure hundred yeares, was sette a fyre, and no man coulde tell the cause, all the which did foreshew the multitude of men to be killed, the ouerthrowe of *Italy*, the Captiuitie of *Rome* and hir Citizens, and the change of the common wealth. This warre beganne when *Sylla* arriued at *Brunduse* the CLXXXIII. *Olympiad*. The length of it is not so great, as the sharpnesse of the extremities, euerye man his priuate meanes was followed, bycause the vehemencie of their affections caused in short time the more and sharper effects to followe. Three yeares it continued in *Italy*, till *Sylla* gote the principalitie. In *Spayne* it continued longer, but the battayles, the skirmishes, the expugation of fortes, the seges, and all the formes of warres in *Italy*, both of the whole armies, and of part of them, by their seuerall Captaynes were many, and al notable. The greatest and most worthy of the whiche to speake briefly were these. The first was at *Canusium* by the Proconsuls against *Norbanum*, where *Norbanus* lost vj. M. men, and *Sylla* lxx. but many moe were wounded. *Norbanus* fledde to *Capua*. *Sylla* and *Metellus* being at *Theano*, *Lucius Scipio* came with an other armye verye faintly, and desired peace might be made. They that were wyth *Sylla* sent to *Scipio* to agree vpon articles, not so much hoping so to do any good, as bycause they thought his army would rather reuolt, by reason of their discouragemēt: yet they met, & *Scipio* toke hostages for the agreemēts, & went, & came into the field. Three of eyther side did conferre, so as it was not knowen what they dyd. *Scipio* thought good to send *Sertorius* to *Norbanus* his felow, to signifie what was spoken of, both armies remaining in quiet loking

The sharpnesse of this warre.

malis

Three yeares lasted this warre.

The battayle at *Canusio*. This is the place called *Canne*, where *Annibal* gaue the *Romanes* their great ouerthrowe. Another of that name *Canossa*. *Theano* in *Apulia*.

for

for answere. *Sertorius* in his iourney toke *Sweſſa*, that was a towne of *Sylles*. *Sylla* sent a messenger to complaine with *Scipio*. He either priuie to the fact, or doubting of the answere, as a thing not fitte for *Sertorius*, sent the hostages againe to *Sylla*. His army being offended at this deede of *Sertorius* in a time of treaty, and at the sending againe of ỹ hostages, not being required, layde al the blame vpon the Consuls, & priuily cõpacted to reuolt to *Sylla* if he would draw nere, which he doing, they al wẽt vnto him, leauing *Scipio* the Consull, & *Lucius* his sonne in the tente, & were taken of *Sylla*. We thinke it is a strange thing, farre vnfitte for a Captayne, to be ignorãt of such a practise of his whole army. Whẽ *Sylla* could not persuade *Scipio*, he did let him & his sonne goe without hurte, & sent other mẽ to *Norbanus* to treate of conditions, eyther bycause he was afraid of ỹ force of *Italy* ỹ conspired with the Consuls, or ỹ he went about to deceiue him as he had done *Scipio*, but no man cõming with answer (bycause it semeth *Norbanus* feared the like blame of his army) *Sylla* marched toward him, walking al things as an enimie. *Norbanus* did the like, but toke other wayes. *Carbo* made hast to the Citie, & proclaimed *Metellus* & other that were gone to *Sylla*, Rebels. At this time ỹ Capitoll was on fire, & some say it was *Carboes* worke or the Consuls, some say *Sylla* sente to do it, but the certẽtie is vnknowen, & I could neuer learne which way it came. *Sertorius* being before chose Pretor of *Iberia*, after he had deteined *Sweſſa*, he fled into his prouince, and the former Pretors not receiuing him, it caused the *Romaines* to haue much to do. The army of ỹ Consuls encreased euery day frõ the more part of *Italy*, & from the hither side of *France*, aboute *Eridanus* the Riuer. *Sylla* was not idle, but sente some of his into euery place of *Italy*. He gote many for loue, some for feare, some for money, and some for hope, and thus was the reſt of that Sommer consumed. The yeare folowing, *Papirius*, *Carbo* agayne, and *Marius*, nephew to the mighty *Marius*, being xxbij. yeares old, were chosen Consuls, the Winter & the cold continuing long, did deuide thẽ asunder. At the beginning of the Spring, about the floud *Aesis*, frõ morning tyl midday, was a greate battaile fought, betwixt *Metellus* and *Carinna*, one of *Carbos* Pretors, at the which *Carinna* losing manye,

Sweſſa taken in the time of treatie by *Sertorius*, a Citie in *Campania* nigh *Mons Massico*.

Scipio the Consull betrayd of his army.

Iupiters Temple in the Capitoll on fire.

Sertorius fleeth into *Spayne*.

Riuer of Po.

Aesis nowe *Fiemesino* betweene *Spoleto* and *Ancona*.

The fight betweene *Metellus* and *Carinna*.

fled away, all ỳ Countrey yelded to *Metellus*, & forsoke the Consuls. *Carbo* came vpõ *Metellus* & beseged him, til he heard ỳ *Marius* the other Consull had a great ouerthrow at *Preneste*. Then he remoued his Cãp toward *Arimino*, ỳ rereward wherof was set on of *Pompeius*, and greately distressed. *Sylla* toke *Setia*, & *Marius* who was lodged nigh him, withdrew by little & little, til he was come to the place called *Holy Port*, there he set his mẽ in order, and gaue *Sylla* a battel, in ỳ which he fought very fearcely, til his left wing began to giue backe, of the which fiue bãds of footemen, & two of horsemẽ, not loking for any other turne, threw downe their ensignes, & fled to *Sylla*, & this was the cause of *Marius* ruine, for after many were slayne, ỳ rest fled to *Preneste*, whom *Sylla* followed in chace. The *Prenestines* did receyue them ỳ came first, but when they saw *Sylla* at hand, they shut the gates, & toke in *Marius* with ropes. The other about ỳ walles were al slayne & taken, wherof many being *Samnites*, *Sylla* cõmanded to be killed, as antient enimies to the *Romaines*. At this time also, the residue of *Carbes* army was ouercome of *Metellus* fiue bands, whiles they fought, reuolting vnto him. *Pompeius* ouerthrewe *Marcius* at *Sena*, & sacked the Citie. *Sylla* hauing *Marius* shut in *Preneste*, made a trẽch about the Citie, & a great wall a good way off, appointing *Lucretius Offella* to ỳ charge, not otherwise meaning to deale with *Marius*, but with famine. *Marius* not loking for any help, would nedes kill his priuate enimies, and sent to *Brutus*, the Pretor of ỳ Citie to assemble thẽ for another purpose, & to kil *Pub. Antistius*, & the other *Papirius Carbo*, *Lucius Domitius*, & *Lucius Scevola*, the great Bishop of the *Romaines*. These two were slayne in counsell, as *Marius* commanded, *Domitius* fleeing, was stricke at his going out, & *Scevola* was slaine a little before ỳ Senate house. Their bodies were cast into ỳ Riuer, for now it was out of vse to burie thẽ that were killed. *Sylla* sent his army seuerally by diuers wayes to *Rome*, & willed thẽ to take the gates of the Citie, & if they were repulsed, to retyre to *Ostia*. The Cities receiued thẽ as they came, with great feare, and opened their Gates whẽ they would come in, and whẽ they came to the Citie it selfe, they opened the Gates, for being pined with hunger, and oppressed with desperation of presente euils, they

Preneste not farre from *Rome*.
Arminio now in *Romania*.
Setia not farre from *Terracina*.
The battayle betweene *Sylla* and yong *Marius*.

Part of yong *Marius* Souldiers reuolt to *Sylla*.
Samnites killed.

Sena a Citie in *Tuscane*, an hundreth miles on this side *Rome*.

Cruelty of yong *Marius* against some Citizens.
P. Antistius, *Pap. Carbo*, *L. Domitius*, and *L. Scevola* slayne.

lyers

were in vre to suffer the mightier power, whiche *Sylla* when hée knew, came forward with his Camp, and planted it in the fielde of *Mars* before the gates, and entred. All the contrarye faction fléeing out of the Citie, their goodes he made common, or caused them to be sold by Trumpet. He called the people to a Counsell, and lamenting the présent time, badde them be of a good chéere, for he woulde set all in quiet, and bring the common wealthe to better estate, and whatsoeuer he should ordeyne, all should be for the best. Hauing thus disposed his matters, leauing certayne of his friends to garde the Citie, he went to *Clusio*, where the remnant of the warre was. In the meane time, certayne Spanishe Horsemen sente from the Captaynes of *Iberia*, came to the Consuls, with whome *Sylla* making a fight on Horsebacke, he kylled fiftie of them at the flood *Clanis*, and two hundred and 70. fledde vnto him, the residue *Carbo* destroyed, either hating the suddaine reuolting of that nation, or fearing the like losse by them. At that time with the other part of his armyes, *Sylla* ouercame his enimies about *Saturnia*, and *Metellus* comming to *Rauenna* by shippe, did winne the region of the *Vritanes*, abundante with graine and Corne. Certayne other of *Syllas* people entring *Naples* by treason in the nighte, slewe all that were there, sauing a few that fledde, and toke away the Gallies of the Citie. Betweene *Carbo* & *Sylla* was a sore fight at *Clusium*, till the Sunne went downe, & when they had fought with like courage on both sides, nighte did ende the fight. In the field of *Speleto*, *Pompeius* and *Crassus*, both Lieutenants to *Sylla*, did kil three thousand of *Carbos* Souldiers, and besieged *Carinna* that was Camped ouer against them. *Carbo* minded to releeue *Carinna* with his other hoste, which *Sylla* vnderstanding, placed an embushment, and as they were passing, destroyed two thousand of them. *Carinna* in the darke nighte, full of rayne and showers, although his enimies perceyued, but cared not for it, for the foule tempest he fledde away. *Carbo* vnderstanding that *Marius* his fellowe was distressed with hunger at *Preneste*, commaunded *Martius* to goe thither with eyght Legions, agaynste whome *Pompeius* lying in awayte in a straighte, put them from their iourney, and hauing killed many, held the other as besieged

Sylla entreth *Rome*.

Sylla to the people.

Clusio is vnder the dominion of *Sena*, where *Porsena* the king of *Tuscane* helde his Court.

Spanish Horsemen.

Clanio, *Clanius* not farre frō *Naples*, at the Citie of *Acerra*.

Saturnia in *Campania*.

Vritanes not farre from *Otranto*, but farre from *Rauenna*.

Naples.

The battell betweene *Carbo* and *Sylla*.

Fight at *Clusio*.

Fight at *Speleto* an auntiente Citie, the which valiantly droue away Annibal after his victorie at the lake of *Perugia*, and stucke continually to the *Romaines*.

Carinna fleeth.

Martius goeth to relieue *Marius*.

vpon an hill, where vppon *Martius* without any companion, the fiers being ſtill kept, fledde away. The army laying the blame of the deceyte vpon him, fell to diuiſion, and one whole legion vnder their enſignes without anye commaundement, marched to *Ariminum*, the other wente euery man to his Countrey, ſo as there remayned but ſeauen bandes with the Captayne. *Martius* with this infelicitie came to *Carbo*. *Marcus Lamponius* from *Lucania*, *Pontius Teliſius* from the *Samnites*, and *Capuanus Gutta* leading ſeauenty thouſande men, came to deliuer *Marius* from the ſiege. *Sylla* vnderſtanding of it, kepte them backe at a ſtreight where they muſt nedes paſſe. *Marius* being vtterly voyde of all helpe withoute, made a ſorte in the playne that was large betweene both hoſtes, into the which he brought his army and enſignes to ſorce *Lucretius*, with the whiche attempting manye warres in vayne, he retyred againe into *Preneſte*. At this time, *Carbo* and *Norbanus* in *Placentia* came on the ſuddayne in the euening to the place where *Metellus* lay, and being within one houre of ỹ night amõg the Vineyards, fondly and furiouſly ſet vpõ him, thinking by their ſuddaine aſſault to ouerthrow *Metellus*, but being ouercome by the iniquitie of the time and place, entangled among the vines, tenne thouſand were ſlayne, vj. thouſand yeelded to the enimie, the reſt ranne away, and but one thouſande departed in order to *Arretio*. Another Legion of *Lucanes*, led by *Albinouanus*, hearing of this loſſe, fledde to *Metellus* for aughte he coulde doe. *Albinouanus* in greate rage came to *Norbanus*, but ſhortlye after making a ſecret compact with *Sylla* to be aſſured as he ſhould do a notable ſeruice, he inuited *Norbanus* and his chiefe Captaynes to a bãquet, as *Gaius Antipoſtris*, *Flauius Fimbria* his brother ỹ in *Aſia* had killed himſelf, & al other his officers preſẽt of ỹ Camp. All the whiche being come (except *Norbanus*) who onely was abſent, he ſlew them in his tent, and fledde to *Sylla*. *Norbanus* hearing of the loſſe at *Arimine*, and that diuers of their armyes were fledde to *Sylla*, ſuppoſing nowe no more truſt to be in friendſhip (as in aduerſitie it happeth) toke a priuate little boate, and ſayled to ỹ Rhodes, in the which place, being required after of *Sylla*, and ỹ *Rhodianes* doubting what to do, he killed himſelfe in the middeſt

The army revolte h from *Martius*.

M. *Lamponius*, *Pont. Teliſius*, *Gutta Capuanus* come to releeue *Marius*.

Marius iſſueth vpon *Lucretius*.

Placentia is in *Lombardy*, vvher *Annibal* ouerthrevv the *Romaines*.

A fight of *Carbo* and *Norbanus* againſt *Metellus*.

Arretio one of the twvelue Cities of *Tuſcane*, about thirtie miles from *Florence*.

Albinouanus.

Fimbria killed himſelfe in *Aſia*, not to be taken of *Sylla*.

Albinouanus killeth his friends, and fleeth to *Sylla*.

The ende of *Norbanus* at *Rhodes*.

middeſt of their common place. *Carbo* commaunded *Damaſippo* at *Preneſte* to take two Legions, and to deliuer *Marius* frō the ſiege, but he could not do it, becauſe the ſtreyghtes were kepte of *Sylla*. All the Frenchmen that from *Rauenna* dwelte to the *Alpes*, dyd reuolte to *Metellus*. *Lucullus* did ouercome another part of *Carbo* his hoſt at *Placentia*, whiche when *Carbo* heard, hauing yet thirtie thouſande Souldyers at *Cluſie*, two Legions of *Damaſippus*, and many other with *Carinna*, and *Martio*, and a greate number of *Samnites*, who refuſed no payne in paſſing the ſtreightes, beeyng out of al hope, cowardly ſayled into *Lybia* with his frends, being yet in opinion to turne *Lybia* againſt *Italy*. They that remayned at *Cluſie*, came to a fighte with *Pompey* before that Citie, and loſt aboute twenty thouſand of their men, whiche loſſe had, the reſt returned to their owne Countreys.

France on this ſide the *Alpes*.
Lucullus.
Placentia nowe *Piazenca* in *Lombardy*.
Carbo quayleth.
The battayle at *Cluſio*.

Carinna, *Martius*, and *Damaſippus*, with the *Samnites*, met at the ſtreightes, to paſſe by very force, which when they could not do, they marched toward *Rome*, thinking (as voide of men & ſtrēgth, and for lacke of victual) to take it. They encamped at *Albano*, tenne miles off. *Sylla*, fearing that their comming myghte moleſt the Citie, ſente his Horſemenne with all diligence to encounter them by the way, and himſelfe with his mighty army came at midday, and lay at Porte *Collina*, a little from *Venus* Temple.

The enimies encamping alſo at the Gates of the Citie, a great fight beganne a little before the Sunne ſet. In the ryght wing *Sylla* had the better, the left wing hauing the worſe, fledde to the Gates. The olde men that were there, ſeeing the enimie alſo comming among the other, let downe the Portculice, and killed many, whereof ſome were Senatoures, and ſome Gentlemen. The other of force and neceſſitie turned to their enimyes, and fought all night with a great ſlaughter.

A fight before *Rome*.
Part of *Syllas* army fleeth.
The Portculice let dovvne, cauſe of ſlaughter.

In this battell was ſlayne *Teleſinus* and *Albinus*, both Pretors, and their Campes taken, *Lamponius*, *Lucanus*, *Martius*, *Carinna*, and other Captaynes of *Carbos* faction fledde. Greate was the ſlaughter at this fighte, for it is ſaide, there was ſlayne about fiftie thouſand, and aboue eyght thouſand take priſoners,

Fiftie thouſande ſlayne before the gates of *Rome*.

and

and bycause the greater part of them were *Samnites*, *Sylla* caused them all to be shotte to death. The next day *Martius* and *Carinna* were brought captiue vnto him, whome he did not pardon after the *Romaine* manner, but put them to death, and sent their heads to *Lucretio*, to nayle them on the wall at *Preneste*, which when the *Prenestines* saw, and hearing that al *Carbos* armies were destroyd, and *Norbanus* fledde out of *Italy*, and that the rest of *Italy* with the Citie of *Rome*, were for *Sylla*, they did yelde the Citie to *Lucretio*. *Martius* hidde himselfe in a Caue, and shortly after killed hymselfe. *Lucretius* cutte off his head, and sente it to *Sylla*, who hanged it vp in the common place, giuing him this taunt for his yong yeares to be a Consull, A man must firste be a Mariner before he can be a Maister. When *Lucretius* had receyued *Preneste*, he kylled part of the Senatoures that were for *Marius*, and part he putte in prison, all the which, *Sylla* at his comming put to deathe, and commaunding all the *Prenestines* to come without armour into his Campe, he chose of them suche as he thoughte had done hym seruice, whiche were but few. The other he deuided into three partes, *Romaines*, *Samnites*, and *Prenestines*. He pardoned the *Romaines*, although as he tolde them, they had deserued death. Both the other he commaunded to be done to death with dartes. The women and the childzen he suffered to goe away free. The Citie he sacked, whiche was very riche, and thus was *Preneste* taken.

*Sylla*s cruelties against the *Samnites*.

Martius and *Carinna* put to death.

Marius killeth himselfe.

Sylla taunteth.

The taking of *Preneste*, and cruell handling of it.

Norba.

Norba an other Citie did stoutely resist him, till *AEmilius Lepidus* gote into the Citie by policie in the night, whiche thyng the Citizens perceyuing, and being in desperation, part killed one an other, part killed themselues, part hung themselues, part shut their dozes, and part set their houses a fire, whiche by the winde grew so great, as the Citie was burned, and no man had the spoyle. Thus they manfully died.

Prenestines plaged.

The miserable end of the Citizens of *Norba*. There is another Citie of this name in *Spayne* called *Norba Augusta*, nowe *Alcantara*.

Italy beyng thus afflicted with fire, famine, and slaughter, the Captaynes of *Sylla* went to euery place, setting garrisons where suspect was, and *Pompeius* went into *Lybia* and *Sicilia* against *Norbanus* and his partakers. *Sylla* called the *Romaines* to a Counsell, speaking verye magnifically of himselfe, and verye horribly for them, making this conclusion, that he would reduce the *Romaine* people

Sylla to the *Romaines*.

people to better state if they obeyed him, but he purposed not to spare one of his enimies, but extreamely to punishe them, were they Pretors, Questors, Tribunes, or any other that had conspired with his foes, since the daye that *Scipio* brake promise wyth him: which being sayd, he proscribed to death forty Senatoures, and a thousand fyre hundred Gentlemen of the *Romaines*: he is the first that we finde, did proscribe men to dye. He appointed rewards for the killers, and the bewrayers of the offendoures, and penalties for them that did hide any of them. Shortly after he added more Senators to the first, which suddaynely were kylled where they were founde: some in the stretes: some in their houses, and some in the Temples: some were brought vnto him on high, & throwen before his feete: some were dragged, & some were beaten, no mã daring speake one word at the pitiful sight hereof, for feare of the smart: some were banished, and their goodes gyuẽ to other: some were sought for that were fledde, who being scourged euery where, were miserably done to death. Against the *Italians* also were many murthers, many banishmẽts, & many publicaties of their goodes, that had any way obeyed *Carbo*, *Norbanus*, or *Marius*, or any of their officers, for the which, sharp iudgemẽt was giuen ouer all *Italy*. Many and diuers accusations also were made vpon Captaines and armyes, and them that lente any money, or shewed other seruice or counsell against *Sylla*. Hospitality also and curtesie done by the way in iourneys, or any other lyke friendship, as lending or borrowing of money, or kéeping company, was punished. The rich men were most sharply handled in all these things, & when accusatiõs failed in particular men, *Sylla* turned to whole Cities, some he punished by pulling downe their forts, some their walles he made equal with the ground, to some, he put a publike payne, or else a yearely tare, some he gaue in habitation to them that had serued him, among whome also he deuided the houses and landes of the Citizens, whiche thing made them sure to him all his life, and as men that were certen of nothing but by his weale and safetie, they mainteyned his quarell after he was dead. This was now the state of *Italy*. *Pompey* had intercepted *Carbo*, and such noble men as were with him, flying

Sylla to the *Romaines*.

Proscription is condemnation of death vvithout Iudgement.

Horrible crueltie of *Sylla*.

Extremitie.

from *Lybia* to *Sicilia*, and from *Sicilia* to *Cosyra*, commaunding all to be killed, before they come in his sight, except *Carbo*, who was brought bound vnto him, and layde before his feete, hauing bin thrice Consull. After a long rebuke, he condemned hym to death, and sente his head to *Sylla*, who hauing all thinges as he would against his enimies, sauing *Sertorius*, who was farre off, and the only enimie remaining. He sente *Metellus* to ouerthrowe hym in *Iberia*. All ciuill matters he vsed as he listed, lawes, creations by voyces, elections by lottes, was no more spoken of, euery man fearing, eyther hiding themselues, or holding their peace, or confirming by decree, as sure and irreuocable, whatsoeuer he had done, eyther as Consuli, or Proconsull. They set vp his Image of golde on horsebacke, in the common Palace with this Title,

Cosyra an Iland in the coast of *Affrica*.

Carbo put to death.

Cornelius Sylla the happy Captayne.

For so did Flatterers vse to call him in his fortunate fightes against his foes, whiche name beginning of flattery, remayned firme and stable. I haue seene in some writings, that he was called by decree *Sylla* the gratious, whiche thing is not incredible to me, bycause he was after named the Fortunate, which he names very nigh to lucky and gratious. There is also an Oracle of continuance when he searched for things to come:

Penultus. Faustus.

Oracle.

Credite me (O Romaine) Venus *hath giuen great power,*
Vnto Aeneas *lasting line But thou, honour*
Each of the Gods yearely, and do them not forget.
Thy giftes to Delphos *send, and one, the Mount so great,*
Of cloudy Taure *shall climbe, where* Venus *auntient race*
At Cares *Citie dwell, and doth surname the place,*
And offering there thine axe, shalt take the royall mace.

VVhen he vvrote to the *Grecianes*, he named himselfe *Epaphroditus*, that is, acceptable to *Venus*.

The *Romaines* wrote the same vpon his image, whiche as I thinke, they did to taunt him, or to mollifie him: he sent a crowne of golde, and an arc with this inscription.

To thee (Venus) *these giftes the Monarch* Sylla *sends,*
According to his dreame that all to battell tends,
To Mars *and martiall feates, his whole intente he bends.*

Being nowe a King or Tirante, not chosen but by force and violence, wanting an apparance to seeme to be chosen, he inuen-

ted

ted this craft. In old time, kings for their vertue did rule *Rome*, & when any of thē did die, one Senator after an other did rule fiue dayes, til the people had chosen an other to be kyng, & him ỳ ruled those fiue days, they called a king betweene, for in that meane time, he was a king. The electiōs of ỳ Cōsuls was euer done by them ỳ ended their office, but if by chāce there was no Cōsul present, thē was there also a king betwæne made, til ỳ Cōsuls were elected. *Sylla* following this custome, no mā being Consull after ỳ death of *Carbo* in *Sicilia*, & *Marius* in *Preneste*, he wēt out of ỳ Citie, & cōmanded the Senate ỳ a king betwæne should be chosen, & so by thē *Valerius Flaccus* was chosen, thinking he woulde haue proceēded to ỳ Consuls electiō: but *Sylla* seuerally by his letters, willed *Flaccus* ỳ he should propoūd to ỳ people, that *Sylla* thought it expediēt ỳ one should be created the ruler in the Citie, ỳ was named Dictator, now not vsed four C. yeares since, & whomesoeuer they chose, they should perswade him not to giue it euer at a time, but to cōtinue it, til he had appeased *Rome*, *Italy*, & other kingdomes, now afflicted with seditiō. Euery mā in his mind thought this was meant of *Sylla*, & he did not much dissēble it, for in ỳ end of his letters, he signified ỳ he it was, if it should so sœme to thē, ỳ should be so profitable to the cōmō wealth. Thus he wrote. The *Romaines* ỳ now could do nothing in lawful electiōs, nor had now any authoritie, embracing a shew of electiō, as an Image & pretence of a libertie, in wante of al things did create *Sylla* a Tyrāt to rule as he woulde. The office of Dictator hauing some similitude of a Tirāt, in old time, was sone ended, but now ỳ first time, without any limitatiō, it was made very tyrannie in deede. Only for the names sake of election, they chose him Dictator to make lawes, & vse the cōmon wealth as he thought good. Thus the *Romaines* hauing kings first, in the hundred *Olimpias*, & after being a populare state, with yearely Cōsuls, another hundred Grecke *Olimps* being passed, they had kings agayne, after the Tirr. *Olimp*. In *Greece*, ther was now no more actiuitie vsed in the *olimps*, but renning of the race, for ỳ Champions & other sightes, *Sylla* had remoued to *Rome*, as some recreatiō to the people after the warre with *Mithridates*, & the troubles of *Italy*, for he pretended that he

A danse. of *Sylla* to be chosen Dictator.

Interregnum.

A King for the meane time.

Interex.

Valerius Flaccus.

Dictator.

The office of a Dictator did ende in two monethes.

Kings. Consuls. Kings.

Olimpias a kinde of shewes vsed in *Greece* euery fyue yeares, according to the which they made their accomptes of yeares.

would refresh and cõfort ỳ people after their long labours, & to shew a figure of a cõmon wealth, he willed thẽ to chose Cõsuls, so first were chosen *Marcus Silius*, & *Oratilius Dolabella*, and he lyke a King ouerlooked them. Being Dictator, foure and twenty ares were borne before him, as was wont before the old kings. He had also a great gard aboute his body. Some lawes he made, and some he reuoked. He would haue none to be Pretor before he were Questor, nor none Consull, before he were Pretor, and forbadde any man to haue that office twice, before tenne yeares distance. The Tribuneship of the people he so defaced and demi-nished, that no man cared greatly for it, for he ordeyned that hee that was once Tribune, should haue none other authority: wher-fore all they that were renoumed or noble, vtterly refused that office, and I can not affirme whether *Sylla* did translate it to the Senate, as it nowe is, or no: and bycause the Senate was consu-med by warre and ciuill discord, he chose three hundred of the or-der of Gentlemen to be Senatoures, and haue voyce by compa-nies in elections. The Seruants of them that were slayne, being yong and lustie, he made free, to the number of tenne thousande, and declared them Citizẽs of *Rome*, and named them of himselfe, *Cornelians*: and by this meane he had of the commons tenne thou-sand to do his commaundemente. He prouided the same through-out *Italy*, and to the xxiij. Legions that serued vnder him, he gaue much lands in diuers Cities (as I haue said) whereof parte was neuer deuided, and part was forfeyte by penaltie. He was to bee feared in al things, and so ready to anger, as he slew in the midst of the Pallace, *Lucretius Offella*, by whome he besieged *Marius* in *Preneste*, and wonne that Citie, and obteyned his great victorie, bycause he desired to be Consull before he hadde bin Questor or Pretor, being of the Gentlemens order. And after he had denyed him, he not leauing his suite, bycause he trusted in the greate ser-uice he had done, but made request to the Citizens, he called the people to a Counsel, and thus said. Friends, know you, and giue eare to me, I haue killed *Lucretius*, bycause he was disobedients , vnto me, so thẽ he shewed a reason, A certaine Ploughmã was , bitten with Lyce, and stayed his Plough twice to picke them

Some write M. Tullius and Cornel. Merula. Consuls chosen. Sylla Dictator.

Alteration of officers.

Tribuneship defaced.

Increase of Senatoures.

Seruants made free, and named *Cornelians*.

Lands giuen.

Lucretius killed.

Sylla to the people.

out

out of his cote, but when they bit him the third time, he threw his cote in the fire. So doe I aduise all, as subdued, that they doe not proue the fire at the third time. Thus he astonished all men, vsing his authoritie at his pleasure, & triumphed of the warre against *Mithridates*. Some in a iest, called his rule, a negatiue kingdome, because only the name of a King was denied: but other, turning it to the contrary in deedes, named it a playne Tyrannie. To so great inconuenience had this warre brought both the *Romaines*, *Italians*, and all other nations, partly with Pirates, partly with *Mithridates*, and partly *Sylla* his inuasions, partly with consuming their treasure in sedition, and oppression of extreame exactions: all the nations and kingdomes, all confederates and Cities, as wel tributaries as other, that by league and oth had ioyned themselues to the Romaine Empire, & for their societie in warre, and other seruice, liued with their owne lawes and were free: he caused all to pay and to obey him, and frō some, portes & prouinces granted by league, were takē away. *Sylla* receiued to his protection *Alexander* sonne of *Alexander* kyng of *Aegipt*, brought vp in the Ile of *Coo*, and of thē deliuered to *Mithridates*, and from him fledde to *Sylla*, and by decree made hym king of *Alexandria*, being now destitute of a man kīg, because the women that were of the royall bloud, wanted a man of their kinne, thinking to get great gayne of this rich Countrey, but the *Alexandrines* whē he had raigned nineteene dayes, sharply bearing himselfe of *Sylla*, brought him from the Court into the commō schole, and there killed him. So they for the greatnes of their proper kingdome, and not feeling the smart that other had done, cared not for others power. The yeare following, *Sylla* vsing stil the authoritie of Dictator, yet to shewe it a forme of populare state, was chosen Consull, and with him *Metellus*, surnamed dutifull, and by this example peraduenture, they that be now kyngs of *Rome*, do admit Consuls, & they them selues be Consuls sometime also, thinking it no dishonor to haue that office with a greater authoritie. The yeare following, the people desired *Sylla* to be Consul againe, but he refused it, & appointed *Seruilius Isauricus*, & *Claudius Pulcher* to that office, and he without any compulsion,

Denied Kingdome.

All nations plaged by *Sylla*.

King of *Aegipt*. This *Alexander* was left in Coo of his Grandmother *Cleopatra* with great riches.

Alexandrianes kill their king.

Sylla being Dictator, is chosen Consull. *Metellus Pius*. The Emperoures were Consuls.

Sylla refuseth the Consulship. *Seruilius* called *Isauricus*, for *Isauria* a countrey in little *Asia*.

Sylla giueth ouer his rule.

gaue ouer the office of Dictatorship freely, being the highest dignitie of all other, and surely I maruell, that he, who was nowe chiefe of all other, and alone in authoritie, woulde giue ouer so noble a dignitie, not to his children, as *Ptolomeus* in *Aegipt*, *Ariobarzanes* in *Cappadocia*, and *Seleucus* in *Syria*, but to them that had suffered by his tirannie. It seemeth beyõd reason, that he, who by violence, passing so many perils, hadde made himselfe a Prince, should so freely leaue it, & beyond al mẽs opinions, haue no feare of the alteration. After he had killed more than a hundred M. mẽ in warre, slaine so many ciuill enimies, aboue nine C. Senators, xv. Consuls, and 2600. Gentlemen, and banished a great number more, some of the whiche he spoyled of their gõdes, some their liues, not suffering them to be buryed, that he was neither afraid of them at home nor abroade, nor of the Cities, of some of the which, he had bet downe their forts and walles, from some, takẽ away their gõdes and landes, and put tributes vpon them, but would nedes become a priuate man. So great a confidence and fortune had this man, that in the middest of the common place he durst say, ỹ therefore he gaue ouer his authoritie, that he might render an accompt of it if he were required. The roddes and the axes he layd away. The gard of his person he remoued, and wẽt alone with his friends in the middest of the people, the multitude beholding and amazed at the thing. Only once as he went home, a yong man reuiled him, and because no man did forbid him, hẽ toke courage to giue him euill lãguage, til he came to his house, so as he that before was so furious against the greatest men and Cities, could now patiently suffer this yong man: only thus hẽ said, entring his house, either by natural reason, or by a diuinatiõ of things to come: This yong man will be the let that an other man hauing such authoritie, wil not so giue it ouer, which thing shortly after happened to ỹ *Romaines*, for *Caius Cæsar* would not so leaue his power. Surely *Sylla* appeareth to be in al things vehement, from a priuate man to make himselfe a Tyrant, and from that to be a priuate man againe. This done, he gaue himselfe to quietnesse of ỹ Countrey, & went to *Cuma*, a Citie of *Italy*, to hys owne lands, leading a quiet life at the sea side, and sometime hũting

Sylla, *Ptolomeus*, *Ariobarzanes*, *Seleucus*, vsurpers.

The rare resignation of *Sillas* authoritie.

Confidence of *Sylla*.

Sylla suffereth a yong man to reuile him.

The answvere of *Sylla*.

Cæsar followvveth not the example of *Sylla*.

Cuma is a pleasant place, not farre from *Naples*.

ting in the field, not for any misliking of the priuate life in the citie, nor for want of power to enterprise any thing that he would, for, for his age, he was in good strength, and of body very sound. About *Italy* he had an hundred and twenty thousande men, that lately warred vnder him, which had receiued great gifts, & much land of him, and in the citie there were tenne thousand of *Cornelians*, and other multitudes of his factiõs, al frieds faithful to him, and feareful to other, all the which had their whole truste in him, of that they had done, & in him reposed the suretie of all they had. Notwithstãding all this (as I thinke) he was weery of war, weery of dominion, & weery of the Citie, & therfore sought a vacation as it were, and quietnesse in the Countrey. After this, the Romaines being deliuered of tirannie, fel again to sedition: for whẽ they had created *Caius Catulus* one of *Syllas* faction, and *Lepidus Emilius*, of the contrary, Consuls, enimies one to another, and readie to contend by and by, it was certaine that a new inconuenience would take beginning of these. They saye, that whiles *Sylla* lay in the Countrey, he had a vision that a God called him, the which in the morning he told to his friends, & with greate spẽde made his testament, which being signed that day, in the euening a fitte toke him, and in the night he dyed, of the age of lx. yeares, a mã, in all things most happy to his end, & as he was surnamed, so was he fortunate in dẽde, if he be happy that can do what hée list. And there was a contention in *Rome* about him, some would haue his body brought with great pomp through *Italy* to *Rome*, & ther in the common place to be honored with publike funeral. *Lepidus* and his friendes were against it, but *Catulus* and other of *Syllas* side preuailed. So his body was brought through *Italy* in a litter of gold in royal maner, numbers of multitudes, horsemẽ, and other armed multitude followed. Al his Captaines & Lieutenãts that had serued vnder him, came to this pomp, frõ euery place in armour, and as they came, so were they set in order. Other multitudes also repaired, as neuer had bin sene at any businesse. The ensignes and ares that he vsed in his dignitie, were borne before, and when he was broughte into the Citie, greate honor, and exceding shewe didde encrease. Two thousande Crownes of Golde and more, were of purpose made, and presented.

The powver of *Sylla*.

New occasion of sedition by the Consuls, C. *Catulus*, and *Iepid. Aemilius*.

Vision of *Sylla*.

Death of *Sylla*.

Age of *Sylla*.

Happy.

Contention for the buriall of *Sylla*.

Syllas corpse in a litter of gold.

Funerall of *Sylla*.

The

The gifts of Cities, of Legions that had serued him, and of euery priuate friend, were deliuered, other ornamẽts were added to his funeral, the sumptuousnesse whereof, no man can expresse.

The receiuing of his body.

His body being brought in with the army, the religious people, both holy men, and sacred Virgines, did receyue and beare by course: the Senate and Magistrates, with all their tokens of office, did the like: the troupes of Horsemen, the bands of footemen, deuided in order, did attende: seuerall beneuolence was shewed, bringing banners of golde, wearing harnesse of siluer, which yet be vsed in triumphes. There was a great nũber of Trumpets, which in order did sound an heauie noyse. The Senate praysed him first, then the Gentlemen, after the army, and all the people, whereof some desired his life, some that feared him and his army, did now no lesse maruell about his dead body: for remẽbring in their minds the noble feates he had done, and the maner of his death, they could not but be astonished, confessing him to be of al other, though their enimie, the most happie man, so as being dead, he was dreadfull vnto them. Being brought into the common place before the Tribunall, where Orations were wonte to be made, the most eloquente man that then was aliue, made the funerall Oration, because *Faustus* his sonne was yet vnder age. The noblest of the Senate did take the litter, and beare it into the fielde of *Mars*, where none was wonte to be buryed but Kings. The Horsemen and the army marched aboute the fyre whiles his body was consumed. This was the end of *Silla*.

Prayses of *Silla*.

Affections of men.

Funerall Oration.

Faustus his sonne vnder age.

In the field of *Mars*, none buryed but kings.

The Consuls going from the funerall, did contende wyth wordes and spitefull speeche, intending betweene them to make diuision of the rule that belonged to the Citie.

Contention.

Lepidus to flatter the *Italians*, required they might be restored to the lands that *Silla* had taken from them. The Senate fearing this falling out, did bind them both by oth, that they shoulde not contende by armes. *Lepidus* being appointed by lotte to the prouince of *France* beyond the *Alpes*, did not returne to the election, because he intended the nert yeare to make warre vpon *Sillas* faction, without respect of his oth, for it seemed he had fulfilled hys promise, in keeping of it during his office.

The Consuls bound by oth.

Lepidus refuseth to returne to the election.

This

This his purpose not being secreate, the Senate sent for him: He, not ignorant why he was called, came with al hys army as though he would haue entred *Rome* therewith, but beyng forbidden, he proclaymed warre by a Trumpet. *Lepidus* maketh vvarre.

Catulus of the other side did the like: Not long after making a battel in the field of *Mars*, *Lepidus* was ouercome, and without any great chace he fled into *Sardinia*, where beeyng vexed with a consuming disease, he dyed. Hys armye disturbed in sundry partes, was dissolued the greatest part of it, *Perpenna* led into *Spaine* to *Sertorius*. A Battel betvvene the Consuls. *Lepidus* ouercome and dyeth in *Sardinia* in the sea of *Libya*, called *Sandaliotis*, by cause it is like the sole of a foote.

The laste worke left to *Sylla* was thys warre of *Sertorius*, continuyng eyght yeares with difficultie, not as *Romaines* againste *Spaniardes*, but as one with another againste *Sertorius*, who ruled in *Iberia*. He, when *Carbo* and *Sylla* were at warre, toke the Citie of *Sueſſa* by composition, as we haue said, and fled from thence to his office, leading with hym an armye of *Italians*, and gathered more of the *Celtiberians*, with whome hee expulsed the officers that were there for *Sylla*, who woulde not admit hym, and fought very valiantly with *Metellus*, that was sent againſt hym of *Sylla*, and being couragious to anye feate, elected a Senate of three hundred of his present friends, which he called the *Romaine Senate*, in dispight whereof hee named it, the *Choice Counsell*. *Sylla* being dead, and after hym *Lepidus*. *Sertorius* hauing another army of *Italians*, which *Perpenna* brought vnto him as a Pretor of *Lepidus*, he had an opinion to be able to make warre vppon *Italy*: which the Senate fearing, sente another armye and another Pretor, whiche was *Pompey*, to the army that was before in *Iberia*, who being but a yong Gentleman, was renowmed for the seruice he had done vnder *Sylla* in *Libya* and in *Italy*. He passed the *Alpes* very boldly, not that way that *Annibal* did so notablye, but brake another way by the fountaines of *Rodanus* and *Eridanus*, both the whiche floudes, haue theyr springs not far asunder from the high *Alpes*. *Rodanus* runneth by the Frenchemen that be beyond the *Alpes*, into the Tirrene sea: the other within the *Alpes* flowing to *Ionia* and in steede of *Eridanus* is called *Padus*. Being come into *Iberia*, *Sertorius* straight did ouerthrowe one le- *Sertorius* occasiõ of nevv vvarre. *Sertorius* maketh a Senate in Spayne. *Perpenna*. *Pompey* into Spayne. *Rodanus Rosne* in Fraunce. *Eridanus* Poo in Italy.

gion goyng a foraging with their baggage and slaues. The Citie of *Laurone* in *Pompeius* sighte he spoiled and ouerthrew.

Iustice.

A valiaunte woman.

At this siege a woman being misused of a souldior, with courage beyonde nature of hir kinde, pulled out hys eies. *Sertorius* hauing vnderstanding of the chaunce, putte to death the whole bād, being counted corrupted in like things, though it were al of the *Romaines*: then winter comming on, they rested. The Spring approching, they came forth, *Metellus* and *Pompey* frō the mount *Pirinei*, and *Sertorius* with *Perpenna* from *Lusitania*. They met at a Citie called *Sura*, where giuing battell, though an horrible thunder, in ẏ clere aire, which is maruellous, & lightnings out of reason did flash vpon thē, yet they as expert souldiors without feare kept ẏ fight, & made great murder one of another, til *Metellus* had ouerthrown *Perpenna*, and scattered his men, & *Sertorius* ouercome *Pompey*, who was hurt in ẏ thigh with a darte, and escaped wyth much dāger This was the end of the first battel. *Sertorius* had a white Harte tame, & to him very louing, the which being lost, he toke it for an euill token, & would not come forth for griefe, thinking his Hart had bin takē of his enimies, who scorned him for it: but when ẏ Hart was seene again, & came running to him, by & by, as by ẏ prouoked, he set vpō his enimies, & made diuers light fightes. Shortly after they fought a great battel about *Sagūtia*, frō none till night, in ẏ which he ouercame *Pompey* in the battel of horsmē, & slew .vj.M. of his enimies, & lost halfe so many of his own. *Metellus* of ẏ other side, killed .v.M. of *Perpēnas* camp.

A whole bande put to deathe.

Pirenei mountaines diuide *Spaine* frō *Frāce*, *Lusitania*, *Portugall.*

Battel at Sura nowe Sucrone.

Metellus ouerthroweth *Perpenna.*

Sertorius ouercōmeth *Pompey.*

A white Harte.

Some thinke this battel was fought at Segobrida a towne in that part of Spaine also.

Segūtia nowe called Murviedro

Pompey looseth, *Metellus* gayneth.

The nexte day *Sertorius* with an huge nūber of *Barbarians*, a litle before night set vpō *Metellus*, & had brokē his campe, if *Pompey* had not approched, & made him leaue his bold enterprise. These thinges being done in sōmer, they retired to their winter harborow. The yere folowing, being ẏ .Clxvj. Olimp. 2. of ẏ cōfedered nations did fal to the *Romaines*. *Bythinia* giuen by *Nicomedes*, & *Cyrene* by *Tolomeus Lagus*, called *Appion*, leauing it to thē by Testament. On the other side, great enimies discouered against them, *Sertorius* in *Spain*, *Mithridates* in ẏ East, rouers ouer al ẏ sea, astir in *Creta*, & a tumult of the Fēce players of *Italy*, very sodain and sharp. The *Romains* diuiding their power for this purpose, set .vj. legions into *Iberia*, which being come, *Metellus* & *Pompey* remoued from

Ethynia is the nexte Region to Troy, ouer against Thracia. Two regions fell to the *Romaines* by Testament.

Trouble.

frō their wintrings at ỹ mount *Pirenei* into *Iberia*. *Sertorius* & *Perpenna* came frō *Lusitania*, at the which time, many fled frō *Sertorius* to *Metellus*, with the which *Sertorius* being grieued, he hādled many cruelly & barbarously, wherby he grew into hate of the army & the rather for ỹ he remoued the *Romains* frō the custody of hys body, & put the *Celtiberians* in their place. They could not abide to be reproued of vnfaithfulnelle, though they serued an ennimy to *Rome*, but this thing chiefly grieued thē, that they were counted rebels to their coūtry, for his sake, & yet suspected of him, & that with him ther was no difference betwene a fugitiue & a faithful. The *Celtiberians* also vsed thē dispitefully, & taunted them as vnfaithful: notwithstāding the *Romains* did not vtterly forsake him, bycause of their commodities: for there was not a more valiāt nor fortunate captaine than hee, in somuche as the *Celtiberians* woulde call hym *Anniball* for hys promptnelle, who was the moste politicke and forwarde Capitayne that they coulde rehearse. After this fort stode the army with *Sertorius*. *Metellus* people did daily molest the Cities, & cōpell many to yelde vnto thē.

Sertorius remoueth the *Romains* from the guard of his person.

Sertorius cruell.

Griefe of the *Romains*.

Aragon.

Sertorius compared to *Annibal*.

Pompeius beseged *Palantia*, and wyth tymber had made waye to scale the wall. *Sertorius* came to the relefe, and remoued the siege. *Pompey* burned hys timber worke, destroyed the walles, and retyred to *Metellus*. *Sertorius* repaired the Citie, and spedilye wēt toward *Calagyrus*, where, encoūtring with thē ỹ lay there, he killed 3000. of them. And these were ỹ doings in *Iberia* this yere.

The yere following, the *Romaine* capitaines with greater courage set vpō the Cities ỹ held with *Sertorius*, & toke some of thē, & other they sought to get by pollicie, as they did, not vsing theyr whole force at euery attēpt. But ỹ yere folowing came stronger to the field, & did their things with more confidēce. Nowe *Sertorius* began to decay, God being against hym, and hee omitting the laws & trauailes of a captain, gaue himselfe to delicatenelle, and womē, feasting & drinking: for these causes he was many times ouercome, falling into furies & rages for euery trifle, & suspected euery man. Wherefore *Perpēna*, ỹ from the faction of *Aemilius*, came vnto him wō a great army, begā to doubt of him, & conspired against him wyth teme other, the which beeyng discouered, some were hanged, and some escaped, but *Perpenna* not beeyng named,

Sertorius decayeth.

Perpenna. Conspiracie.

Death of *Sertorius*.

as was his marueilous good hap, perseuered the rather in hys purpose, he desired *Sertorius* to a banquet, and although he neuer wente withoute hys Guarde, yet at the feaste, little respect being had, and hee and all they ouerladen with Wine, *Perpenna* cut off his heade in the place where he feasted. The armye with great ire and tumulte rose againste *Perpenna*, chaunging they hate into loue of the Capitaine, for though before they hadde no greate lykyng of hym, now that hee was deade, remembraunce of his vertue tourned their mindes to pitie. And in thys present case, they contemned *Perpenna* as a priuate man: and thinking their only weale did consist in *Sertorius*, they could not abide *Perpenna*, & not only they, but the *Lusitanes* and other *Barbarians* thought as much, whome *Sertorius* chiefly vsed in the warre, and when the tables of his Testament were vnsealed, and *Perpenna* founde to be his heyre, euerye man hated hym the more, because hee was not onely a Traytour to hys Captayne, but to hys friende and benefactour, and then hadde they not helde theyr handes, but that *Perpenna* hydde hymselfe, and pleased some with gifts, and some with promise, some he made afrayde with feare, and some he sharpely vsed with the terror of other. To the common sorte he humbled himselfe, and suche as were in prison by *Sertorius* he deliuered, and to the *Lusitanes* restored their pledges, wherfore they were content to take him as their Captain. This honor had he after *Sertorius*, yet not without great difficultie, for being cruell, he some fel to sharpe punishing, and of the *Romaines* that came with hym, he killed three of the noblest sorte, and hys own Nephew. Now was *Metellus* gone to the other side of *Iberia*, thinkyng *Pompey* to be sufficient to ouerthrowe *Perpenna*, who a while spent the tyme in makyng skirmishes, not bringing forthe their whole power. The tenth day, with all their battailes they came into ỹ field, thinking with that one worke, to make an end. *Pompey* passed little of *Perpennas* experience. *Perpenna* distrustfull of his armies cõtinuance in obedience, was ỹ rather willing to try all at once. *Pompey* giuing the onset the more fiercely, & *Perpenna* not abiding as a Captain, and the army voide of goodwil, was some ouercome, & euery man flying, *Perpenna* hid him vnder

Miserie causeth pitie.

Portugales.

Perpenna founde to be heyre to *Sertorius*.

Perpenna cruell.

Fight betweene *Pompey* and *Perpenna*.

Ouerthrow of *Perpenna*.

a

a tuffte of bushes, fearing more his own, than his enimies, & bee-
ing taken of certaine horsemen, they dragged him to *Pompey*, & of
his owne people hee was euil spoken of, for his offence againste
Sertorius: he made great ado to be brought aliue to *Pompey*, to re-
ueale vnto him gret matter of ỹ *Romaine* factiõ, eyther to tel the
truth or to saue himselfe, but *Pompey* sent to haue hym kylled be- Death of Per-
fore he came in his sight, fearing leaste hee might haue vttered *penna*.
some strange matter, ỹ might haue bin ỹ beginning of a new stir
in *Rome*, wherin *Pompey* seemed to do very well & wisely, & wan a VVisedome of
great opinion therby. This was the end of the war in *Iberia*, and *Pompey*.
of *Sertorius* life, which if he had not bin dead, would not haue bin
finished, neyther so sone, nor so easyly.

The warre of *Spartaco*.

In this time in *Italy*, a Sword-player that kepte in *Capua* for *Spartacus*.
shews, called *Spartacus* a *Thracian* borne, had serued in war wyth
the *Romaines*, & now was as a slaue in custodie for to shew his cu-
ning in plaies: he persuaded. lxx. more of his fellows, to aduẽture
for their libertie rather thã to be slaues for shews, & with thẽ forc-
ing ỹ keepers, he ran away, & arming such as hemet with staues
& swordes he fled to the Mount *Vesuuius*, whither many slaues, Mount of Vesuuius
& some freemen, flying to him frõ the Countries, he receiued thẽ, *Aenomaus*,
& robbed the plaines adioyning, he appointed two officers, *Aeno-* *Crissus*, or
maus and *Crissus* other two Sword-players, & making equall di- *Varinius Glaber*.
uision of his pray among them, in short tyme great multitudes *P. Valerius* vvere
came vnto hym. Whom to ouercome *Varinius Glabrius* was first ouercome of
sent, & after hym *Publius Valerius*, not wt an army of any regard, *Spartacus*.
but such as for hast they could gather by ỹ way. For ỹ *Romaines*
did not think it shold need any other, nor loked for such effect at a
Sword-players hand. But when it came to the battell, the *Ro-* Firste the battel
maines were ouercome: *Spartacus* killed *Varinius* horse, & it lacked betwene *Spar-*
but little, that ỹ *Romaine* Captain was not take of a vile Sword *tacus* and the
player, after this fight, more & more resorted to *Spartacus*, and he *Romaines*.
had now an army of. lxx. M. for whom, he made armor & al other
prouision. The *Romaines* sent the Consuls with two legions, a- *Mount Gargano*
gainst whome *Crissus* came wyth. xxx. M. and was ouercome at *in Appulia*
Mount *Garinus*, losing two partes of his army and his life also. nowe called
Mount S. Angelo.

Garganus

Spartacus passed ouer mount *Apennine* to go into France be-
Spartacus ouercometh the Consuls. yonde the *Alpes*: but one of the Consuls laye in the waye and stopped his passage, and the other followed him: he fought with them both and ouercame them in seuerall fightes: so as the Cõsuls retyred with tumult. *Spartacus* did sacrifice three hundered Romaines to his felowe *Crassus*, and with twentie thousand Ro-
Sacrifice of mẽ burning maine fotemen, he wente to Rome, burning all vnprofitable birdes, and killed all Captiues and the beastes of cariage, to march the faster. Many fugitiues comming vnto him, he would admitte none.

The Consuls encoũtred him at *Picene*, where was a notable fight, and many of the Romaines slayne, and losse the day. Yet durst he not go directly to *Rome*, bycause he did not thinke hymselfe equal with the Citizens in feates of warre, nor had an army throughly instructed, for neuer a Citie toke his part, but only slaues and fugitiues, and a confused multitude folowing him: he turned to the mountaines at *Thurus*, & besieged the towne: he forbad any merchãt to bring gold or siluer into his campe, or to be vsed: but bralle & pron he admitted, paying wel for it, & did not hurt thẽ that brought it. Wherby hauing matter aboũdant, he made verye fayre armour, and vsed to seeke pray in the countrey, and fought with the *Romaines* againe, and had the victorie & went away with a great spoyle. Now were three yeares past,
Thurus in *Apulia* vvhich the *Romaines* made a colonie and called it *Copia*.
Three yeares vvarre. and this warre remayned horrible to the *Romaines*, which at the first they contemned, as a play of Fence. The election of ỹ new Consuls being come, such a terror was of him, as no mã desired the office, till *Licinius Crassus*, notable in *Rome* for his house and riches, toke it vpon him, and with fiue other legions wente a-
Licinius Crassus. gainst *Spartacus*: and being come nigh, he receyued the armies of
Crassus doth execution. the two Cõsuls, of the which he put to death euery tenth mã, as hapt by lot, bycause they had bin so oft ouercome. Some thinke
Crassus ouercometh. otherwise, that they al fought and were ouercome, and thẽ he so punished them by the tenth, & kylled foure thousande, hauing no doubt of the multitude. But whither so euer he dyd, it auayled much to the ouerthrow of his enemies, for by and by he set vpõ them ten thousand of *Spartacus* men that camped by thẽ, where of

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he killed two partes, and then with like courage so fiercely encoũtryng with *Spartacus*, he ouercame him with a notable fight, and chased him to the sea, wher he thought to escape by ship into *Sicilie*, but he ouertoke him, and enclosed him in a trench, and when he had forced him to flée to the *Samnites*, *Crassus* killed fiue thousand of them at the sunne rise, and as manye at the sunne set, three only of the *Romaines* beyng killed, and seauen hurt, so great an alteration was there of victorie, after the executiõ of that punishmente. *Spartacus* loking for horsemen to come vnto him, did not nowe come forth with all his men, but by tymes did much annoy the besiegers, sodaynely issuing vppon them & throwing firebrandes into their campe, burned their wall, and put them to much difficulties and trouble. A *Romaine* Captiue he hung vp in the middest of his campe, shewing to his souldiours what they should suffer if they did not ouercome. The *Romaines* in the Citie seing of this siege, and thinking it a dishonor to be so long holden with a sword-player, appointed *Pompey*, who was returned frõ *Iberia* with his army, (waying the difficultie of the thing) to take the charge therof. *Crassus* séeing the glory of this war shold be taken from him by *Pompey*, made hast to trie it with *Spartacus*, and *Spartacus* thinking to preuent *Pompey*, would haue made agreemẽt with *Crassus*, but being refected he thought to proue the vttermost, and with his horsemen that were come, he issued out of the campe, with al his bands, and fled as fast as he coulde to *Brunduse*, *Crassus* following him: but when he heard that *Lucullus* was come to *Brunduse* with his army from the warre of *Mithridates*, then in desperation of all things he encoũtred with *Crassus*. The fight being long and difficulte, as among so many souldiours driuen by desperation, *Spartacus* was hurte in ỹ thygh with a dart, by ỹ which wounde falling on his knée, he defended himselfe with his shield, & foughte with thẽ that came vpõ him, many of the which he ouerthrew, till hee & the cõpanies about him were discomfited, the other multitude without order fled, and were killed wythout number: of the *Romaines* a thousand were slayne.

The third battel. *Spartacus* flyeth toward *Sicilie*.

The fourth battel. *Samnites*, nowe *Abruzzo*.

Spartacus holden in.

Pompey appointed to this warre.

The last battel wherin *Spartacus* was slaine.

Spartacus

Spartacus being dead was neuer founde, a great multitude fr̃ the battaile went to the Mountaines, agaynste whome *Crassus* followed. They diuiding themselues into foure partes, fought it oute, till they were all slaine, saue fiue thousande, which being taken, were hanged in the way betweene *Rome* and *Capua*.

Capua the chiefe Citie of *Campania*.

Thys dyd *Crassus* in fiue moneths, contending with *Pompey* for glorie, and would not leaue his armye, bycause *Pompey* would not leaue his, and both of them sought to be Consull.

Contention betweene *Crassus* and *Pompey*.

Crassus seketh to be Consul, after *Syllas* appoyntment.

Crassus hauing bene Prætor according to *Syllas* law, *Pompey* neither hauing bin Questor nor Prætor, being yet xxxiij. yeares of age, promised the Tribunes to reduce their office to ỹ antiẽt authoritie: and being both chosen Consuls, neyther of them would leaue their army. *Pompey* sayde he would stay for *Metellus* to make his triumph of *Iberia*.

Pompey, after the auntient maner.

Both chosen Consuls.

Crassus affirmed that *Pompey* ought firſt to giue ouer.

The people perceyuing that discorde was readye to ryse, and two armies at hand, requested ỹ Consuls sitting in their places to come to recõcilation, which at the firſt they both denyed: but the southsayers declaring great and grieuous calamites to follow, vnleſſe they were agrẽde, the people agayne with lamentation did deſire them, recording the miſerable time of *Sylla* and *Marius*: with the which things, *Crassus* beyng moued, roſe firſte from his seate, and came to take *Pompey* by the hand and to be reconciled. *Pompey* roſe alſo in haſt and came faſt to hym, and one embraced another, gret thankes with showtes, was gyuẽ vnto them, and the people would not let them depart, til they had determined the diſſolution of their armies.

The people require reconciliation.

Crassus relenteth firſt.

This contention, that by al mens opinions seemed, woulde haue grown very great, was happily ended: the lx. yeare of the Ciuil warre from the death of *Tiberius Gracchus*.

The end of the firſt booke of Ciuil diſſentions.

The second Booke of Appian of *Alexandria* touching the ciuill discorde of the Romaines.



After the Monarchie of *Sylla*, and all that *Sertorius* & *Perpenna* did in *Spaine*, other like Ciuil businesse fel among the *Romaines*, til *Caius Cæsar* and *Pompey* the great, warred one vpon another. *Cæsar* slue *Pompey*, and certaine in the Senate killed *Cæsar*. Now this was done, and how both *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were destroyed, thys second Booke of Ciuil causes shal declare.

Pompey had lately scoured the seas of Rouers whiche robbed in euery place beyond all reason: and after them subdued *Methridates* king of *Pontus*: and set order in his kingdome, and al ỹ nations as farre as the Easte. *Cæsar* was yet a yong man, forwarde in worde and déede, bolde to any thing, and hoping of euery thing, inclined to ambition sobeyond al measure, as beyng Pretor and *Edilis*, he grewe in great dette, to gette the good wyl of the people, which is euer wont to embrace them that be bountiful. *Pompey.* Pretor had the charge of the lavy. *Aedilis* of houses and prouision.

Caius Catelina was also notable, for his great fame and noble blonde, a very rashe man, thinking it once good to kill his owne sonne for the loue of *Aurelia Oresilla*, bycause she would not graunt to marry with him, hauing a child aliue. He was friend to *Sylla*, of his faction, and a very great follower of him: through hys ambition he was in much want, & by the enticing of some greate men and women, laboured to be Consull, that by that meane, he might make hys waye to Tyrannye, and being in good hope to haue the election, he was repulsed, and *Cicero* *Cateline.* *Catelme* killeth his sonne.

chosen, a man most eloquent and swéete in speach. *Cateline*, did skorne him, and in despight of them that had chosen him, for the baseneſſe of his kinne, called him a New man, (for so doe they terme them, that grow noble of themselues, and not of their auncestours) and for that he was a straunger in the Cittie, he named him a Farmer, by the which worde they call them that dwell in other mens houses. And for this, he refused to deale in publique matter, wherein was plenty of strife and contention, and no great nor present furtheraunce to a Monarchie. Yet he gathered much money of many wiues which hoped to be rid of their husbands by this hurley burley. He cõferred with some of the Senatours & them that be called Gentlemẽ, and some of the Commons, straungers and seruaunts he also allured. But his chiefe Counsellours were, *Cornelius*, *Lentulus*, & *Cethegus*, which were then officers in the cittie. He sent about *Italie* to the that had spent their gaines got by the violence of *Sylla*, and were desirous of the like enterprises again. To *Fesule* in *Tuscane*, he sent *Caius Manlius*, & other into *Ancona* and *Appulie*, the which presently did gather men for him. All these practises did *Fuluia*, a noble woman, bewray vnto *Cicero*, whose louer *Q. Spurius*, a man for his lewde life remoued from the Senate, and admitted to *Catelines* conuentions, ambitious and very light, did boast with his woman, that shortly he shoulde be made a great man. Rumors were now rayſed of their doings in *Italie*, and *Cicero* set gardes in diuers places of the cittie, and sent some noble men to haue an eye to the suspected places. *Cateline*, although no man durst lay hands on him, yet, because the truth was not tried out, perceyuing the time to be suspitious, and putting al his hope in spreding, sent his money afore to *Fesule*: and giuing order with his confederates to kill *Cicero*, and in one night to set the cittie a fire in sundrie places, he posted to *C. Manlius*, to make an other army of the sodaine, to inuade the cittie after the burnyng. He caused the axes & roddes, to be borne before him like a Proconsull very fondly, & went to *Manlius*, taking vp souldiours by the way. Now was it thought good to *Lentulus* & his cõpanions, as soone as they heard *Cateline* to be at *Fesule*, that *Lentulus* himself & *Cethegus* should beset *Ciceros* house early in the morning wt weapons

Cateline repulsed and *Cicero* chosen consull.

Nevv man.

VVives vveary of their husbandes.

Senatours Gentlemen.

Fuluia vttereth the conspiracie. *Q Curius.*

Manlius chiefe minister of *Cateline.*

The maner of the practise.

pōs hīd, & that they being let in, bicause of their dignities, should speake with him, & by talke draw him a good way off, and when they had him from other cōpany, to kil him. Then should *Lucius Sextius* a Tribune, by & by cal an assemblie by the ordinarie officers, & accuse *Cicero* as a mā fearceful, troublesome, & a disturber of the citie, when there was no such cause: and the night after this Oration of *Sextius*, to set ỳ citie a fire in other. xij. places, to spoyle it, & kil the best me. This was ỳ opiniō of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, & *Sextius*, chiefe of ỳ cōspiracie, & wayted for ỳ time. *Cicero* to be killed, the citie to be burned.

There were embassadours of *Samnia* to cōplain of their gouernours, which by *Lentulus* were admitted to ỹ conspiracie, ỹ they should stirre their coūtrie against the *Romanes*. *Lentulus* sent *Vulturtius* of *Crotone* with thē to *Cateline*, carrying letters without any name. The Embassadours being afraide, did cōmunicate wt *Fabius Sanga*, who was their patrone, as euery other citie had in *Rome*. *Cicero* vnderstāding this by *Sanga*, apprehēded both them & *Vulturtius* as they were goyng away, & brought them to the Senate, to whom they cōfessed al they had learned of *Lentulus*, and with much ado bewrayed, that *Cornelius Lentulus* had oft sayde, ỹ by destinie .iij. *Cornelius* should be Monarches of *Rome*, whereof ỹ. were past, *Cinna* & *Sylla*. When these things were declared, the Senate put *Lentulus* out of his office. *Cicero* cōmitted euery of thē to the houses of the pretors, & straight returned & called for sentēce. There was much ado about ỹ counsell house, for ỹ truth was not yet knowne, & the conspiratours were afraide of themselues. The seruaunts, & frēmade mē of *Lentulus* & *Cethegus*, got many artificers with thē, and wēt to the backe sides of the Pretors houses to haue taken away their maisters, whiche, when *Cicero* heard, he ran out of the counsell house, & hauing set garde in euery place, came againe, and hastned the iudgement. *Syllanus* spake firſt, as he that was elected to be Consull next: for it was the *Romaines* maner to haue him speake firſt, that should folow in ỹ Consuls office, bicause (as I think) he should cōmonly execute the decrees, & therby, cōsider the more ripely & warely of euery of them. *Syllanus* was of opinion ỹ these men shou'd haue extreme punishment: and many other consented to his iudgement, till *Nero* muste say his minde, who thought it good to kēpe them Cities had patrones in *Rome*. *Lentulus*. *Cornelius*, a great surname in *Rome*. Priuilege of Cōsulat electi. *Syllanus*. Disagrement, touching the cōspiracie.

in prison til *Cateline* were ouerthrowen, and the thing throughly knowne. *C. Cæsar*, who was not without suspition to be priuie to this cõspiracie, with whom *Cicero* durst not contend, bycause he was so accepted to the people, added more, that *Cicero* shoulde place them in such Cities of *Italie* as he thought good, til *Cateline* were dispatched, and then to be brought to iudgemente, that no extremitye shoulde be vsed againste so noble men, that myghte seeme voyde of right or reason. This sentence seming indifferẽt, many allowed of it, and rathly consented to it, til *Cato* plainely had discouered the suspitiõ against *Cæsar*: and *Cicero* fearing that this might some trouble would folowe, & that the multitude that were acquainted with the matter, and then remayned doubtful in the common place, would do mischiefe: and for some inconuenience, as wel of the one as of the other, determined to execute thẽ without iudgement, as apparant offenders: *Cicero* brought euery one of them, (the Senate yet sitting) to the cõmon prison, and without knowledge of the people, put them to death. Then he went to thẽ that were in the common place, and told thẽ, they haue liued: wherat they dispersed with feare, were glad to hide thẽselues as wel as they could: & so the citie, that at that present was in great feare, receyued a little comfort. *Cateline* had nowe gathered rr. M. and armed the fourth part of them, & was going into *Gallia* for more preparation: but *Antonie* the other Consul, encountred him in the *Alpes*, and without great ado, ouerthrew him, as one that furiously had taken so horrible a thing in hand, whiche when it came to the triall, without order, executed the same, although neither he nor none other of the nobles ỹ were of that conspiracie, would agrée to flée: but running among the enimies, were slain in the middest of them. Thus the rebellion of *Cateline*, which had almost brought the Citie to vtter destruction, was dissolued: & *Cicero* ỹ before was only notable for his eloquence, nowe also both for worde and deede was extolled and plainly appeared the preseruer of his perishing countrie: wherfore thankes were giuen him in the whole assembly, and diuerse tholutes of prayse made vnto him: & whereas *Cato* thought hym worthy the name of father of the country, the people confirmed

Cæsars sentence vvith vvhom *Cicero* durste not contende.

Cato.

Citizens put to death vvithout iudgement.

Cicero telleth the people that the conspirators be deade.

Cateline slayne.

Cicero both eloquent and prudent.

Cicero called Father of the country.

it

it with a cry. This honorable name being giuē first to *Cicero*, is nowe attributed also to such Emperors as be worthy: For this title is not giuē to euery king with the rest of his other title, but in tyme with great ado is decreede vnto him, as a perfeate testimony of hys excellent vertue.

Cæsar was chosen Liuetenant for *Spaine*, and of hys creditors was staide in Rome: for so much did he owe more than hee was worth (as they report) he saide hee had nēde of two thousande and fiue hundred millions, to haue nothing: yet agreeing with hys creditours as well as he could, he went into *Spaine*, where he did not deale with Citie matters, or by sessions take order for their causes, thinking that nothing serued hys purpose, but thered men, and in tyme subdued all the rest of *Spaine*, til hee had brought it subiect and tributarie to the *Romaines*. He sent muche money to the common treasure of *Rome*, wherefore the Senate graunted him a triumphe: he made preparation of a great shew in the suburbs of *Rome*. The tyme of election of newe Consulls was come, and he that stode for the office must be present, and if he were once entred, he could not returne agayne to make triumphs. He being very desirous of the Consulship, and not yet ready for the triumph, sente to the Senate and desired he might aske the office by his friends in his absence, although it were against the Lawe: But *Cato* spake against it, so as the laste day of the election was spent in reasoning. Wherefore *Cæsar* set aside the triūph and came running to the election & desired the office.

Cæsar.

About two thousand fiue hundred millions. *Cæsar* doth go in Spaine.

A triumph graunted to *Cæsar.*

Election.

Cato agaynste *Cæsars* requeste.

At thys time *Pompey* was in great power and glory for his victory against *Methridates*: he required that many things which he had graunted to Kings, Princes and other estates, might bee confirmed by acte of Parliament. The which request many enuied, specially *Lucullus*, who made warre agaynst *Methridates* before, and broughte him so weake, that it was an easie matter to ouercome him, so as indede the feate against *Methridates* was properly hys, and *Crassus* toke parte with *Lucullus*. Whereat *Pompey* being grieued, he ioyned with *Cæsar* and promised by oth to make hym Consull, and *Cæsar* reconciled *Crassus* to *Pompey*.

Pompey.

Lucullus against *Pompey.*

Crassus with *Lucullus.*

Pompey with *Cæsar.*

And these three hauing greatest power of al, did serue one an-

others turne, insomuche as one *Varro* a writer, in one of hys bookes, did cal this agreement, a triple falling headlong.

The Senate hauing them in suspition, did chose *Lucius Bibulus* the other Consul, to withstande *Cæsar*, and they straighte fell to contention, and made priuate preparation of armour one against another.

Cæsar deceyueth his fellowe *Bibulus.*

Cæsar was a deepe dissembler, & in the Senate house vsed speaches of reconciliation with *Bibulus*, that by their dissention, the cõmon wealth might take no scathe. Hee giuing credite to this pretence, being vnaduised and vnprepared, and ignorant of *Cæsars* meaning, founde that hee hadde made greate promotion in secreate, and deuised lawes for the poore against the Senate, diuiding landes vnto them: the beste that was aboute *Capua*, he appointed as of the common treasure, to be bestowed vppon them that had bin fathers of three children, and by this meane he wan the harts of the multitude. For twenty thousande were accompted only to take the benefite of three children.

Many of the Senate were against this purpose. Wherfore *Cæsar* with a fained anger that they would not admitte so iuste a thing, ranne out, and would not call the Senate together al the yeare after. But in the common place hee would speake to the people, and enquired of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, how they liked of the lawes, who giuing their consente, he willed the people to come to the approbation of them, with their weapons hid.

The Senate in *Bibulus* house.

The Senate (because it was not lawfull to assemble, vnlesse both Consuls were present) went to *Bibulus* house, because they had not foreseene to make resistãce to *Cæsar*, & exhorted *Bibulus* to withstande the lawes, that it might not seeme hee was ouerruled by negligence, but of necessitie. *Bibulus* was persuaded, and came into the Common place, whiles *Cæsar* was yet speaking to the people. Then was there much strife and disorder, and some hurte, for they with their weapons, brake the rodes and maces of *Bibulus*, and wounded the Tribunes that were about him.

A tumulte by *Cæsar.*

Bibulus not abashed, offred his throat, and with a loude voice, called *Cæsars* rowte to ỹ deede, saying: If I cannot persuade *Cæ-*

sar

far to Iuſtice by my death, I throwe vppon hym all thys blame and miſchiefe. Notwythſtandyng, hys frendes, thoughe againſte hys will, conueyed hym into the nexte Temple of *Iupiter* poſſeſſour.

Cato was ſente for, and lyke a young man, thruſte in among them, and beganne to ſpeake: but being ouerpreſte with *Ceſars* men, he was putte out againe: yet priuily comming in another way, he came vppe to the place of ſpeache, and determining to ſpeake nothing elſe, he ſharpely cried out againſte *Ceſar*, tyll he was pulled downe.

Then *Ceſar* pronounced the lawes, and cauſed the people to ſweare vnto them, as euer to continue in effect. He commaunded the Senat to ſweare alſo. Whereof many, and *Cato* not agreeing, *Ceſar* threatned death vnleſſe they ſware, and the people confirmed it, ſo that for feare they ſware, and ſo did the Tribunes alſo, becauſe it auailed no more to reſiſt, the lawe being pronounced by other. The lawe confirmed by an othe.

Vettius, a manne of the common ſorte, came running among them with a naked ſworde, ſaying he was ſent of *Bibulus*, *Cicero* & *Cato*, to kill *Ceſar* and *Pompey*, and that the ſworde was deliuered hym of *Poſthumius* one of *Bibulus* Sargeants. And although euerye man ſuſpected this deuiſe, yet *Ceſar* ſtirred the people, and appointed the nexte daye to examine *Vettius*. He was committed to priſon, and was deade that nighte.

Thys chaunce alſo being diuerſly conſtrued, *Ceſar* diddo not omitte to worke it for hys purpoſe, affirmyng, that they that were afraide, had done it. Whereupon, the people did graunte reuenge to be had of his enimies. *Vettius* deade.

When *Bibulus* letting all goe oute of hys handes, as a priuate manne, came not oute of his houſe all the reſte of the yeare of hys office. Nowe *Ceſar* made no more inquiſition of *Vettius*, but hauing all the power of the common wealth alone, made more lawes to allure the people, and to confyrme all that *Pompey* hadde done, accordyng to his promiſe. *Bibulus* gyueth ouer.

There

There were that had the name of Gentlemen in the citie, and were in the midde place betweene the Senate and the people. These men might do much, both for their own substance, & for ꝑ gathering of tributes & tolles, which the people did pay, wherof a number attended vppon them moste assuredly. They made suit to the Senate to be discharged of parte of the rent. The Senate made some sticking at it, but *Cæsar* not regarding that, only vsing the people did remitte the thirde parte of the rent vnto them.

They hauing beyond their expectation obtayned suche benefite by hys gwoncsse did extoll hym like a God, and so *Cæsar* by one deuise, had another companie stronger vnto hym than the people was. When *Cæsar* made shewes and huntings vnto them, spēding vpon euery thing more than he was able, exceading ally had bin before tyme in sumptuous ꝓparation, & bountifull rewardes. Wherfore they made him ruler of *France*, bothe on thys side and beyonde the Alpes for fyue yeares, and for his office he had foure legions appointed.

Cæsars shewes pasing.

Made ruler of Fraunce.

He considering that his absence should be long, and that enuy would be greater than the greatest fauour, bestowed his daughter in marriage vpon *Pompey*, although *Scipio* were yet aliue, fearing that *Pompey* (though he were his friend) might enuy the greatnesse of his felicitie: he made the moste seditious men officers for the nert yere, & *Aulus Gabinius* he declared Consull, who was his chiefe friend, and marryed *Calphurnia* daughter to *Lucius Piso*, that should be Consull with him.

Cæsar gyueth his daughter in marriage to *Pompey*.

Cæsar maketh allture.

Cato crying oute, that rule was rated by making of wanton marriages: Tribunes he appointed *Vatinius* and *Clodius* called the Faire, who was fowly diffamed for a suspition wyth *Iulia*, *Cæsars* wife, in the sacrifice that belonged eneipe to women.

Clodius suspected with *Cæsars* wife.

For the whiche, although *Cæsar* dide putte awaye hys wife, yet he made nothing adoe with hym, bycause he was accepted to the people: yet other did accuse hym for disparaging the holye sacrifice, and *Cicero* did speake against hym. *Cæsar* was called to gyue witnesse, but he said nothing, and rather made hym Tribune of the people to entrap *Cicero*, who spake against the alliaunce of the three men, as a thing tending to tyranny.

Cicero against *Clodius*.

Thus

Thus did griefe giue place to gaine, and one enimie benefited, that another might bée hindred: and it shoulde séeme that *Clodius* had gratifyed *Cæsar* before in the getting of hys office in Fraunce. These thinges didde *Cæsar*, beyng Consull, and when hee hadde gyuen ouer one office, hee strayghte coueted another.

Clodius accused *Cicero*, that hée hadde contrarie to lawe putte to death *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* before the Senate had giuen sentence: *Cicero* that in that matter had vsed moste noble courage, nowe being called to answere, was verye fainte harted. Hee put on a mourning vesture, and ful of wéeping and sorrowe, he humbled himselfe to all that he met in the streates, not beeing ashamed to trouble them, whom he neuer knew, so that his behauior was so vnséemely, ỳ they which should haue pitied him, laughed him to scorne: to so great fearfulnesse for one cause of his owne was he fallen, ỳ all his life had done most gloriously for others, euen (as they say) *Demosthenes* of *Athes*, was not able to answere in his own cause, but before he was condẽned, fled away. *Clodius*, with spite did mock his lowlinesse to mẽ abroad, whereby being brought to desperatiõ, he also toke a volũtary banishmẽt, many of his friends going forth with him, and the Senate recommending him to Cities, Kings, & Princes. *Clodius* pulled downe hys houses both in the Citie and Country, & pleased hymself so well with thys act, as he would néeds compare with *Pompey*, who had then the greatest auctoritie in the Citie. Wherfore he called *Milo* that was fellow to *Clodie*, and a bolder man than hee, putting hym in hope of the Consullship, to be againste his fellow, and to make a decrée for *Ciceros* returne, supposing that *Cicero* woulde nowe deale with matters and actions against *Clodie*, & no more busy hymself in speaking against the presente auctoritie.

Cicero accused by *Clody*.

Demosthenes.

Clodius pulleth downe *Ciceroes* houses.

Thus *Cicero* that by *Pompey* was caste oute, by the same was called home the syxteenth moneth after his banishment, and hys house & fermes were builded of the common coste. He was receyued with great glory, euery man wayting for hym at the gate, spending one whole daye in embracements and welcome, euen as happned to *Demosthenes* at his returne from exile.

Cicero restored.

In this meane tyme, *Cæsar* had done greate feates among the Frenchmen and Britains, as I haue shewed in my booke of the Frenche matters, and being full of riches, he came to that part of Fraunce that confineth with Italy at the floude *Eridanus*, to recreate his army a while after their continuall warfare. From whence, he sent to diuerse men, greate summes of money. The yearely officers by turne came to visite hym, and so did the Presidents of Prouinces, the Generals of armies, and other noble men, so as sometime there were a hundred and twenty Maces about hym, and more than two hundred Senatours, some, to thanke him for their offices, some, to seeke money, and some for one thing, and some for another. For nowe he toke vppon hym all thynges by the greatnesse of hys armye, the abundaunce of riches, and by friendeship, that he had worne of al sortes.

Cæsar commeth to Lombardy.

Resorte to Cæsar.

Both *Pompey* and *Crassus*, fellowes of his power, came to him. They agreede that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should be Consulls againe, and that *Cæsar* shoulde haue the rule of the nations he had, for other fiue yeares, and so they departed.

Domitius Aenobarbus stode agaynste *Pompey* for the Consulship, and when the day was come, bothe came in the night into the fielde to the election. And such was the strife, as it came to stripes, till one with a sworde stroke hym that bare *Aenobarbus* torch, and then euery man fled from hym. He had much adoe to be conueyed home in safety: *Pompeys* gowne was found bloudy and borne home: So nigh peril were both parts. Thus *Pompeyus* and *Crassus* being chosen Consulles, they decreede to *Cæsar*, other fiue yeres, as they had determined, the Prouinces and armies they diuided betwen them. *Pompey* toke *Spaine* and *Barbarie*, to the which he sent his friends, and he remained in *Rome*. *Crassus* chose *Syria*, and the nations next vnto it, for desire he had to make war vpon the *Parthians*, which he thoughte would be bothe easie and profitable, & to his renowme. But as before he wēt out of the citie, al tokens seemed vnlucky, so the Tribunes did forbid hym to molest the Parthians, that had made no fault. And because he woulde not regarde, they made publique execration vpon hym, whiche he contemning, was in the same warre, with hys sonne

Domitius Aenobarbus.

A fray at the Election.

Diuision of Prouinces

of

of that name destroyed, and scarcely .x. M of an. C. M. did escape by flight into *Syria*. But this calamitie of *Crassus* is declared in the booke of the *Parthian* warres. The Romaines being molested with dearth, made *Pompey* Generall Prouider of victuals and as they were wont in Pyrats war, toyned .xx. Senators with hym as assistants vnto him. He sent them to euery countrey, and made suche spéede, as *Rome* was by & by fulfilled with plentye of victuall, whereby he grew into greater glory and auctoritie, than he was before. At this time *Cæsars* daughter that was marryed to *Pompey*, dyed, wherfore euery man was afraide that this affinity being broken, they two would contende with greate force. The state of the citie was in trouble and disorder, for the rulers did all for gaine and ambition, & with force & weapons moued seditiō. They were not ashamed of briberie nor corruption so they might be made rich. The people woulde not giue their voyces, vnlesse they were hyred. There was séene. viij. C. talents putte in pawne for the nomination to an office. The yearely Consuls were reiect from armies and prouinces, being taken away by ỹ power of these thrée men. They that were of worst behauiour, sought their gaine by armies and publike matters of the Citie, & by the electiōs of their priuate successors, by reason wherof the honest sort did vtterly leaue to rule, insomuche as in this disorder, the Citie was .viij. moneths without a Magistrate. *Pompey* of purpose did winke at all this geare, that the necessitie of tyme might make hym a ruler alone: and now it was spoken in euery place, that the only remedy to these mischiefs, was the auctority of one, whom it behoued to chose, being mighty of power, and gentle of nature, signifying that *Pompey* had a sufficient army, & counted a louer of the people, & for his honor, did leade ỹ Senat, in lyfe sober and sincere, and in conuersation affable, either in déede, or apparaunce. He in worde séemed to bée angrye at this expectation, but in effect he wrought it secretelye all that euer he coulde, and willingly loked away at the disorder of the common wealth, and the lacke of officers in the same confusion. And whereas ỹ *Milo* did serue his tourne against *Clodie*, and was well beloued of the people, for the returne of *Cicero*, loked for the

The calamitie of *Crassus*.

The death of *Cæsars* daughter.

Rome disordered.

Fyrst three men.

Rome eighte Moneths vvithout a Magistrate. Dictator.

Milo deceyued by *Pompey*.

Consulshyp, at due time required for that office, he did kéepe hym backe, by delaying the election. Wherefore *Milo* taking it vnkindly, that hee shoulde finde *Pompey* vnfaithfull, wente into the Countrey to *Lauinio*, which Citie they saye *Aeneas* comming from *Troy*, did first builde in *Italy*, being from *Rome* aboute eighteene myles. *Clodie* came ryding from hys house, and met hym at *Bouille*, and passed the one by the other, onely in countenance shewing their enmitie. A seruaunte of *Milos* ranne to *Clodie*, (whither beyng commaunded, or to dispatch his maysters enimye,) and stroke hym with his swoorde on the hinder part of the heade. *Clodie* beyng wounded and full of bloude, hys horse-keper caried hym to the nerte Inne. *Milo* stayed with his seruants, and comming vnto hym betweene breathing and dying, dispatched hym, pretending that neyther he desired, nor deuised thys murder, but being sure he shoulde alwayes bee in daunger, hee purposed not to leaue the thing vnperfect.

The manner of *Milo* at the deathe of *Clodie*.

Clodie killed.

The Authour nameth Diomedes.

This chaunce being tolde at *Rome*, the people were displeased, and watched all night in the common place. Some broughte *Clodies* body the nerte day and laide it in the Palaice: the which certayne Tribunes, friendes to *Clodie*, accompanied wyth the multitude, toke away, and bare it to the Senate, eyther for honor, bycause hee was of that order, or for reproch to them for suffering such vnlawful facies.

Clodies bodye is brought to *Rome*.

The rasher sort of this route brake down ỹ seates & chaires of the Senate house, and made a fire, with the whiche the Senate house and many other nighe, did burne at *Clodies* funerall. *Milo* was so lustie, that he was not so muche afraide for the feate done, as hee was angry that suche honor of buriall shoulde be shewed to *Clody*. He gathered a number of seruants & cuntrymen, he sent mony to the people, & corrupted *Marcus Cecilius*, one of the Tribunes, and with a bold courage came to *Rome*. *Cecilius* straight receiued him at his cõming, & brought him to the cõmon place among thẽ that had taken mony, as to an assembly. He pretended to be sory, that any delay should be had in iudgement, trusting that if he myght by these that were present, be acquitte, he shoulds auoid the sharper sentence. He shewed he did not minde

Clodies funerall set the Senate house on fire.

M. Cecilius.

Milo purgeth himselfe.

the

the matter, (for he would not haue brought his wife and family to such a feate) he spent the rest of the time against *Clodie*, as an impudent man, whose frendes as impudent as he, had burnt the Senate house for his sake. Whyles he was thus talking, ỳ other Tribunes and the multitude slenderly armed, rushed into the common place. *Cecilius* and *Milo*, in seruauntes clothing fled away: much murder was committed vpon the other, not asking who were *Milos* frendes, but without respect killed both Citizen and straunger, and chiefly them that differed from the rest, eyther in gay garments, or golde Rings: for in such a disordered state, tumulte growing by rage of this pretence, the mosse parte beyng seruauntes and armed, against the other not armed, they fel to spoyle, they left nothing vndone, they entred houses, they ranne about to see in deede what they might easily catch, and in word to seeke out *Milos* frendes: and *Milo* was their pretence many dayes, to doe all mischiefe with fire and force.

Mylo flieth.

His frends killed.

Great hurt done in Rome.

The name of *Milo*, pretence of mischiefe.

The Senate for feare assembled, and were bent vpon *Pompei*, whom some would haue had Dictator by and by, bycause the present time apeared to haue nede of that remedy: but by *Catos* persuasion, they chose him Consull without a felowe, that he should haue the authoritye of Dictator by ruling alone, and yet be answerable bicause he was but Consul. He was ỳ first Consul that had two great prouinces with armye and money, and the Monarchie of the Citie, being Consull alone. *Cato* was appointed by decree to go into *Cyprus*, that he shoulde not trouble *Pompey* at home, and to put *Ptolomie* out of his kingdome, by a former lawe made by *Clodie*: who being once taken with Pyrates, *Ptolomie* for nigardise, sent him two talents for his ransome. *Ptolomie* when he heard of thys decree, threw his money into the sea, and kylled hymself. *Cato* set the Country in order.

By *Catos* persuasion, *Pompey* Consull alone.

Pompey did giue punishments for many offences, and specially for bribery & corruption: for he thought ỳ all common infection of the Citie rose of thys, and therefore had nede of present medicine. He also decreed, that any man that would, might cal men to account from his first Consulship to this time, and that was about twentie yeares, in the which *Cæsar* was Consul. *Cæsars*

Pompeys lawes against briberie.

friendes suspecting this to be done in despite or calumniation of him that so long a time was comprehended, exhorted him to deale with present matters, rather than to looke backwarde and trouble men that were honorable. And among other naming *Cæsar*, he was offended, as one voide of all suspition, and so appoynted the time from his seconde Consulship: he saide it was very necessarie so to begin, to make a perfite redresse of the common, almost wasted with euill men: which when he had saide, he pronounced the lawe, whereof folowed by and by a number of sundry actions: and that the iudges shoulde not be afrayde, he with an army ouersawe their doings. Firste, being absente, *Milo* was condemned for *Clodius* death, and *Gabinius*, of disobedience and mischiefe, for going into *Egipt* with an army without decree, the bookes of *Sybill* forbidding it. *Memmius*, *Hipseus*, *Sextius*, & many other were condemned, eyther of bribery or corrupting the people. *Scaurus* was called by *Pompey* to make answere, notwithstanding ỹ the people did intreate for him. And when the seconde time the people did resist his accusers, a violence was made by *Pompeis* souldiours, wherby the people ceassed, & *Scaurus* was also banished, & al their evils recorded, & *Gabinius* was confiscate after his banishment. The Senate giuing open praise to *Pompey* appoynted two legions more vnto him, & continuãce in his prouinces. *Memmius* being condemned of briberie, and *Pompeius* lawe giuing release to them that accused an other, he called *L. Scipio* father in lawe to *Pompey*, into the like iudgement of corruption. Wherefore *Pompey* putting on the garment of the condemned sort, many of the iudges did the like: but *Memmius* in contempt of the state, gaue ouer ỹ accusation. Then *Pompey*, hauing as it were, made that direction that belonged to his Monarchie, toke *Scipio* for his felowe the rest of the yeare: and after hym, though others were receiued into office, neuertheless he ouerlooked & ruled all, and then was all in all in *Rome*. For the good will of the Senate was much enclined to him in despite of *Cæsar*, who in his Consulship seeking his priuate pleasure, seemed to make none accompt of thẽ: and for that *Pompey* had quickly reco-

Lavv of accoſt

Condemnation of *Milo*, &c. *Calidius*, *Memmius*, *Hipſæus*, *Sextius*, condemned.

Scaurus baniſhed.

Pompeys father in lavv accuſed.

Pompey putteth on mourning vvede.

Pompey taketh a felovve.

Senate eſteemeth *Pompey*.

reconered the ſicke cõmon wealth, without moleſting or hurting any man, further than his office. But the banished men fledde ſtill to *Cæſar*, and bad him beware of *Pompey*, and that his law of corruption, was moſt made againſt him. *Cæſar* did comforte them, and yet ſayde well of *Pompey*. He only labonred the Tribunes to make a lawe, that it might be lawfull for *Cæſar* to aſke the ſeconde Conſulthip in hys abſence: the which, *Pompey* beyng yet in office and not reſiſtyng, was graunted, yet vnderſtandyng that the Senate did worke againſt him, & feeryng that his enemies would make him a priuate man, he deuiſed to keepe his ſtrength ſtill, till he ſhould be declared Conſul, and requeſted of the Senate a little longer tyme for hys office in *Fraunce*, or at the leaſt for parte of it. But *Marcellus* that was Conſull after *Pompey*, was agaynſt it, the whiche when it was tolde *Cæſar*, he layde hys hande vpon the hilte of his ſworde (as they ſay) and anſweared, *Then this ſhall gyue it me*. Hes buylded newe *Como* nighe vnto the *Alpes*, with the priuiledges of *Italie*, whiche is, that ſo many as be officers a yeere, ſhall be Cittizens of *Rome*, whiche was a greate prerogatiue to *Italie*.

Banished men flye to *Cæſar*.

Marcellus.

Anſwere of *Cæſar*.

One of newe *Como*, that had thus borne office, and thereby thought to be free at *Rome*, *Marcellus* in deſpight of *Cæſar* did beate with roddes, whiche the *Romaines* doe not ſuffer for no cauſe: and in rage he bewraying his harte, bad him take this token of hoſpitalitie and goe ſhewe it to *Cæſar*. This ſpight vſed *Marcellus*, and perſwaded to ſende ſucceſſours to his prouinces before the time expyred. But *Pompey* was agaynſt that, vnder a ſhewe of conueniencie and benenolence: that it was not meete that ſo noble a man, ſo many wayes profitable to hys Countrey, ſhoulde be thus maligned for ſo ſhorte a tyme, and decreed, that with the tyme, *Cæſar* ſhoulde gyue ouer hys rule: After this, *Cæſars* chiefe enimies were choſen Conſuls *Aemilius Paulus* and *Calidius Marcellus* couſin to the former *Marcellus*. *Curio* an other greate enimie of *Cæſar* was elected Tribune, well beloued of the people & a great ſpeaker.

Diſpight of *Marcellus*.

Marcellus.

Pompey pretendeth regarde to *Cæſar*.

Paulus and *Curio* vvonby money

Cæſar

Cæsar coulde not winne *Claudius* for no money, but *Paulus* he made hys friende with an hundered and fiftye talentes, that he shoulde neyther doe wyth hym nor against hym: it coste him more to win *Curio* bycause he was so muche in debt. Wyth this money, *Paulus* builded a publique place, called *Paulus* Palaice, one of the fayre workes of Rome. *Curio*, that he shoulde not be discouered by change of the sodaine, required the office of making and pauing of many and long high wayes, and to be ouerseer of the same fiue yeares togither, knowing he should obtaine none of these, and trusting that *Pompeys* friends would speake against him, & so haue some pretence against *Pompey*, which things coming to passe indeed as he thought, he had an occasiõ of offece. *Claudius* propounded to send successours to *Cæsars* prouinces, for the time was now at hand. *Paulus* said nothing. *Curio* seeming to dissēt frō both, praised *Claudius* opinion, & as agreeing to it, said it was meete that *Pompey* shoulde giue ouer both prouince and armye as well as *Cæsar*, for so should the state of the Citie be cleare and out of feare on bothe sides. Many being against this, as not right, bicause *Pompeys* time was not yet expired, *Curio* the shewed himselfe plainely and sharply, that it was not reason to sende successours to *Cæsar*, vnlesse *Pompey* did giue ouer: for being suspitious the one of the other, the Citie shoulde neuer haue sure peace vnlesse all men were priuate. Thus he spake, bicause he knewe that *Pompey* would not leaue his power, and bycause he saw them offended with him for hys iudgementes of corruption.

Curio feketh a quarel.

Claudius Claudius. Question for *Cæsar* propoūded

Thys opinion beyng honest, the people praysed *Curio*, as the only man that for the common weale, cared for neyther of their displeasure: and they brought him home, casting floures, as vpon a champion of a great and difficult cause. For at that tyme nothyng seemed more daungerous, than to dissent from *Pompey*, who passing about *Italy* somewhat sickely, subtilye sente vnto the Senate, prayeng *Cæsars* actes, and rehearsing his owne frō the beginning, and that the thirde Consulshippe being giuen hym, and prouinces with an armye accordingly, he did not seeke it, but was called to it, beyng thought meete for the redresse of

The people prayseth *Curio*.

Pompey to the Senate.

the

the common wealth, and that I (quoth he) receiued vnwillingly, I doe willingly giue ouer to them that will haue it, before my time prefixed. The manner of this writing wrought a good lyking to *Pompey*, and a misliking to *Cæsar*, that woulde not giue ouer when his time was ended. When *Pompey* was come to the Citie, he spake as muche in effect, and then promised to giue it ouer, and as a friend and wellwiller to *Cæsar*, toke in hand that hée also would leaue with glad mind. For now being in yeares, and hauing taken greate paines in the armies against moſt fierce nations, and wonne great honor to his Countrey, he would séeke rest, with the offices and sacrifices of the Citie. Thus he spake, that successours might be straight sent to *Cæsar*, and he standing vpon his promise only. But *Curio* correcting his sutteltie, sayd, it was not ynough to promise, but to giue ouer in déede, nor that *Cæsar* shoulde be put from his armye, before he were in priuate state, neyther shoulde it be commodious for him to mainteyne priuate enmitie, neyther for the *Romaines*, that suche a power shoulde be with one, rather than with the other, that if eyther of them woulde hurt the Citie, the other shoulde haue to resist: and nowe holding in no longer, he openly reproued *Pompey*, as a séeker of tyrannie, and if it were not nowe, that he gaue ouer hys army for feare of *Cæsar*, he would not giue it ouer at all, therfore he thought good, that if they disobeyed, they should both be declared enimies, and an army gathered against them: & by this talke he couered, that he was corrupted by *Cæsar*. *Pompey* being grieued, and threatning, went angerly away into the suburbes. The Senate now had them both suspected, but thought *Pompey* the more tractable. *Cæsar* they misliked, bycause of their suspition in his Consulship, and therefore did not thinke it safe to dissolue *Pompeys* power, vnlesse *Cæsar* did resigne, being abroade, and of a more aspiring mind: but *Curio* was against it, and that it was expedient, that after *Pompey*, *Cæsar* also should giue ouer all, which, when he could not obteyne, he brake vp the counsell, leauyng all vnperfite, for so might a Tribune do. Wherfore *Pompey* repented him that he had restored the Tribunelhip to the auntient power, which *Sylla* had made very feéble. Only this was decréed at their

Curio against *Pompey*.

Pompey departeth angry.

Senate better liketh of *Pompey*.

The authoritie of a Tribune.

departure,

departure, that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* shoulde be sente into *Siria* to kéepe the Countrey, bycause of *Crassus* misfortune. And *Pompey* vsing policie, required hys legion againe, that he had lente *Cæsar*, after the losse of *Titurius* and *Cotta* hys Captaynes.

Cæsar sendeth *Pompeys* legion. *Cotta* and *Titurius* Captayne in *Fraunce*.

Cæsar gaue euery man two hundred Drammes, and sent them to *Rome*, and with them sente another of hys owne, but beyng vnderstanded ỳ there was no danger in *Syria*, they went to winter at *Capua*. They that were sente of *Pompey* for them to *Cæsar*, tolde many hard tales againste *Cæsar*, and made *Pompey* beléeue, that *Cæsars* army being wasted with wéerinesse, and long payne, was desirous to come home, and when they were come on thys syde the *Alpes*, they would reuolte to *Pompey*. Thus they talked eyther of ignorance, or being corrupted, but euery man was sure to *Cæsar* in promptnesse and paynefulnesse, both for the continuance of seruice for the gaynes that grewe by victories in the warre, and for the greate liberalitie of *Cæsar* himselfe, for he gaue them freely to serue as he would haue them, which they all knowing, did likewise abide it.

A Dramme was a coyne, of the valeyw of two Grotes. Tales of *Cæsars* Army.

The Souldyers of *Cæsar* sure vnto him.

Pompey giuing credite to these tales, neyther gathered armye, nor prouided for so greate a businesse. The Senate did requyre euery mans opinion. *Claudius* craftely propounded, and dyd aske distoyntly, whether they woulde sende successors to *Cæsar*, and whether they would *Pompeys* power shoulde be taken from him. To this many made denyall, but to *Cæsar* they decréed successors. *Curio* asking agayne if they would haue both leaue their powers, CCC. denyed it, but DCCLxx. leauyng contention for commoditie, enclined to *Curios* sentence: then did *Claudius* dismisse the counsell, crying, *VVinne you, that will haue Cæsar your Lord.*

Consultation for *Cæsar* and *Pompey*.

A rumor being rayséd, that *Cæsar* suddaynely was past the *Alpes*, and comming to the Citie, there was greate feare and tumulte of all sydes. *Claudius* commaunded the armye at *Capua* to be sente againste *Cæsar*, as an enimy, and when as *Curio* reproued it as a lye, *Claudius* sayde, If I may not followe that is sette by common decrée of my selfe as Consull, I will doe it. And when he had sayde thus, he ranne out of the Senate house into the suburbes with his fellow, and offered a Swoorde to *Pompey*:

Contention in the Senate.

Claudius Sworde to *Pompey*.

pey: Euen I (quoth he) and this man, commaunded thée to goe against *Cæsar* for thy Countrey, and we giue thée, eyther the army that is nowe at *Capua*, or any other that is in *Italie*, and that thou mayest gather togither what thou wilte. He obeyed, as commaunded of the Consuls, onely adding, *vnlesse somewhat maye be better*, dissembling, or euen then pretending a shewe of honestie. *Curio* now had no more authoritie ouer the Citie, for it was not lawfull for the Tribunes to goe out of the walles, yet hée complayned to the people of these doings, and required the Consuls to proclayme, that no man should obey *Pompey* in gathering of men: but not preuayling, and the time of his Tribunshyppe drawing to an ende, being afrayde of himselfe, and doubting to be no more able to help *Cæsar*, with diligence went vnto him, who had nowe sayled the Oceane Sea from Britlayne, and passed from the French, that be nére the floud *Rhene*, to the Mountaines of the *Alpes*, with fiue thousande footemen, and three hundred Horsemē. He came down to *Rauenna*, which was cōfine to *Italy*, and the end of his prouince, receiuing *Curio* with great curtesie, and thanking him for his trauayles, he consulted with him of the present state. *Curio* thought good to sende for all his army, and to march to *Rome*. *Cæsar* thought it better yet to treate of reconciliation, and willed his friends to compound for him, that giuing ouer all other prouinces and armies, he might onely reteyne two legions, and *Illiria* with *France* within the *Alpes*, till he were declared Consull. *Pompey* thought it sufficient, but bycause the Cōsuls did resist it, he wrote to the Senate, and *Curio* running in three dayes three thousande and three hundred furlongs, he gaue the letter to the newe Consuls, entryng the Senate house the fyrste daye of the newe yeare. It dyd conteyne a solemne rehearsall of all *Cæsars* doyngs from the begynnyng, and a protestation to leaue hys armye, if *Pompey* dyd the lyke, and béeyng yet in authoritie, if *Pompey* woulde not gyue vppe, no more woulde he, but forthwith come to reuenge hys Countrey, and wyth spéede to sécke for hymselfe, at the whyche, euerye man cryed out, and that *Lucius Domitius* shoulde bée hys successour, as in a warre proclaymed. *Domitius* went on with foure M.

Pompey receyueth the Inword vvith a condition.

Cæsar out of *Britayne*.

Rhene deuided *France* and *Germany*.

The old diuision of *Italy* vvas at *Rauenna*, and the floude *Rubicon*, and thereabouts.

Request of *Cæsar*.

After this accompt, it should be three hundred myles.

Cæsars letters to the Senate.

L. Domitius.

Determination against *Cæsar*. *Antonius*, *Cassius*, Tribunes.

lately gathered. *Antonius* and *Cassius* being Tribunes after *Curio*, and liking well of his determination, the Senate the more earnestly did affirme the army of *Pompey* to be their safetie, and *Cæsars* their destruction. And *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* the Consuls, commaunded *Antony* and *Cassius*, to go from the assemblie, least by vsing the office of Tribunes, they mighte happily haue some displeasure. Then *Antonie* cryed alowde, and ranne frō his seate in a rage, and lamēted ẏ they should deface the office sacred, and a Sanctuary, and reiect them with a despighte, that had gyuen their counsell for the common weale, not hauing committed any offence or crime against any man. This being sayde, he lept out as a man by inspiration, foretelling warres, murders, attendures, banishments, spoyles, and all other mischiefe to come vpon them, protesting greate execrations to them that were the cause of it. *Curio* and *Cassius* went out with him, for now parte of *Pompeys* army was seene to come, and besette the Senate house. They by and by, secretely in ẏ night, putting on seruants apparell, went to *Cæsar* in an hired wagon. *Cæsar* shewed them as some as they were come vnto the army, in that apparell, and to stirre them the more, said, these men for doing well, are made enimies, and being persons of suche degrée, speaking somewhat for them, were thus villanously banished. Nowe was the warre open on both sides, and proclaymed euidently. The Senate thinking that *Cæsar* would not suddainely come with his army frō the Frēch, and that he woulde not enterprise so great a feate with so fewe, appointed to *Pompey* to gather a great number of *Thessalians*, old practised Souldiers in the warre, and to take vp new, of the nigh nations that were fitte to serue. All the common treasure they decreed to him for this warre, offering also their priuate substance if nede were, to be ready for this seruice: and they sent to the Cities for more, with great hast and vehemencie, leauing nothing vndone, that might be with spedy consideration. *Cæsar* sending for his owne army, putting more confidence in amazing his enimies with suddaine approche and terror of boldnesse, than in mighty preparation. With fiue thousande began he this greate warre, which he sent to take the cōmodious places of *Italy*. And

Antonie lamenteth.

Antonie propheciеth.

Cæsar sheweth the Tribunes to his army.

Preparation for *Pompey* against *Cæsar*. *Thessalia* was a Countrey of *Grecia*.

Speedinesse of *Cæsar*.

Cæsars manner in warre.

certains

certayne of his Captaynes, accompanyed with the boldeſt ſorte, in peaceable manner, he willed to goe to *Arimeno*, and of the ſuddaine, to ſurpriſe the Citie, whiche is the firſte of *Italy* out of *France*. He in the euening, as though he had not bin well, wente from the Table, leauing his frendes ſitting ſtill, and takyng a Coach, he ranne to *Arimeno*, his Horſemen followyng a certaine diſtãce off. And paſſing thus as farre as the flood *Rubicon*, which deuideth *Italie*, he ſtayed his courſe, and behelde the Riuer. He deepely waying in his mind all the miſchiefe that might followe, if he paſſed the water in armes, turned to his friends, and ſayde, The refrayning from this paſſage, ſhall be the beginnyng of troubles to my ſelfe, but the going on with it, ſhall vexe all the world. When he had thus ſaid, as a man rapte with a furie, hée ſlong ouer, ſpeaking the common worde, *The Die is caſt*. Then he hafted to *Arimeno*, and toke it earely in the morning, and ſo wēt forward, leauing garriſon in conuenient places, and the other by the way he wanne, eyther by violence, or by gentlenelle. There was fleeing and renning away from euery place with muche feare, and remouing without reaſon, and lamente, not yet knowing what the truth was, ſuppoſing that *Cæſar* was come to inuade with all his might and power. Which when the Conſuls heard, not ſuffering *Pompey* to take the ſtayed way of warre according to his ſkilfulneſſe in the ſame, forced him to goe about *Italie*, and make men, as the Citie ſhould by and by haue bin taken. The other Senatours hearing of *Cæſars* ſuddaine approche beyonde all opinion, were afraide, becauſe they were not yet prepared, and with griefe repented they had not accepted *Cæſars* offers, which then they thoughte reaſonable. Many Monſters, and tokens from heauen did afray them. God ſente downe rayne of bloud, Images did ſweate, lightnings fell vpon manye Temples, a Mule brought forthe, many other fearefull tokens did foreſhew the ouerthrow and mutation of the common ſtate. Supplications were commaunded, as in common calamities. The people remembring the times of *Sylla* and *Marius*, cryed out, that *Cæſar* and *Pompey* ſhould giue ouer their powers, as the only way to ceaſſe warre. *Cicero* ſent to *Cæſar* for reconciliation, but

Then *France* extended to *Arimino*, vvhich is nowe in that part of *Italy* that is called *Romigna*, one of the 18. Colonies, that ayded the *Romaines* againſt *Anniball*.

Rubicon deuideth *Italy*, ouer the vvhich he that paſſed in armes, vvas a Rebell.

Cæſar ſtayd at the Riuer of *Rubicon*.

The ſaying of *Cæſar*.

Cæſar entreth *Italy*.

Cæſar taketh *Arimeno*.

Feare of *Cæſar*.

The Conſuls ſuffer not *Pompey* to take the right courſe of vvarre.

Tokens.

Fauonius. the Consuls were against euery thyng, and *Fauonius* iested at *Pompey* for a word he once spake, that at his call he would strike the earth with his foote, and fetche forthe an army. You shall haue it (quoth he) if you will follow me, and thinke it no griefe to leaue *Rome*, and after *Rome*, *Italie* to, if nede be: for places and houses be not strength and libertie, but men (whersoeuer they be) beare these with them, and when you haue reuenged youre selues, you shall haue houses ynough. This spake *Pompey*, as it were threatning them that would tarry and sticke to leaue their lands for the loue of their Countrey. And streyght hee went out of the Senate house and Citie to, and toke hys iourney to *Capua* to the armye there, and the Consuls followed him. Other tarried wyth greate doubte, and kepte that nyghte togyther in the Senate house, but when daye was come, the most parte went out, and followed *Pompey*.

Pompey to the Senators.

Pompey forsaketh Rome.

Corfinio is novv Pontina.

Cæsar followed *Domitius* at *Corfinio*, who was sent to be his successoure, hauyng not aboue foure thoulande, and besæged him. And they of the Citie, perceyuing that *Domitius* woulde flee away, kepte the gates, and toke hym, and brought him to *Cæsar*. He curteously receyued the army, yeldyng vnto hym, that other myghte bee encouraged to the same, and suffered *Domitius* vntouched, wyth all hys money and substance, to goe where he would, thynkyng for that gentlenesse he woulde haue tarryed wyth hym, and was not against hym to goe to *Pompey*.

Cæsar taketh Domitius, and giueth him leaue to goe vvhere he list.

These thyngs beeyng thus done of the suddayne, *Pompey* went from *Capua* to *Brunduse*, to passe the *Ionian* Seas to *Epirus*, to make hys prouision for warre there: he wrote to all nations, Lieutenants, Princes, Kyngs, and Cities, euerye one with all the spæde they coulde, to contribute to thys warre. These were dispatched with spæde.

Novv *Albania.*

Pompeys owne army was in *Spaine*, beeyng ready for the march when occasion shoulde call them.

Of the Legions that *Pompey* had himselfe, he deliuered to the Consuls, to leade from *Brunduse* to *Epirus*, and they streyght sayled safe to *Dirrachium*, whiche Towne some men, of this ignorance, thynketh to be *Epidamnus*. A *Barbarian* Kyng called *Epi-*

Dyrrachium described. This is not in the Italian.

damnus

damnus buylded a Citie at this Sea, and of hi nesse called it *Epidamnus*: hys nephewe by hys daughter, supposed to bee *Neptunes* sonne, buylded a porte to that Citie, and called it *Dirrachium*. The brethren of *Durrachos* made warre vpon him, and *Hercules* comming from the Ile *Erithea*, toyned with him for parte of the lande, wherevppon the *Dirrachians*, as coperationers of theyr Countrey, accompte hym the founder of it, not denying *Dirrachos*, but more desirous of *Hercules*, bycause he was a God. *Hercules. Erithea* now *Cadiz*.

They saye further, that in thys fyghte, *Ionius*, sonne to *Dirrachos*, was slayne of *Hercules* by chance, and that *Hercules* buryed hys body, and threwe it into the Sea, that it myghte beare the name of him. In processe of time, certaine *Phrigians* gote the Citie and Countrey, and after them, a people of *Illiria*, called *Taulantines*, after whome, another people of *Illiria*, called *Liburnians*, wyth their swift Shyppes, dyd spoyle theyr nerest neighbours, and of thys it is thought the *Romaines* did call theyr swift Ships *Liburnius*, wherewyth they gyue their fyrste onset in fighte by Sea. *Ionian* Sea. *Phrigi* of *Asia* the lesse. *Taulantines. Liburnians. Liburnicæ Naues.*

They that were driuen from *Dirrachio* by the *Liburnians*, gote helpe of the *Corcireanes*, valiante men by sea, and expulsed the *Liburnians*, and so the *Corcirianes* makyng a mixt inhabitance, it is taken to be a Greeke porte, and they changyng the name as vnlucky, called it *Epidamus*, by the name of the old Citie. *Thucidides* doth name it so, yet this name hath preuayled, and it is called *Dyrrachium*. The Consuls and their company came to thys Citie, *Pompey* abode at *Brunduse*, and gathered togither the rest of the army. He tarried for the Shippes that carried the Consuls. He made the Towne strong, to keepe *Cæsar* from the walles, and in the euening tyde, sayled with hys company, leauyng the boldest Souldyers to defende the Towne, the whyche also in the myghte sayled ouer wyth good winde. Thus *Pompey* with all his armye lefte *Italy*, and sayled into *Epiro*. *Cæsar* stoode in doubt whyche way to turne him, where to begyn the warre, seeyng well that all the force on euery syde stowed to *Pompey*. He feared the army that *Pompey* had in *Spaine* very great and expert, *Corcyrians* be of the Ile *Corfu*. *Thucidides.* Consuls arriued at *Durrazo*. *Pompey* leaueth *Italy*.

leaste

leaſt whiles he followed his fleeing enimie, they ſhould beſet him on the backehalfe, therefore he thoughte it beſt to trye the fielde firſt with theſe in *Iberia*. He deuided his power in fyue partes,

Brunduſe. *Hydrunto* now̄e *Otranto.* *Tarentum.* *Sardinia.* *Aſinius Pollio.* Cato giueth place to *Aſinius Pollio.*

ſome he lefte at *Brunduſe*, ſome at *Hidrunto*, and ſome at *Tarento*, as garriſons for *Italy*. Other he ſente with *Quintus Valerius* to get *Sardinia*, an Ile plentiful of Corne, and he gote it. *Aſinius Pollio* he ſente into *Cicelie*, where *Cato* was Lieutenant, who aſked hym whether he had authoritie from the Senate, or the people, to enter violently into another mans prouince: he aunſwered, that he that was Lord of *Italy* had ſente him. *Cato* aunſwered again, that bycauſe he would ſpare the inhabitance, he would deferre the reuenge till another time, and ſo ſayled into *Corcyra* to *Pompey*.

Caſar to *Rome.*

Caſar came to *Rome*, and comforted the people with hope and promiſes, being ſtricken with the feare and memorie of *Sylla* and *Marius* euill times. He ſaid further, that he would vſe curteſie to his enimies. As when he had taken *Lucius Domitius*, he let him go with all his money vnhurt. He brake the lockes of the common

Caſar taketh the treaſure.

treaſure, and threatned death to *Metellus* the Tribune that would haue reſiſted him, and toke away the money that no man durſt touch, being layd vp there, againſt the inuaſions of *France*, with publike execratiō to them that did ſtirre or remoue it, vnleſſe for the warre of *Celtica*: *Caſar* ſayd, I haue ouercome thoſe French *Celtes*, and haue deliuered the Citie of that execration. Hee made

M. *Antonius.*

Emilius Lepidus Gouernoure of the Citie, and *Marcus Antonius*, the Tribune of *Italy*, and the confederate army in it. Abroade he ſent into *Sicilie*, *Curio* to ſucceede *Cato*, *Quintus* to *Sardinia*, & *Cneus Antonius* to *Illiria*, and to *France* within the *Alpes*, he appoynted *Licinius Craſſus*. He commaunded two legions of yong ſouldyers to be ready with ſpeede, and to lye at the coaſtes, both of the *Tuſcane*, and *Venetian* ſeas, to whome, for Captaines by the ſea, he

Hortenſius. *Dolabella.*

ſent *Hortenſius*, and *Dolabella*.

Caſar into *Spain.* *Afranius*, and *Petreius.* *Ilerda* a Citie in *Arragon*, at the ſtoud Lycore.

Caſar hauing thus made *Italy* ſo ſtrong for *Pompey* to enter, he went into *Spayne*, and at his firſte encountring with *Afranius* and *Petreius*, Lieutenantes to *Pompey*, he ſeemed to weake. Then they ioyned togyther more at hande aboute the Citie *Ilerda*.

Caſar

Cæsar lay in barraine rockey places, and was fayne to fetch hys victuals by the passage of the riuer *Sypris*: a sodayne floud came and bare away the bridge, whereby a great number left in the straytes, were slayne of *Petreyus*, and *Cæsar* himselfe with hys other army, was much molested, with the harde place, with hunger, sharpe season, and with his enimies, so as he was little better than besieged there til the sommer came. *Afranius* & *Petreius* went into the furder parte of *Spaine* to gather another armye. *Cæsar* preuented them, stopping their passage, and compelled thē to retyre from whence they came. In doing of thys, he compassed a parte of their army that came to take vp grounde for their campe. They helde their shieldes to their heades, which is a token of yelding. *Cæsar* neyther toke them, nor hurt them, but suffered them vntouched to goe to *Afranius*, and by such meane, he wanne his enimyes harts in all places.

Cæsar in distre. Te. Sycoris

A token of yelding.

Cæsars gentelnesse.

Hereof was manye conuenticles among the souldiers, and talke of reconciliation by the whole multitude. Whereupon it seemed good to *Afranius* and some other, to leaue *Spaine* to *Cæsar*, and to depart safe to *Pompey*: but *Petreius* was agaynste it, and ranne among the souldiours, and killed them that made those metings for *Cæsar*, and were come from him, and killed one of hys owne Captaines also that would haue stayed his furye. Wherfore they were the more in their mindes inclined to *Cæsar* so gentle, and offended with *Petreius* that was so passionate. After that *Cæsar* kept water from them: and *Petreius* being in necessitie, came with *Afranius* to a parlee with *Cæsar*, both armies beholding them. They agrēde to leaue *Spayne* to *Cæsar*, and that he shoulde conuey them safe to the floud *Varus*, and from thence to suffer them to goe to *Pompey*. When *Cæsar* was come to that floude, he called all the Romaine and Italian souldiours, & thus spake vnto them.

Petreius furious.

„ Enemyes (for vsing that name to you, I shall the better de-
„ clare my minde) neyther dyd I dyspatche you, when you were
„ sente to gette ground for your Campe, and yelded your selues
„ to me, neyther dyd I hurt an other parte of your army, whō
„ I helde from water, although *Petreius* did distroy myne, whom

be take at the floud *Sicorie*: If I haue any thankes of you for the same, shewe it then to al them, that serue in *Pompeys* campe.

Cæsar hath Spayne.

When he had thus sayd, he sent them freely away, and appointed *Quintus Cassius* to the gouernement of *Iberia*. Thus *Cæsar* began.

Actius Varus. *Iuba* taketh *Pompeys* parte.

In *Lybia* *Actius Varus* was Lieuetenant for *Pompey*, and *Iuba* king of *Mauritania* did assist him. *Curio* sayled against them out of *Sicelie* with two whole Legions, twelue Galleyes, and many shippes of burden, landing at *Vtica*. He skyrmished wyth certayne *Numidian* horsemen, and put them to flight. He would

Imperator was the terme in Latine for such a generall.

nedes be called generall Captaine, his army beyng yet but entring into armes. This honor is giuen to Captaines, and the name commeth from the Souldiours, as witnesses to them to be worthy to be such generals: and thys honour, the Captaines in olde tyme obtained after all and many great affayres. Now as I heare, the limitation to thys title, is to ouerthrowe tenne thousande men. Whiles *Curio* was comming by shippe from *Sicelie*, they that were in *Lybia*, thinking that he, for the glorye

Scipios tenthes.

of the name, would encampe at a place called *Scipios* tentes, as one that had emulatiō of his renoune, they poysoned the water,

Water poysoned.

and were not deceyued of their hope, for *Curio* lodged there, and by and by the army was sicke. They that drunk, had their sight

Curios armie infected.

dasled as in a cloude, and heuynesse of slepe in the head, many vomites of they meate, and a shrincking ouer all their body. Wherefore *Curio* remoued to *Vtica* it selfe, leading his army feble for sickenesse by a great and strong marish grounde: but when they heard of *Cæsars* victory in *Spaine*, they toke courage agayne, and placed themselues nigh the sea in a streyght waye, they foughte fiercely there. *Curio* losing but one man, and *Varo* fyue hundred, and many moe wounded. King *Iuba* comming forth,

Iuba.

a false rumour was raysed, that at the floude *Bagrada* not farre off, he returned backe because hys Kyngdome was inuaded of hys neyghbours, leauing hys Lieuetenaunt *Saburra* wyth a fewe at the floude. *Curio* gyuing credite to thys tale in the feruente heate, at the thirde houre of the day, led the best

part

parte of his armye against *Saburras*, through sandy and deserte dryepleces. For if there were any winter broke, it was dryed vp by the heate of the sunne, and the sloud was kept of *Saburra*, and the king himselfe yet still present there. *Curio* ranne vp to the hill toppes, choked with thirst, & heate. When the enimies sawe him so euill beskadde, they passed the riuer boldely with a readinesse to fyght. *Curio*, very vnwisely and vnskilfully wyth his weake armye being compassed with the *Numidian* horsemē, came downe, and for a time gyuing place, broughte his menne within a little compasse: but beyng ouercharged, hée sledde agayne to the hyll toppes. *Asinius Pollio* at the beginnyng of thys businesse, with a fewe, sledde to the campe at *Vtica*, least *Varrus* shoulde attempte any thyng by the noyse of this euill fortune. *Curio* made a desperate fighte, and was killed with all that were with him, so as there was not one left to goe to *Pollio* to *Vtica*. This was the ende of the fighte at the sloudde *Bagrada*. *Curios* head was cutte off, and brought to *Iuba*. When this mischaunce was knowne to the army at *Vtica*, *Flamma* the Admirall sledde, with his naule, before hée receyued any man from the lande. *Asinius* toke a boate and wente to the Merchauntes that were at the porte, and prayed them to receyue hys armie, and conuey them away. Some of them in the nighte came forwarde for thys purpose, and the Souldiours wente on with suche number, as some botes were drowned, and they that were vppon the Sea and had money, the Merchauntes threwe them into the same for couetousnesse thereof. This was their happe vppon the Sea, whiche was littell better by lande to them that were lefte all that nyght, who in the mornyng yelded to *Varo*. But *Iuba* came and sette them all at the wall, and shotte them to death, as the remnaunt of hys victorie, nothyng regarding though *Varo* prayde hym to the contrarie. Thus the *Romaines* losse two legions, that sayled with *Curio* into *Libia*, and allthe horse, ministers, and venturers of the Campe. *Iuba* returned home, makyng boaste hee had done so greate a feate for hys friende *Pompey*.

The distresse of Curio.

Curio killed.

Flamma flieth.

Couetise of Merchants.

Romaine Souldiours shotte to death.

At thys tyme *Antonius* in *Illyria* was ouercome of *Octauius Dalabella Pompeyus* Lieuetenant: and an other armye of *Cæsars* at *Placentia*, did reuolte againſte their Captaines, cryeng that they were holden in long war, and not payed the fiue poundes which *Cæsar* promiſed them at *Brunduſe*. *Cæsar* hearing of it, came poſte from *Maſſilia*, and thus ſpake to the ſouldiours that yet were in a mutenie: What ſpéede I vſe in euery thing, you can witneſſe wyth me: this warre is holden long, not by vs, but by our enymies that fyeth vs: you that in Fraunce, by mine autozitye haue gayned wel, and haue bounde your ſelues to me, foz al this warre, not foz a parte, nowe in the myddeſt of the matter, you foꝛſake me, you doe doe diſobey your Captaines, and goe about to commaunde them, of whome you ought to receyue commaũdement: wherfoze being a ſufficiente witneſſe to my ſelfe of my foꝛmer affection vnto you, I will nowe vſe *Petreius* Law, and of the nineth Legion, from whence tumulte chiefliye aroſe, I wil put to death the tenth man.

Cæsar to the ſeditious Souldiours.

Greate lamentation was made throughout the whole Legion: wherefoze theſe Captaines on their knées prayed hym of pardon. He hardly and at length graũted, and came to this only, that anye xx. that were moſte buſie, ſhoulde bee taken by lotte, and twelue of their Captaines of bandes, be put to death: foz one of the twelue, whiche was not preſente, noꝛ a medler in thys Mutenye, he cauſed hys accuſer to ſuffer foꝛ hym.

only

After this foꝛte was the ſedition at *Placentia* appeaſed. *Cæsar* went to *Rome*, and the people foꝛ feare choſe hym Dictatoꝛ, neyther the Senate allowing it, noꝛ none officer pronoũcing it: but hee, refuſing that dignitye, eyther as odious, oꝛ ſuperfluous, ruling onely eleauen dayes (as ſome ſay) appointed Conſuls foꝛ the reſte of the tyme, hymſelfe, and *Seruilius Iſauricus*.

The preſidents of prouinces eyther he appoynted oꝛ altered at hys pleaſure. *Marcus Lepidus* into *Spayne*, *Aulus Albinus* into *Sicelie*, into *Sardania Sextus Peducæus*, into newe France *Decimus Brutus*, to the people oppreſt with famine, he gaue victualls, and at their requeſte, pardoned al fugitiues, except *Milo*. The people

people desiring also a cutting off of debte, bycause thynges bare no price, by reason of the wars and seditions, he denyed it them, but he appointed Purueyors of victualls, whiche in stede of the debte, shoulde take order betwene the creditours and ỹ debtors. When he had done this, he sente all hys army to *Brunduse* in the deade of the winter, and himselfe went forth in December, not tarying for the election of newe officers, tyll the newe yeare that was at hand. The people followed him, and prayed hym to be at one with *Pompey*, for now it was very euident, that he that ouercame woulde be a ruler alone, but he went on, and lefte nothing that was to be done with power and spæde. *Cæsar* in the Vvinter vvarre.

Pompey al this tyme made Ships, and still gathered greater armies, and more money. He toke forth of *Cæsars* shippes, in the *Ionian* sea, and wayted for his cõming. He exercised his people, ryding and running among them, and doing euery labor beyond his olde yeares, whereby he got much loue, and euery man came to see *Pompeys* exercises, as to a spectacle.

Cæsar had tenne legions of fotemen, and ten thousand French horsemen. *Pompey* hadde fiue legions, with which hee sailed oute of Italy, and as many horsemen, as with them were appointed: two out of *Parthia*, the remnant of them that serued with *Crassus*, & another part that with *Gabinius* inuaded Egipt. So had he of Italians in all eleuen legions and seauen thousande horsemen. His confederates were of *Ionia*, of *Macedonia*, of *Poloponeso*, and *Bœotia*, wyth archers of *Creta*, slingers of *Thracia*, and all other that vse artillerie aboute *Pontus*. Some horsemen of the weaste French, some of the east, of the *Sirians* sent by *Antiochus*, *Cilicians* and *Capadocians*, and some of *Armenia* the lesse, *Pamphilia* and *Pisida*, not al for the fight, but for garrisons, munitions, and other seruices of ỹ *Italian* army. Thus he thoughte good to vse thẽ that none of the Italians shoulde be drawne from the daye of battell. This was his army by land. *Cæsars* army. *Pompeys* army.

By Sea hee hadde syxe hundred Gallies furnished at the ful, whereof one hundred were of Romaines conduct, whyche hee appoynted to leade the other, and many hulkes and other ships of burden, wyth dyuers Admiralls, whereof *Marcus Bibulus*

was chiefe.

When al these thyngs were prepared, he assembled as many Senatours and Romaine Gentlemen, as were present, and all the army, into a place where he might be harde, & thus said vnto them. The *Athenienses* also (O friends) dydde leaue their Citie to fighte for their libertye, agaynste them that spoyled it, they thinkyng, not houses, but men to be their Citie. In doyng of the whyche, they recouered it againe, and shortly made it more glorious. Our progenitors likewise, when the Frenche Celtes inuaded, forsoke the Cittie, which *Camillus* comming from *Ardea* did restore agayne. All wyse men thynke their Country to be, where their liberty is: whyche wee consideryng, haue sayled hither, not leauyng oure Countrey, but preparyng for it, and mindyng to defend it, againste him that doeth violently inuade it, and by corruption, and taketh Italy desolated, whom you haue declared an enimy, he now sends presidents into your Prouinces, appoynteth some Gouernors in the Citie, and some in the Countrey. By thys insolencie hee hathe taken from the people their authoritie, and if he doth this, being yet in contention, and with feare, and as one, that with Gods helpe, shal be punished for it, what crueltie and violence thinke ye, wyll he leaue vndone that thus vseth his country, if he get the victorye? Some there be that take his parte for mony, which he gathered in Fraunce that belongeth to you, who chose rather to bee slaues to him, than to line free with vs. I do not refuse the fight with you and for you, but do offer my selfe a souldior or a Captaine, as you wyl vse me, & if I haue any experience in the warre, or any felicitie vnspotted hitherto, I pray the Gods to graunte me al at this present, & to be such a defender vnto my country in danger, as I haue bin in aduancing the same. Wee oughte to putte oure truste in God, and in our cause, which hath an honest & iust desire of warre for the common wealth of our Country, & in the abundance of our prouision, both by sea and land, whiche we al ready haue, & more, in that we shal haue when we take the thing in hand: For al the nations (as a man may say, frō ỹ East to ỹ *Euxine* sea) al ỹ Grecias & Barbarians be with vs, al kings ỹ be friendes

Pompeys Oracio.

The Athenienses lefte their Citie by the persuasiō of Themistocles.

Ardea in Latio.

frends to ꝑ Romains & to me, haue sente armies, weapons, bittails, & al other necessaries. Therfore go to it chærefully, as to a thing worthy your countrey, your selues, & me, & being mindful of *Cæsars* dispitefulnelle, with spæde fulfil that shal be appointed you. This be said. Al the army, and as many Senators & Gentlemen as were there, which was a greate and a gwdly cõpany, with one voice did praile hym, & praied hym to leade them as he thought gwd. Then he set some ships to kæpe the sea, and sente his army to winter at *Macedonia*, thinking *Cæsar* woulde defer sayling ouer till after winter, the tyme being harde, and the seas rough, and haue remayned at *Rome*, bycause he was Consull, and settle hys rule there: so far amisse did he coniecture of that that was to come. For *Cæsar*, as I sayd before, in the midst of winter did go to *Brundusie*, supposing he shuld most amaze his enimies, by commyng on the sodayn. Therfore neither hauing victuall, nor prouision, nor all his army there, he called thẽ that were present to an assembly, and thus said vnto them:

Pompey is deceiued in *Cæsars* doings.

Cæsar to hys souldiours.

Neither the hardenelle of the tyme, (O frends) that ioyne with mée in this moste noble enterprise, neyther the delay of others, nor the want of conuenient preparation, doe withdraw me from my purpose: for surely I thinke that expedition is the best way for me, and we that be firste here, to go first on with the matter. As for seruants, carriage and baggage, I thinke it belte to leaue behynde vs, that the shippes that bæ nowe here, may receiue vs only as passengers, and we deceiue oure enimies, and sette gwd fortune againste euil tyme, bold courage, against our smal number, and our enimies plenty, against our penury, all the which shall be in oure power, if wæ thinke nothing to be our own, but that we shall winne by force. Let vs go therfore againste their slaues, their prouision and victualles, whiles they be in houses for feare of winter weather. Lette vs goe whiles *Pompey* trusts that I spende the winter in shewes and sacrifices of a Consull. You knowe that I take the chiefeste point in warres, to be attempts of the sodayne. It is honourable to preuent the first opinion of thyngs to come, and to forese sure recept there, for thẽ ꝑ folow vs nert. I haue thoughte thys tyme

Expedition.

Attempts for dayne.

„time méeter to hast, than to stay: that *Pompey*, who thinks I am „yet at Rome, aboute my Consulship, may sée me at hys campe, „and thoughe that I am wel assured of youre good willes, yet I „tarry for your answere.

All the army cryed with great vehemencie, that hee shoulde leade them forth. Then he came from hys seate, and had them to the sea, being fiue legions of footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen chosen, lying at anker, because of the roughe seas.

Cæsar is staied by vveather.

The winter Sunne was at the lowest, and the winde kepte hym backe agaynste hys will and cuill content, who tarryed at *Brundusc* till the first day of the newe yeare. Then came thereto hym two legions more, whome he conueyed ouer that winter in hulkes, for he hadde but fewe Gallies, and they were leftefor the custody of *Sicelie* and *Sardinia*. He was by tempest driuen to ỹ mount *Cerauno*, from whence he sent hys naue backe to fetch the reste of hys army. He in the night went to the Citie of *Orico*, and for the hard, straighte, and rocky way, was compelled to diuide his army into many partes, as the sharpenesse of the countrey myghte serue, so as if hys commyng had béene knowne, hee might easily haue bin kept backe. Aboute the breake of the day, with muche ado, he gathered his army togither.

Orico.

Cæsar hath *Orico*, a Citie of *Epirus* in the marches of *Macedonia*.

The people of the Citie saide vnto the Gouernor, that it was not lawfull to kéepe oute the Romaine Consull when he came, therfore the Gouernour delyuered the keyes to *Cæsar*, and continued wyth hym in place of honor.

Lucretius and *Minutius* on the other side of *Orico*, wyth eighteen Gallies to guarde the victuall that came by shippe to *Pompey*, drowned their ships, that *Cæsar* shoulde not take them, and fled to *Durazzo*. From *Orico* *Cæsar* went to *Appolonia*, where he was receyued of the Citizens, and *Stamerius* the Gouernour left the Citie.

Tyberine it is *Stamerius* in the Greeke.

There *Cæsar* calling hys souldiors togyther, putte them in remembraunce, what they had done by good fortune in the harde winter: they were Lords of the sea without shippes, they hadde wonne *Orico* and *Valona*, without fight: they had gotten their e„nimies things, *Pompey* beingyet ignorant. Nowe (sayeth he) if we

Durazzo hathe bin long in the Turkes handes, but lately it vvas gotten by the *Venetians*.

„ we can catch *Durazzo*, whiche is the Baron of *Pompeys* proui- Barne
„ sion, all is in our handes, that they haue bin labouring for all
„ whole Sommer. When he had sayd thus, he ledde them with
spæde to *Durazzo* a long way, resting neyther day nor nyght.
Pompey hearyng this, came with great haste from *Macedonia*, cut- *Pompey* in hath haste to *Durazzo*.
ting downe the trees as he went, to stoppe the way to *Cæsar*. He
pulled downe bridges, and burnt all prouision by the way, thyn-
king it (as it was in dæde) to be a good deuice, for to haue onely
that preparation that might serue himselfe. If any dust, fyre,
or smoke were sene to eyther of them a farre off, thinking it had
bin of the contrary part, they stroue who shoulde runne fastest,
sparing no time, neyther from meate nor slæpe. Hast there was Hast worth confusion. *Pompeys* army
and spæde, with crying out vpon them that ledde the with torches
lightes, whereof grew disorder and feare, as the enimies had bin
at their hæles: some for wærinesse threw downe their burthens,
or withdrew themselues aside into some corners, thinking it
better to be leste behinde with present rest, than to goe on to it,
withoute feare of the enimie. Both sides taking these paynes,
Pompey came firste to *Durazzo*, and encamped at the walles. By *Pompey* comyeth to *Durazzo* before *Cæsar*, and getteth agayne *Orico*.
his hauie he gote *Orico* agayne and gaue better guard for the
Sea. *Cæsar* lay ouer against *Pompey*, the flood *Alore* flowing be- *Alore* floude.
twæne them. There were diuers skirmishes by them that passed
the flood, but they neuer brought forthe their whole power, for
Pompey did trayne his yong Souldyers, and *Cæsar* loked for the
rest from *Brunduse*. He thoughte, that if they came forthe in the
Spring in greate Shippes, they could not escape the Galleys of
Pompey, that scowred the Seas, and wayted for them: but if they
did come forthe in Winter, when the enimie must many tymes
take the Ilands for their harborough, they might escape them,
or by the winde or their waighte, might passe through them,
wherevpon he sente for them with great hast, and bycause they
came not when he loked, he purposed himselfe to goe to them,
for that they woulde not so sone come with an other, and kepte
his determination secrete. He sente three of his seruants to the
flood, twelue furlongs off, to hire a swifte vessell of good proofe,
as for one that should be dispatched from *Cæsar*. He rose from the

table as not well at ease, and bad his friends sitte still. He put on a priuate garment, & in a Coach came to the Ship, as he that was sent of *Cæsar*. In the rest he bseth his seruantes to call on, he being wrapt, and lay the night altogither vnknowen. The wind was very rough, & the seruaunts cryed to the maister to make hast, y they might escape their enimies which were at hand. The maister passed the flood very speedily, with the strength of oares, but wh̄e he came to the mouth of y flood, the waues of y sea beating against it with boisterous billowes, and he, as though the enimy had followed, labouring to y vttermost, & nothing preuailed, gaue it quite ouer. Wh̄e *Cæsar* bewaild himself, & said alowd, Be bold, stand against the storme, thou carriest *Cæsar*, and *Cæsars* fortune. The Marriners amazed at y voice, receiued courage againe, and by very force gate the Ship out of the floudes mouth, but by the rage of y sea, and y billowes y were bigge, the Ship was driuen to y shore. Day drawing nere, the marriners were afrayd to be spyed of the enimies, but *Cæsar* cursed his enuious fortune, & bade the shipmaister turne home againe, which was quickly done, the wind seruing through the flood. Some blamed *Cæsar* for his boldnesse, some accused him, as taking a thing in hād scarcely fitte for a souldiour, much lesse for a generall. Nowe he perceiuing he could be no more vnknowen, sent *Posthumus* to saple in his place, and bid *Gabinius* bring the army by Sea, and if they refused him, to come with *Antonio*, or with *Caleno*, and if all these fayled, he had letters to the rest, that they should folow *Posthumus*, and take land where they could get it, and not care for the ships, for he had nēede of men, & not of ships. Thus did *Cæsar* truste in fortune, contrary to reason. *Pompey* intēding to take y aduantage, brought forth his people to fight, and two of his souldiers passing y flood where it was lowest, one of *Cæsars* came against them, & kylled thē both, wherfore *Pompey* retired, not liking that lucke, feyning to al other to lose a very good opportunitie. *Posthumus* saples safe to *Brundusc*, but *Gabinius*, not obeying y cōmandement, would nēedes leade as many as followed him through *Slauonia*, without anye rest, all the which were almost slayne by the *Illirians*, which *Cæsar* suffered, for the necessitie of time. *Antonius* by shippe brought the other

Cæsar goeth secretly from *Durrazo* to vnlade *Pompeye*.

Cæsar bewrayes himselfe.

Cæsar is blamed, *Cæsar* sendeth for his men.

Antonio.

One of *Cæsars*, killeth two of *Pompeys*.

Pompey retireth.

Gabinius loseth men in *Slauonia*.

other toward *Valona*, with good and full winde, but about midday the winde waxing calme, twenty of *Pompeys* Ships that scoured the seas espyed him, & came vpon them, who in that calme were in great feare, least the stemmes of the Gallyes should bore the or drowne them, and vsing the best way, made ready their darts & slings to keepe the off, when suddainely, a greater wind than the first arose, which they tooke, and with their maine sayle passed through, beyond their hope. The other being tossed with ỹ storme & the wind, making raging seas, were scattered and driuen to the rocky shores, only two of *Cæsars* were taken sailing vpon ỹ flats. *Antony* brought ỹ rest to a place called *Nymphey*. Now had *Cæsar* all his armie, and so had *Pompey*. They encamped the one against the other vpon hill toppes, making forts and mountes, about the which there was many assaults and skirmishes, the one seking to oppresse the other, and at one of these skirmishes, where *Cæsars* men had ỹ worse. *Scæua* a *Captayne, very notable for his valiantnesse, was striken in the eye with a dart, which done, he lept before the ranke, making token of flight, as though he would haue sayde somewhat. Then he called to a Captaine of *Pompeys*, who was esteemed noble, and sayd vnto him, *Saue one lyke thee, saue thy friende*, send some that may leade me away by hand, because I am hurt, two men came running to him as a fugitiue, of whome the one he killed right out, the other he cut off his shoulder. This he did, being in doubt both of himselfe, and of the fort. The other being ashamed of their faulte, came againe lustely, and recouered their fort. The great valiantnesse also of *Minutius* a frenchman did help much, for in his Target they say was found CCC. darts, & he wounded in vj places, besides the losse of one eye also, both the which *Cæsar* did honor with great gifts, appertaining to souldiers. He thought to haue had *Larissa* by treason, & came in the night to the gates with a fewe at the Temple of *Diana*. This Winter, *Pompeys* father in law did bring another army from *Syria*, with whome *Caius Calisius* did encounter, and was ouercome, losing a legion of eyght hundred. Now *Cæsar* had nothing by sea, all being kepte by *Pompeys* Naues, wherefore his armye was in great want, and eate bread made of grasse and weedes, which

Cæsars skippes escape *Pompeys* Gallyes.

Nymphey an hill.

Scæuas valiantnesse.

* A his Souldier as *Cæsar* vvrighteth of him, receyued 120. Dartes on his Shield, and 250. prickes, and 70. vvounds on his bodye at thys tyme, and of another in *Frace*, vvhen his headpeece vvas broken, and he hurt in the face, and in the thigh, hys shielde stricken dovvne, hys svvord broken, he lept into the Sea, armed as he vvas, and came safe to *Cæsar*, crying *parce Imperator*, bycause it vvas a fault to bee vnarmed. *Plutarch* telleth of such another, vvhē *Cæsar* vvas in *Englande*, and hee nameth one *Icilius*, but nothing is sayde of *Minutius*. The Italian translator adderh none, & otherwise than is in the Text. *Minutius*, I should saye that one like vnto other.

Cæsar loseth a legion of *Cæsar* in vvante. Note. The vvorde that goeth before is vvritten with *Chara*.

Pompeys words for the vvant of Cæsars men.

certayne fugitiues shewed to *Pompey* as a good token, but he iaped nothing at it, but sayde, *with what beastes doe we fight?* *Cæsar* being driuen by necessitie, broughte forthe all his army, to

Pompey refuseth the fight.

force *Pompey* to fighte, but he, though many of his men Cattes, were thereby abandoned, yet would not stirre, whereuppon *Cæsar* being maruellously greeued, toke in hand an enterprise, both difficult and strange, and that was, to enuiron *Pompeys* Camp from

The enterprise of Cæsar.

Sea to Sea, which as it was a great thing to do, so if it toke not place, yet should it carrie a fame of glory for the noble enterprise,

Eight furlongs maketh a myle.

for it was a thousande and two hundred furlongs, and yet he toke it in hand. *Pompey* made Contreworkes and walles. And thus both busied themselues to defeate the other, and at the last

A fight.

there was a great fight betweene them, in the which *Pompey* did very valiantly ouerthrow *Cæsars* Souldioures, and followed the fleeyng to their Campe. He toke many of their ensignes, and the Eagle, which is the chiefe Standerd to the *Romaines* with much

Cæsar repulsed.

ado was saued by the bearers regarde, and throwne into their Trench. This fleeyng being so notorious, *Cæsar* came on with another company, whiche was no lesse afrayde, for though *Pompey* were a good way off, yet could they not abide his sighte, nor stay,

Feare of Cæsars men.

though they were hard at their Camp, neyther goe in order, nor obey *Cæsars* commaundements, but euery one fledde whether he could, neuer looking backe, without shame, without commaundemente, or reason. *Cæsar* ranne about, and with rebuke did shewe them, that *Pompey* was farre off, and beheld them how they threw downe their ensignes, and fledde. Some with muche adoe stode still as men amazed, looking on the ground for shame, such a confusion fell vpon them. There was one that turned his ensigne, and thrust the poynt againste the Generall, who was killed of *Cæsars* garde. They ẏ went into the Camp, did not returne to their places, but left all forsaken, and the Trenche vnkepte. It was then thoughte, if *Pompey* had come forth with his power, he had made an end of all the warre, with ẏ one feate: but *Lauinius* (God

Pompeys victory not followed.

so working it) persuaded him rather to pursue them that fledde, and he somewhat slow of himselfe, or peraduenture distrusting that some traynes hadde bin layde in the Campe for him, or be-

cause

cause he contemned to do it, as though the warre were nowe ended. He set vpon them that were yet abroade, whereof he killed many, and that daye in two fightes he toke eyght and twenty Banners, leauing the other occasion, that mighte haue made an ende of all, which *Cæsar* could not denye, but that that day had ended the warre, if his enimies could haue vsed the victory.

Pompey ioyfull of this victory, sente letters of it to Kings and Cities, and thoughte that *Cæsars* Souldioures would haue reuolted vnto him, oppressed with famine, and ouerthrowe in fighte, and speciallye his Captaynes for feare of their offence, but they (God working repentance in them) lamented their faulte, and when *Cæsar* beheld them gently, and gaue them pardon, they were throughly wery with themselues, and with a mutation beyond [illegible] him, after their Countrey manner, to take Repentance of *Cæsars* Souldyers. their [illegible], and to kill euery tenth man. But when *Cæsar* would not graunt to that, they were the more greeued, and confessed their sinne vnto their iniured by them, and cryed, that the ensigne bearers might be punished, as though they shoulde not haue fledde, if the standers had not turned. *Cæsar* would not grant to this neither, but punished a fewe for a fashion, whereby so great a courage through this moderation entred into them, as they desired him he would forthwith set vpon his enimies, and very earnestly they exhorted and encouraged him to it, promising to amende their fault with a notable victory, and they resorted together in heapes, and sware in *Cæsars* syghte neuer to returne from the fielde, vnlesse they gotte the fyghte. His friendes wyshed hym to vse thys repentance and promptnesse of the armye, but hee sayde vnto the multitude, that he woulde at a better opportunitie leade them againste their enimies, and badde them then remember thys forwardnesse. But to hys friends he sayde, that before he dyd that, he must take out of theyr heartes the feare that was in them for the late losse, and to tarrie, tyll the fiercenesse of the enimie were abated: then dyd he confesse, that he had erred, in placing his Campe at *Dirrachio*, where all *Pompeys* preparation was, and that it behoued hym to seeke other places, and draw *Pompey* where he myghte haue the lyke wante. *Cæsar* remedyeth.

Cæsars mildnesse in punishmentes.

which when he had layd, he wente straighte to *Velona*, and from thence to *Thessaly* secretely by night. *Gomphie* a little Citie that woulde not receyue him, he toke in his rage, and gaue it to his Souldyers to spoyle. The Souldyers that had bin long pynes, filled themselues of all things excessiuely, and were dronke out of measure, especially the *Germanes* were tolde at for their dronkennesse. And now againe it was thought, that *Pompey* might'e haue come on, and done some notable feate, but he by negligence, vtterly omitted to doe it, till *Cæsar* had marched seuen dayes, and camped at *Pharsalia*. Yet *Gomphie* they say was serue a notable chance, dead bodyes of noble old men, die lie openly in a Phisitians shoppe, with cuppes in their hands, without wounds, to the number of twenty, as though they hadde bin inuited to a kynges king, lying all vpon the ground and one setting in a chayre as a Phisition, that gaue them the potion of recreation.

Gomphie giuen in spoyle, the firste City in *Thessaly*, going frō *Epiro*.

Germanes in *Cæsars* time, a dronke people.

Cæsar encāpeth at *Pharsalia*, before *Pompey* arriueth from *Durazzo*.

The vvilling death of diuers at *Gomphie*.

Pompey made a counsell concerning *Cæsars* remouing. *Afranius* was in opinion, that the Nauy which was great, should be sent against *Cæsar*, they being Lords of the Sea, he might cut off things from hym, being in want, and in a wandring iourney, and that *Pompey* hymselfe should leade the army of the lande into *Italy*, whiche was yet enclyned vnto him, and vopte of enimyes, and so being Lorde of it, *France* and *Spaine*, he might deale with *Cæsar* at home from the principall parte. But he neglecting this that had bin best to haue bin done, followed them that said, that *Cæsars* army by and by would forsake him for famine, or not long lyke to hold out, for the victory wonne at *Durazzo*, whereas contrarywise, it should be a great shame to leaue *Cæsar* fleeyng, and that he that had ouercome, should seme to flée, as though he were ouercome. He giuing place to these reasons, and for the regarde that he had of the nations of the East, that depended vpon hym, and fearing least *Lucius Scipio* shou'd receyue any harme in *Macedonie*, and before all, hauing a mind to vse his army, that was so courageous to fight, he remoued, and set his Camp against *Cæsar* at *Pharsalo*, about foure miles asunder.

Afranius.

Diuersitie of opinion.

Both *Cæsar* and *Pompey* encamp at *Pharsalo*.

To *Pompey* victual was brought frō euery place, for the ways, the portes, and storehouses, were so open vnto him, that by land

by

he lacked nothing, and by sea, whatsoeuer winde blewe, it serued his turne. Abundance vvith *Pompey*.

Cæsar hadde onely suche foode as he coulde get by daily forze, and yet none of his dio forsake him, but by a diuine instinct, required they mighte giue battell, thinking themselues to be farre better than the other yong Souldyoures, bycause they had serued in the warres tenne yeares together. But now to spende the tyme in making of mountes and trenches, and cariage of victuall, they were the weaker, bycause of theyr age, therefore it was better to trye all at once with labour, than by idlenesse to punishe with famine. When *Pompey* vnderstode this, he thought it daungerous to deale with suche experte men, that cared not for themselues, and to aduenture all at one worke against *Cæsars* noble fortune. He thought it surer, and lesse dãgerous, to cõsume them with wante, hauing no power to be relieued by land, nor no vse of the Sea, nor not a Shippe to conuey themselues away at a neede. Thus hée determined by very good reason to delay the warre, and to drawe them from famine to famine: but the greater number of Senatoures, and of them called Gentlemen that were most honored, the Kynges and Princes that were with him, some for lacke of experience, some for fulfilling hardynesse for theyr victory at *Durazzo*, some, bycause they were greater in number, and some, bycause they would rather haue a short conclusion, than an honorable ende, and some, bycause they were werry of the warre, all exhorted him to the fyghte, thewyng that *Cæsar* dyd alwayes prouoke hym, and inuite hym to it: but he dyd vse that reason against themselues, for to *Cæsar* it was necessary so to doe, but to them, delay, til occasion, was muche better, for néede driue *Cæsar* to doe as hée dyd. But beeyng styll incensed by all the armye, that was wared proude for the victorye at *Durazzo*, and by the best sorte that obiected ambition vnto hym, and therefore of purpose was so slowe, that hée myghte beare rule ouer so many as good as hymselfe, and thereupon called him Kyng, and *Agamemnon*, bycause hée commaunded Kynges in the warre: hée left hys owne consideration, and gaue place to theires, VVant vvith *Cæsar*. Courage of *Cæsars* Souldiours. The request of *Cæsars* Souldioures. *Pompeys* consideration good, but not followed. *Pompey* called *Agamemnon*.

(God

Pompeys alteration.

(God ſtriking him now) and all the reſt of that warre. He grew ſickly and ſlowe, contrary to his nature in all things, unwillingly he prepared for the fighte, to his owne deſtruction, and them that gaue hym counſell. *Cæſar* that nyghte, hadde ſente three legions to gette victuals, thanking *Pompey* for his delay, and thynking he would not haue changed hys minde. He had alſo ſente aboute for more foode, but when he hearde that *Pompey* prepared for the battell, he knewe he dyd it of neceſſitie, and that he was dryuen to it by force of his armye, hée called hys armye forth wyth, and dyd prepare lykewyſe. He at midnight made Sacrifice to *Mars* and to *Venus* hys auncetſors, for from *Iulus*, *Aeneas* ſonne, it ſhoulde ſæme by the name, that the houſe of *Iulia* came. He vowed to dedicate a Temple vnto hir in *Rome*, if ſhe fauoured hym, and broughte hym victorie.

Petigree of *Cæſar* from *Venus*.

A lightning.

A lightning came from Heauen, and wente from *Cæſars* Campe to *Pompeys*, and there was extinct. *Pompeys* ſyde thoughte ſome notable thyng ſhoulde come from their enimies to them, but *Cæſar* dyd expounde it, that he ſhoulde quenche *Pompeys* glorye. That ſame nyghte when *Pompey* did Sacrifice, the hoſt fledde away, and coulde no more be found. And a ſwarme of Bées lighted vpon the Aulter, whyche is a little and a ſtinging flye. And before daye, there came a ſtraunge feare in the Campe, the whyche *Pompey* came to ſearche, and after fell into a déepe ſléepe, and béeyng awaked of his friendes, hée tolde them he dreamed he had dedicate a Temple at *Rome* to *Venus* the Victorice, not knowyng that *Cæſar* hadde vowed the ſame.

Tokens.

Pompeys dreame

His friendes and all the hoſt put truſt in theſe thinges, and were glad of them, and as they vſed all thinges with too much contempte and fiercenelle, ſo wente they to thys battaple, as though all had bin theyr owne. Many dyd decke their Tentes with Bayes, as token of victorie, and their ſeruauntes prepared good chéere for them, and ſome dyd contende for *Cæſars* office of hygh Prieſt, all the which, *Pompey*, as a man experte in warre, dyd miſlike, and though he were troubled, yet did he diſſemble it, and helde his peace with doubt and feare, as he that nowe dyd no more rule, but was commaunded of other, bycauſe of force,

The ſecuritie of *Pompeys* army.

and

and againſte hys wyll, he did al things. So greate a diſcourage-
ment to ſo noble a man, that til that day, had alwayes had proſ-
perous hap, ſeemed on the ſodaine to fall vppon hym, eyther for
that he was not followed when hee gaue good counſell, but was
driuen to put the liues of ſo many in hazarde, and his owne glo-
ry, which he had kepte till that day vnſpotted, or for that he had
ſome diuination of the euil, wyth feare that was at hande,
that that day he ſhoulde fall from ſo great a Lordſhip, onelye to
"hys friends thus he ſayde: That whoſoeuer had the victorye
"that day, ſhoulde be cauſe of great calamitie to ỹ Romains for
"euer. He ſet order for the battell, and by hys wordes that hee
ſpake in that feare, many dyd gather that if he had wonne that
day, he would not haue geuen ouer the rule. *Pompeys* alteration.

Of the number that they had, whereof manye ſpeake vncer-
tainely, I will followe the Romaine Authours that write moſt
reaſonably of the Italians, in whome was the chiefe truſte, not
regardyng or ſpeakyng much of the confederates, in whom they
had little affiaunce. *Cæſars* number. *Pompeys* nũber.

Cæſar had two and twentye thouſande, and in them aboute a
thouſand horſe. *Pompey* had double as many, and ſeauen thouſand
horſe: ſo they that ſpeake likely, ſay there was at thys battel. lxx.
M. Italians: they that write leſſe, three ſcore thouſand: they that
make moſte, foure hundred thouſande, whereof ſome ſaye, that
Pompey had three parts, and ſome, that of three parts he had two.

Thus doubtfully haue they left the matter: but how many ſo-
euer they had, their chiefe truſt was in the Italians.

Of Straungers *Cæſar* had French horſemen and alſo French
men beyond the Alpes, of Grecians, Dolopians, Acarnians, &
Aetolians. Theſe helpes had *Cæſar*.

Pompey had al the nations of the Eaſte, in heaps both of horſe
and fotemen, of Grecians, he hadde the Lacedomonians diſtri-
buted vnder their owne Kyngs, the reſte were Peloponeſſians,
and with them the Boetians. The Athenienſes alſo came to
thys warre, although both ſides proclaymed they ſhoulde not
be hurte, as the ſacred men of the lawe makers, drawn thither
by the glory of this battayle, wherein they ſhould fyghte for the Confederates of *Pompey*. *Pandalia.* *Morea.*

Empire of the Romaines.

After the Græks, there were but fewe of all the sea towarde the East, but the inhabitours came to *Pompey*, Thracians, Hellespontians, Bithinians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphilians, Pysidianes, Paphlagonians, Cilicians, Syrians, Pheniteans, and a nation of Hebrewes, Arabians also nigh vnto these, Cyprians, Rhodians, flingers of *Creta* and other Ilanders. Kyngs and Princes also came to ayde hym. *Deiotarus* the Tetrarche of the Easte Galatians, *Ariarathes* King of *Capadocia*, the Armenians wythin *Euphrates*, *Taxiles* did leade the Armenians beyonde *Euphrates*, *Magabates* lieutenaunte to *Artapa* the Kyng. Other inferiour Lordes resorted to thys trauayle, besides thrée score shippes of Egipt, sente of the Princes of the same, *Cleopatra* and hir brother, being yet a childe. But these were not vsed in the warres, nor anye of the other shippes, but all layedely at *Corcyra*, wherein it séemeth that *Pompey* did euill, to neglect so great a nauy, wherewyth hée myghte haue defeated hys enimies of al thynges: but he trusted vpon hys armye by land, and woulde trye it wyth them that for theyr continuaunce wyth long experience were full of courage, and as sauage people grædy of the fight. But to beware of them, the mishap, by Gods worlyng, at *Durazzo* séemeth to bée the impediment, which to *Cæsar* was the fittelle opportunitie of all other. For by that *Pompeys* armye ware insolent, and made little accompte of their Capitayne, and toke in hande thys matter verye vnskil-
„fully. But God hadde so appoynted it, that it shoulde come
„to suche a state, as it is nowe ouer all. Then eyther of them assemblyng theyr armyes, exhorted them, and firste *Pompey* said thus:

Deiotarus. *Ariarathes.* *Taxiles.* *Magabates.* *Cleopatra.* *Corcyra.*

Pompeys Oratio.

„ You (my fellow Souldioures) do nowe commaunde as Cap-
„taynes, and not obey as Souldiours: For wheras I would
„haue consumed *Cæsar*, you wyl nédes call vpon the fyghte:
„therfore as appoynters of the battayle, vse it, as the more,
„may do the lesse, and as vanquishers contemne them that
„be vanquished, and as the yong despise the olde, and as the
„lusty may the féeble. You haue of youre syde power, prepara-

tion,

tion, and conſcience of the cauſe, for you trauaile for libertye
& your country, with law and good opinion, with ſuch men as bée
Senatours and Gentlemen, againſte one man that woulde v-
ſurpe a gouernment. Go to therfore as becommeth, with good
hope, and haue in your ſight the fléeing away they made at *Du-*
razzo, and howe many of their enſignes we toke that day. This
ſaide *Pompey*, but *Caſar* to hys men ſpake thus.

The hardeſt (my friends) we haue ouercome, for in ſteade of *Caſars* Oration.
hunger and wante, we fight wyth men. This day determineth
all, remember your promiſe at *Durazzo*, and what you ſware one
to another in my preſence, that you woulde not returne, but vi-
ctors. Theſe be they (my Souldioures) whome wée haue fol-
lowed from the pillers of *Hercules*. Theſe bée they that fledde
from vs Italy. Theſe be they that after oure tenne yeares ſer-
uice, after ſo many enimies and victories as harde to bée tolde
wonne of vs, after Spayne, Fraunce, and Britaine, brought by
vs to oure Countrey, and well nighe fourtye Realmes, doth
oppreſſe vs without rewarde, triumphe, or recompence. Theſe
be they whome I coulde not perſwade, deſiring but ryghte, to be
wel thought of for my well doing. You knowe whome I delyu-
ered vnhurte, hoping that we might haue had ſome iuſtice at
their handes. Of all theſe, be all you togither with me reuen-
gers thys day, euen as you knowe my carefulneſſe, my faithful-
neſſe, and my frée liberalitie, it is no harde matter for yong ſoul-
diours vnexperte to be ouercome of them that paines haue paſt,
and well bin tried by proofe. Se the youthfull contempte and
diſdayne of the armye againſte the Capitayne, ſo the di-
ſtruſte of hymſelfe, whome I certainlye knowe to goe to thys
feate with vnwilling minde, and ful of feare, fallyng from hys
conditions, is giuen to eaſe and ſlouthfulneſſe, and nowe not a
ruler, but ouer-ruled of other. And thus much thinke, that I
haue ſpoken vnto you of his Italians, for as for his cõfederats,
care not for them, nor make any accompte of them, nor offer a-
nye earneſte ſyghte to them. that be ſlaues of *Syria*, *Phrygia*, and
Lydia, are euer ready to run away, and be kept vnder, whom I

„ certaynlye knowe, and you shall euidently see, that *Pompey* wyll „ not vse in ordered place of battayle. Onlye haue eie of the Ita„ lians, and if the confederates runne vppon you like rude doggs: „ downe with them, and spare the other as youre kinsmen, and „ vse your confederats, for to afray them. But before all things, „ remember I maye see you performe that you haue promi„ sed, and that you maye chose eyther victorye or deathe, pull „ downe youre Campe, and all the trenches, that wee may haue „ nothing, vnlesse wee wynne it, lette oure enimies see that we be „ without Campe, and that of necessitie, wee muste encampe in „ theyrs.

When he had thus saide, hee sente oute two thousande beye olde Souldiors, that had the charge of the Campe, who wet forthe and digged downe the trenche wyth a deepe silence, and filled the ditches.

Pompey sigheth.

When *Pompey* sawe that, and some thoughte they made way to flee, he perceyued the bolde determination, and with a syghe sayde vnto hymselfe, that thys fyght should be with wild beasts oppressed with famin, a fit medicine for the. But now there was no more dallying, the thing being come to the swordes pointe, therefore he set aboute foure thousande to keepe the campe, and placed the reste betweene the towne of *Pharsalo* and the floude *Enipeo*. *Cæsar* also arayd hymselfe ouer agaynste hym, eyther of them placed the Italians diuided into three partes, distaunt a little a sunder, they sette the horsemen on the sydes of them by portios, Archers and Slingers were intermedled with them all.

Pharsalo the towne where the battel was. *Enipeus* of *Thessaly* and of *Elide*. Italians the chiefe strength of both sides.

Thus were the Italians ordered, in whome eche of them had their chiefe confidence, as for their confederats, they vsed them rather for a shew.

Pompey had a greate number of dyuerse language: of them he placed the Macedonians, the Peloponesians, the Boetians, and the Athenienses, nexte the Italians battayle, bycause of theyr good order and silence.

Order of *Pompeys* armye.

The other, euen as *Cæsar* coniectured, he commaunded euerye natiō by it selfe, as warders out of the ray of battel, to compasse

the

the enimie when the fight began, and to purſue them with as much hurte as they coulde, and to put *Cæſars* campe to ſpoyle whiche was voyde of defence. *Scipio Pompeis* father in lawe, did leade the maine bataple in the middeſt, *Domitius* the lefte wing, & *Lentulus* the right, *Aphranius* and *Pompey* kept the cãpe.

Scipio.
Domitius.
Lentulus.
Aphranius.
Pompey.

The leaders of *Cæſars* hoſte, were *Sylla*, *Antonius*, and *Decimus Cæſar*, as he was wonte, leade the tenth legion, whiche the enimies ſeyng, brought agaynſt them the beſte horſemen, that beyng more in number, they ſhoulde, if they might, encompaſſe them. When *Cæſar* perceyued that, he layd three thouſand of the boldeſt footemen in abuſhment, whome he willed, that when they ſawe the enimie goyng aboute to encloſe, they ſhoulde leape forth, and with their pikes driue as harde as they could, at the faces of them, for he knew that they being yong and vnexpert, would not abyde the peril of the face. Thus did they deuiſe on bothe ſides, and went about in euery place, and when they had gyuen the order, and exhorted them to good hart, they gaue their wordes of knowledge.

Cæſars order.
Sylla.
Antonius.
Decimus.
Cæſar.

Cæſar. Venus the Conquereſſe.
Pompey. Hercules vnconquered.

When all was ready, they ſtode a good whyle in a great ſilẽce, ſtirred not, but loked one vpõ an other, as amazed men which ſhoulde beginne the fight. The multitude that hytherto had no compaſſion at all, now pitied that ſo greate an armie of *Italians* ſhould at once be hazarded, and that their vertue ſhoulde be tried only vpon themſelues, and the chiefe hurte be of *Italians* agaynſt *Italians*, and now at the very pynche of the miſchiefe at hande, the deſire of glory that had incẽſed and blinded them, was quenched, and conuerted into feare: for when reaſon dyd throughly way the affection of fame, and meaſured alſo the daunger preſent, they ſawe the cauſe conſiſted in the contentiõ of two men, for whoſe ſuperioritie all their liues was ventured, ſo as whither were ouercome, coulde not be ſafe in the furdeſt place, nor a great multitude of noble men for theyr ſakes: they remembred their auncient friendſhip and affinitie, howe many things they had done to their owne honour and aduance-

The aſtoniſhment of bothe armies.

ment, which now did weare their weapõs against thẽselues, & brought all that did serue them, to the like mischiefe, being of one nation, Citizens, kinsmen and allies, yea and some brethren. For so it hapned in this warre, as among so many thousands as were togither of one nation, diuerse and straunge effectes must happe, whiche, eyther of them nowe considering, were striken presently with a great repentaunce, as though in that day, they should be eyther first or last vpon the earth, and were loth to beginne so doubtful a deede, and fell a weeping on both sides. Standing thus and beholding one another, the daye passed: the *Italians* standing in due order with silence continued: but *Pompey* perceyuing his straungers to be troubled with this stay, and doubting least confusion might follow therof, at the beginning, first gaue the token of battayle, and *Cæsar* did the like. Then the trumpets stroke the sounde of battayle as was required in such a number: beside, in sundry parts, the Heralds and the Captaines, were at hand to giue encouragement: they marched stately with astonishment and silence, as men that had ben in many like pastimes: Weing at hand, the first charge was giuen with Archers, and Artillery, and soden onsets of horsemen to enclose the fotemen. There was to and fro, til *Pompeys* horsemen hauing the better, did enuiron the tenth legion. Then *Cæsar*, giuing his token to them that lay in a wayte, they stepped forth against the horsemen, and with theyr pykes put vp, did lay them on the faces: they could not abyde that boldnesse, nor the blowes made at theyr mouthes and eyes, but confusedly fled away, & then did *Cæsars* horsemen enclose the other fotemen, being naked, whiche feared to haue bene enclosed themselues. Whẽ *Pompey* perceyued thys, he commaunded the fotemen not to moue or stirre from the battaile, nor to throw light weapons, but to stand distante in the forefront, and with their pykes at hande to resist the enemy comming on them. Some prayse this pollicie, as the best, against compassing: but *Cæsar* in his Epistles doth disprayse it, because the strokes that are giuen with a mouing vehemence, are mightier, and men by forcing forward, be the bolder, and they ẏ remayne stil, ware fearefull, and easie to be hitte, as standing markes that are

The strange abashment of both sides.

The vnset giuẽ.

Pollicie of Pompey not allowed.

shotte

shotte at, as then it proued in dēd. The tenth legion with him, fiercely following, did beat the bodies of *Pompeis* leaft battayle, voyde of horsemen, and standing still till they put them out of order, and by very force made them to turne, which was the beginning of ẏ victorie in the other multitude. Although there was diuerse and sundrye wayes of slaughter and hurting, yet was there not a voyce heard in suche a maine battayle, but sighes only and grones of them that fell valiauntlye in theyr places appointed. The confederates, as though they had come to sée them fight a pryse, did marueil at their goodly order, but had no harte (for wondering at them) neyther to enter *Cæsars* campe which was kept of a fewe, and they very olde men, nor to do any other thing, but stande and gaze. But when the lefte wing of *Pompeis* host did retire by little & little, yet fighting still, the confederates foully fled away, and cryed, we be ouercome. They ranne vpon their owne tentes and campes, as thoughe they had bene the others, whiche when they had spoyled, they went their ways as fast as they could. The other *Italian* army perceyuing they had the worse, gaue backe first in order, defending themselues as they might, but the enemye still comming vpon them, as now hauing the victorie, they also turned & fled. *Cæsar* then vsed great policie, ẏ they should not gather togither again, that this labor might not only make an end of one fight, but of al the war. He sent trūpets about ẏ battels, cōmaunding thē to refrayn frō killing of their countreymen, and continue only agaynst the strangers, & that they should go among thē ẏ wer ouercome, & byd thē stay wout feare. This declaratiō of ẏ crier was lerned frō one mā to another, & was a warning word for *Pōpeis* host to stay wout fear: so passing by ẏ other es *Italiās* of one lāguage & order, they beat down the strangers not able to resist, & ther was gret slaughter made. After *Pōpey* saw this alteratiō, he was astonyed & went softly into his cāpe, & being come to his tent, he sat down spēchlesse, as they say *Aiax Telamonius* did for ẏ grief he suffered in ẏ losse amōg his enimies at ẏ battayle of *Troy*: of the other, very few came into ẏ cāpe, for *Cæsars* Heralds had made thē stay wout feare, & being ouerpassed of their enemies, they might disperse thēselues here & there.

Pompeys confederates flee.

Cæsars policie.

A vvorde to stay. Stay vvithout feare.

Pompey amased and speachlesse. *Aiax Telamonius* fell into astonishment for the iudgement giuē against him.

The

The day was almoſt at an ende, and *Cæſar* roade aboute with marueloꝰ payne, prayng them that they woulde take yet a little more labour, til they had gotten *Pompeis* campe, ſhewyng them that if the enimies returned, they ſhould be winners but of one day, but if they got his campe to, the warre ſhoulde be ended for euer. He held vp his handes to them, and was the firſt that ranne towarde it. This did ſtirre the mindes of them that had weary bodies to ſée their generall go before them: the victorie of things paſt, and the hope to gette the campe, with al that was in it, did ſtic, to that againe, and when men be in hope and felicitie, they feele the leſſe of labour and extremitie. They went on with great courage, and beate away the warders of the ſame, whiche when *Pompey* ſawe, he onely brake into thys ſpeache after hys long ſilence, *what, oures tentes too*, when hée had thus ſpoken, he chaunged hys garment, and leapt on horſe with feure frendes, and neuer lefte runnyng till by breake of day he came to *Lariſſa*. *Cæſar* (as he threatened) at the giuing of the onſet, did lodge in *Pompeis* pauilion, and ſupped with his prouiſion, and the reſt of hys army did the lyke.

Cæſar exhorting his ſouldiours to make an end.

Pompey fleeth.

Lariſſa in *Theſſalie*, and in other places.

There were ſlayne in this battell of bothe partes of *Italians* (for the ſtrangers bicauſe of their multitude and contempt be not numbred) of *Cæſars* armye thirtie captaynes of bandes, & CC. ſouldiours, or as ſome ſay, two thouſand and ij. hundred. Of *Pompeis* tenne Senatours, of the whiche was *Lucius Domitius* once appoynted *Cæſars* ſucceſſour in *Fraunce*, and of them that be called Gentlemen, about fourtie of the beſte: of the reſt of the army, they that make moſte, ſay. xrb. M. But *Aſinius Pollio* that was at that fight with *Cæſar*, wryteth that onely fyre thouſande of *Pompeys* was ſlayne at that battayle. This was the ende of that great fight at *Tharſallo*.

The loſſe of *Cæſars*.

Pompeys loſſe.

L. Domitius.

Cæſar ſayth *Pompey* loſte xv. M. by death, and xxv. M. by taking, the reſte fledde.

Aſinius Pollio.

Euery man confeſſed that *Cæſar* had deſerued the firſte and ſeconde honours, and with him the tenth Legion. *Craſſinius* a leader of a bande, was thought worthy the thirde, who goyng to y fight, being aſked of *Cæſar* what he thought, anſwered courageouſly, we ſhall winne (O *Cæſar*), and then ſhalte finde me here eyther alyue or dead. The army did witneſſe, that he going

Honours of victorie.

Valiantneſſe of *Craſſinius*.

from

from hand to hande like a man in a furie, did as much as a mã might do. When he was sought for, and found amõg the dead, *Cæsar* did bury him with the ornaments due vnto him, & erected him a Tumbe nygh ỹ cõmon Sepulchre. Põpey frõ *Larissa* wyth lyke spæde went to the sea side, where he toke a little boate, & by chaunce met a shippe a floate, and sayled to *Mitilena*, where he receyued his wife *Cornelia*, and passed with foure Gallyes, which the *Rodians* and *Tirians* had brought to him. He refused to sayle to *Corcyra* and *Libya*, where he had an other great army, & a mighty nauy by sea. He made his course to *Parthia*, thinking to recouer al againe, keping his purpose close frõ his friends, tyll he came with much ado to *Cilicia*. There they prayed hym to beware of the *Parthians*, whiche had lately ouercome *Crassus*, whereby they were the more insolent, and that it was not fit to bring *Cornelia*, so fayre a woman, among so vntemperate people, especially being *Crassus* daughter. Thẽ he deuised whither he should go, into *Egipt*, or to *Iuba* king of *Barbarie*. They thought no good to be had with *Iuba*, therfore they counselled him to go to *Egipt*, a nation nygh, of great dominion, fertyl and abounda nt of grayne, money, and nauye, whose kings though they were children, yet friends to him for his fathers sake: and so for this cause he sayled into *Egipt*.

Pompey taketh the Sea. *Mitilena*, in *Lesbo* now *Metelin*.

Pompeys determination of recouery.

Cornelia *Pompeis* wife *Crassus* daughter

At this time *Cleopatra* being ciected out of the kingdome by hir brother, vñ whom she shoulde ioyntly haue raigned, prepared an army in *Syria* againste him. *Ptolomeus Cleopatras* brother was at a place in *Egipt* called *Cassium*, and did lye in campe to resist his sisters forces, and as fortune wold, *Pompey* was driuẽ thither. When he perceiued an army aland, he stayed his ship, and thought, (as it was in dede) that the king was there: hee sent vnto him, to shewe of the amity betwæne hys father and him. The king was thirténe yeare olde: one *Achillas* did gouerne his army, and *Photinus* and Enuch was his Treasurer. They beganne to consulte what was beste to be done wyth *Pompey*: There was also *Theodotus* of *Samos*, an Orator and Scholemaister to the king, who dyd perswade the wicked acte to deceyue and kyl *Pompey*, to gratifye *Cæsar*. This counsel preuayled

Crassus an hil at the end of *Nilus*. *Ptolomeus* against *Cleopatra*.

Achillas. *Photinus*. *Theodotus*.

naȳled, they ſent a ſimple boate as though the roughneſſe of ȳ Sea would not ſuffer a greater. Some of the kings ſeruauntes wente into the boate, and with them *Sempronius* a Romayne, who had ſerued vnder *Pompey*, and was nowe with the kyng. He offered his hande in the kings name to *Pompey*, and willed hym to come as to his ſon and friende. As this was done, the army was ſet in order, and drewe neare the ſea as to honoure *Pompey*, and the king was ſet in the midſt in a purple veſture to be ſéne of all.

Sempronius.

Pompey ſuſpected all, both the ordering of the army, and the meanes of the veſſel: chiefly bycauſe the king came not toward him, nor ſent any of his noble men, he ſpake a verſe of *Sophocles*:

A verſe of *Sophocles.*

VVho to a Tiranne goes,
His ſlaue he is, though free he roſe.

And then he entred ȳ boate. Euery man being ſilent in ȳ paſſage, he rather ſuſpected, and chiefly *Sempronius*, eyther bycauſe he knew him to be a *Romaine*, and hauing ſerued vnder hym, or bycauſe he did coniecture it, ſéeing him only ſtāding, according to ſouldiours diſcipline, who doe not ſet, when the chiefe is by. Then he turned to him and ſayd, ſurely I ſhould know thée, O Souldier. He nodded at hym agayn, and as he turned, was the firſt that ſtroke him, then the other. His wife and friends ſéeing this a farre off, cried, and held vp their handes to the gods reuengers of friendſhippe broken, and ſayled away ſtreyght as from enimies lande. They that were about *Photino* cut of *Pompeis* heade, and kept it for *Cæſar* as a great gratification: but he worthily reuenged this wicked déed vpon them. The reſt of his body was buryed at the ſea bancke, and a ſilly Sepulchre was made, to the which one wrote this Epitaph:

Sempronius a *Romaine* firſt ſtryketh *Pompey*

Pompey cruellye killed.

Epitaph of *Pópey*

Lo here he lyeth in ſimple graue,
A Temple that deſerude to haue.

In proceſſe of tyme the graue was couered with ſand: and certayne

certaine Images of Brasse which the inhabitants did afterwarde set vp to *Pompey* vnder the Hil *Caßius*, were taken away and layde vppe in a secrete place of a Temple. In my tyme *Adrianus* the Romaine Emperour in hys iourney that way, did cause it to be sought and found out, and made the graue to be amended, so as euery man might see it, and erected the Images that were dedicated to *Pompey*.

Adrianus the Emperour restoreth the graue of *Pompey*.

This was the end of *Pompey*, by whom so many great battayles had bene fought, and the Romaine Empire so increased, as he had the surname of Great, neuer being ouercome before, but from his youth still inuincible and happy: and frō three and twenty to eight and fiftie yeares, he ruled like a king, but in opinion supposed to gouerne like a populare man, for the emulation of *Cæsar*.

Pompey the great.

Lucius Scipio, *Pompeis* father in Lawe, and all the other noble men that did escape the battayle, fledde to *Cato* to *Corcyra*, who was generall of another army, and three hundred Gallies, being left there as a prudent Counsellour. The noblest of *Pompeis* friendes deuided the Nauye. *Caßius* sayled to *Pontus* to *Pharnaces*, to stirre him against *Cæsar*. *Scipio* and *Cato* wente into *Libya* trusting vppon *Varus* and his army, and *Iuba* king of *Numidia* his confederate. *Pompey*, *Pompeis* eldest sonne, and *Labienus* wyth him and *Scapula*, hauing a part, wente into *Spaine* to make it against *Cæsar*, and they got him another army of *Iberians* and *Celtiberians* and slaues to haue the preparation greater: so mighty a power of *Pompeis* army was yet left, which he, by his infelicitie did abandon when he fled away. They that were in *Lybia* did chose *Cato* for the general Captaine, who for ỹ presence of suche men as had bene Consuls, and others that had bene Lieuetenaunts, and he only a Pretor in *Rome*, refused the same. So *L. Scipio* was made general and a great army was gathered and trayned, and these were the chiefest preparations in *Libya* and *Iberia* gathered against *Cæsar*.

Corcyra an Iland in the *Ionian* sea.

The care of *Pompeys* friends.

Pompeys sonne, *Labienus* *Scapula*.

Cato chosen generall in *Lybia*, refuseth.

After the victorie, *Cæsar* aboade two dayes in *Pharsalo*, sacrificing and recreatyng hys wearye armye, and there made the *Thessalians* free that had serued him, and pardoned the

Thessalians made free of *Cæsar* vvho had serued him.

Athenians at their sute, vsing these wordes: Howe often hath the glorie of your auncestours saued you, whē you haue deserued destruction?

The third day he remoued towarde the East, following the fame of *Pompeis* flighte, and for wante of Gallies sayled ouer *Hellespont* nowe the streyght of Gallipolie. The sea betweene *Europe* and *Asia*. *Cassius* a coward. *Hellespont* in little boates.

Cassius with his number of Gallies met him as he was going to *Pharnaces*, and although he might with his Gallies haue had the aduantage of those little boates, yet for feare of *Cæsars* felicitie and valiantnesse, he was amazed, and suspecting that *Cæsar* had come of purpose to finde him, he helde vp his handes and came from his Gallies into the boates to aske hym pardō, and deliuer him all his Gallies. So much force had the glorye of *Cæsars* felicitie, for I sée none other reason, nor can iudge any other meane in so great difficultie of time, to haue such fortune that he should so afray *Cassius* a valiaunt man, comming vppon him with seauentie Gallies vtterly vnprouided, that he durste not medle with him. For as cowardly as he did now yéld vnto him vpō the Sea, so after did he as cruelly kyl him whē he was Lord of all at *Rome*. Wherefore it is euident that he was then ouerborne with the feare of his felicitie. *Cæsar* thus being saued against all hope, and past *Hellespont*, he pardoned the *Ionians*, *Aetolians*, and other nations that inhabite greate *Cherronesa*, which by one name is called *Asia* ỹ lower. He forgaue them that sent embassadours to craue it. Vnderstanding that *Pompey* was gone to *Egipt* he went to the Rhodes, where he would not tarry for the reste of his armye that was comming to him by parts, but with the Gallies of *Cassius* and the Rhodes, and such men as he presently hadde, he toke shippe at night, and sayled forth, not shewing whether, only commaunding the captaines in the night to follow the light of his shippe, and in the day, the flag of the same: to the maister whereof he commaunded, after he had sayled a good way, to set his course toward *Alexandria*: and so being three dayes vpon the sea, he came thither. In this place he was wel receiued of the kings officers, the king being yet at mount *Cassius*.

Cassius.

Morea.

Cæsar sayleth into *Egipt*.

Cæsar

Cæsar at his comming pretended to haue nothing ado, because of his fewe men, but went about the Citie, to beholde the beautie therof, & stod and heard the Philosophers disputations, whereby he wanne muche loue and good fauour of the Alexandrians, being among them as one hauing nothing to do. But when his army was come, hée layde handes vppon *Photinus* and *Achillas*, and put them to death, for the wickednesse done to *Pompey*. *Theodotus* fled into *Asia*, whome *Cassius* founde there, and caused to be hanged.

Cæsar heareth disputations at Alexandria.

Photinus and *Achillas* kylled.

Theodotus hanged.

The Alexandrians were offended herewith, and sette vppon him with the kings army that was there, and made many fightes with hym about the kings Palaice, and at the sea banke, where *Cæsar* was driuen to take the sea, and to swimme a good way.

Cæsar fined by swimming.

The Alexandrians toke hys cloake and bare it vp as a token of victory. His last battell was wyth the kyng hymselfe at the floude *Nilus*, where he ouercame him, and restored the kingdome to *Cleopatra*, after he had bin nine moneths there. Then he sayled vppon *Nilus* with foure hundred shippes, in company of *Cleopatra*, for whose pleasure he did many things, all the whiche be particularly tolde in my booke of Egiptian matters.

Cæsar ouercommeth the Kyng of *Aegipt*.

Cleopatra restored.

This booke is not extant.

He could not abide to behold *Pompeys* heade that was brought vnto him, but commanded it to be buryed: he also builded a little Temple before the Citie, which was called the Temple of Reuengement, the which in my tyme when *Traiane* the Emperoure did make warre against the Iewes, was pulled downe of them, to serue some turne in the warre.

Cæsar wepte when he did see *Pompeys* heade.

Temple of Reuengement.

Traiane.

When *Cæsar* had done these things in *Alexandria*, he wente wyth hys army thorough *Syria* against *Pharnace*, who had bin very busy and taken diuerse of the Romaine Prouinces, and gotten one victory of *Domitius* lieutenante to *Cæsar*, by the which growing stoute he toke *Amyso* a Citie of *Pontus* allied to the Romaines, all the people whereof he solde as slaues and made their children Enuchs, but when *Cæsar* came, he fled as farre as he coulde, and sent to *Cæsar* for peace by hys Ambassadors, who brought him a crowne of golde, and offered folishlye the kyngs daughter in marryage to hym.

Cæsar against *Pharnace*.

Domitius ouerthrowne in *Syria*.

Amysso a Citie in the confines of *Paphlagonia* & *Capadocia*.

He perceyuing their presentes and messages, wente on wyth his army, entertayning the Kings Ambassadors with ordinary talke, till they came nighe where he was encamped, and then he said: shall not this murtherer of his father bée yet killed? & then he leaped on horse. And at the first charge *Pharnace* fled awaye, and *Cæsar* ouerthrewe the moste parte, with a thousand horsemen, that with the firste, did kéepe in chase with hym. At thys *Cæsar* saide with a loude voice. O happy *Pompey*, that haddest to do with such mē of war as *Mithridates*, & this mans father was, therby both to be thought and called Great. Of this fight hée sent thus to *Rome*, *I came, I sawe, I conquered*. *Pharnace* was content to go to the kingdome of *Bosphorus*, which *Cæsar* appoynted him.

Veni, vidi, vici.

Bosphorus part of the kingdome of *Pontus*.

Cæsar spent no time in trifles, so many battels yet remayning behinde, he went into *Asia*, and by the waye gathered money of the Cities that were troubled wyth them that toke paymentes of the Tributes, as we haue shewed in our booke of *Asia*. Now word was brought hym that there was sedition raysed in *Rome*, and that *Antony* his lieutenāt did kéep the common place wyth an army. Therefore setting all thinges aside, hée made haste to *Rome*. Whither, when he was come, all ciuill discorde ceassed, but another began among his souldiours, bycause they had not yet, neyther receiued the promise made for theyr seruice at *Pharsalo*, nor that it was reasō that they shoulde be still kept in warr, & therfore they cried euery man to go home. He had promised thē rewards at *Pharsalo*, and other rewardes when the war of *Libya* shoulde be ended. Therfore he sent them a thousand drammes apéece, with a promise of more. They bad him promise no more, but pay al out of hand. And it lacked but little that they had not killed *Crispus Salustius*, had he not shifted away.

Seditiō in Rome.

Sedition in *Cæsars* army.

Drachma is a peece of coyne, waying as muche as a sterling groat, after eight groates to an ounce.

Salustius in danger.

When *Cæsar* heard this, he commanded the legion that *Antony* had for the guarde of the Citie, to kéepe aboute his house, & the entry of the Citie, fearing spoile, and hée, verye boldly (all men fearing and diswading him from the rage of the souldiors) went among them as they were in mutinie in the field of *Mars*, and not being perceyued, was set in the high seate. They confusedly, and with tumulte came running vnarmed, & as the maner

Cæsar among his seditious souldiours.

is

is to salute the Generall when he commeth firste among them, he commaunded thē, that if they had any thing to say there, touching the gifts, they shoulde speake it before his face, whiles hee was present: they durste not speake a word for feare, but taking a meane way, cryed to be released of the war, hoping by cause he had nēde of men to finish the rest of his wars, he would haue saide somewhat of the giftes. But he contrarie to all opinion, without any stay answered: *I discharge you*. They being astonied hereat, and standing in a great silence, he saide againe: *And I wil giue you all that I haue promised you, when I shall triumphe of the rest*. This word vnlooked for, & appearing so curteous, did strike in them suche a consideratiō with an emulation, that they thoughte it a shame to forsake their Capitaine in the middes of his enimies, and that others shoulde triumph in their places. They remembred what losse they should haue by leauing the warre in *Libya*, and be thought enimies aswell to *Cæsar* as to hys aduersaries: for this doubt they remained silent in feare, hoping yet that *Cæsar* woulde haue giuen them rewarde, and forgyuen them the faulte for hys present nēde, but he sate as silent as they. Therefore hys friends wished him to say somwhat vnto them, & not to leaue them, that so oft had serued hym, with so shorte & seuere a spēech. He began to speake & call thē Citizens in stead of souldiers, which was a token they were discharged of ỹ war, & become in their former priuate case. This they could not suffer, but cryed that they did repent, and prayed they might be taken to the war, *Cæsar* refused it, and came from the seate. Then they made greater instaunce, beseeching hym that if they hadde done amisse to punishe them: he stayed a while, neither going forward nor backewarde, seeming to doubt what to do, yet hee returned and sayde hee woulde punishe none of them, but that it grieued him that the tenth legion, whiche he had alwaies loued and honored, shoulde giue cause of suche tumulte, and onely thys saide,

Cæsar vsed a meane among his reuolting Souldiors.

Souldiours repent them.

I do release them of their seruice, and yet wyll gyue them all I haue promised them, when I come from *Libya*, and I will giue lande to all, when the warres shall be ended, not as *Sylla* dyde, spoyling it from other that hadde it, and sauing both the taker and the loser, to liue togither, to maintayne,

"tayne perpetuall ennmitye, but I wyll diuide bothe the com-
"mon and mine owne, and the lacke I wyl buy with my mony.

Showte and reioyce was made of all, sauing of the tenthe legion, against the whiche *Cæsar* semed to be inexorable. Therefore they desired hym they might bee punished by death, as the lotte shoulde fall out. But he hauing no neede of further furye of them, and perceyuing they were throughlye penitent, forgaue them all, and streyght went to the warre in *Barbarie*, passing from the narrowe Sea at *Reggio*, hee wente to *Messina* and to *Lilybee*, where he vnderstoode that *Cato* kept part of the army bothe by sea and lande at *Vtica*, wyth three hundred whiche lyke chiefe counsellers were greatest doers of the warre, and called the Senate, and that the Generall *Lucius Scipio*, and the best laye in *Adrumeto*, therfore he sayled against *Scipio* who was gone to *Iuba*, & gaue order for the fight with his campe, taking the opportunity against hys enimyes that were without the Generall. *Labienus* and *Petreius* chief vnder *Scipio*, did not refuse the fyght, & had far the better of *Cæsar*, putting him to flight, & fiercely with contept followyng hym, til *Labienus* horse was thruste throughe the belly and killed, and he saued by the guarde of hys person. *Petreius*, as he that had taken sufficient triall of his army, & might winne when he woulde, lefte the thing vnfinished, saying to them that were by him: *Least we should take the victory from Scipio our Generall.* This was also another token of *Cæsars* fortune, that his enimies in apparaunce hauing the victory, woulde so sodainly breake the fight, when they had the day. They say that *Cæsar* at this fighte, was fayne to stande against his men, and to take the Egle frō him that bare it, being the chiefe standerd, and to goe to the formost to stay thē frō flying, till *Petreius* retired, and *Cæsar* had time to depart with leysure. This end had the first fight ỹ he made in *Barbarie*. Not long after, *Scipio* came forth with .s. legions, rr.M. horsmē wherof the most part were *Affricanes*, many target mē, & rrr Elephants, which *Iuba* the kyng, who had other footemen, about rrr.M. and Numidiā horsmē almost. rr.M. many darters, and therefore other Elephants.

Cæsars army was dismayed, and troubled among themselues

The tenth legiō desireth to bee punished.

Reggio is the furthest towne in *Italy* towardes *Sicilia* a foreilande of *Sicelly*.

Cæsar sayleth into *Barbarie*.

Vtica a Cittye in *Affrica*, thirtie myles from *Carthage*.

A Senate in *Lybia* of three hūdred Romaines.

Adrumeto a City in *Affrica*, farre from *Carthage*.

Labienus.

Petreius putteth *Cæsar* backe.

Petreius followeth not the victorye.

Cæsars fortune.

The daunger of *Cæsar*.

Scipios armye.

as

as well for their former losse, as for the fame of their aduersaries, both in number and vertue, specially the *Numidian* Horsemen, beside the terror that they had to make a straunge fighte with the Elephantes. But *Bocchus*, another king of the *Moores*, hauing take *Cirta*, the chiefe Citie of *Iuba*, he vpon the newes of his owne losse, returned home with his armye, leauing onely thirty Elephants with *Scipio*. *Cæsars* army by this, toke such courage, as the fifth Legion desired the fight against the Elephãts, of whome, hauing a noble victory, they geue an Elephante in their enfigne at this day. The battell being long and difficulte on euerye side, and full of vncertainetie, aboute the euening *Cæsar* hardly gote the victory, and ouerthrew *Scipios* Camp, not leauing the victory in the night, till all was brought to passe, the enimies by sinal parts as they could, fled: and *Scipio* with *Afranio*, leauing all, fledde to the Sea with twelue Ships vnarmed. Thus an armye of fourescore thousande Souldyers, well trayned in the warre, and encamped by the former victory, was in this seconde fight vtterly vanquished. *Cæsars* glory, through his felicitie, was compted of all mẽ vnconquerable, and they that were ouercome, woulde attribute nothing to his manhode, but excuse all theyr faultes by his felicitie. It sẽmeth that this warre had this vnfortunate end, by the vnskilfulnesse of the Captaynes, that they did not endure, till *Cæsar* mighte haue bin put to his shiftes, nor bring the first victory to perfection, but woulde nedes leaue it, when they were in the middest of it. This being told at *Vtica* the thyrde day, and *Cæsar* comming forward, euery man beganne to flée; of whome *Cato* stayed none, but gaue Shippes to the noble men that desired them, yet himselfe tarryed like a constant man, and where they of *Vtica* promised, that they woulde make intercession to *Cæsar* for him, before themselues, *Cato* smiled and answered, there neded no reconciliation betwéene *Cæsar* and hym, and that *Cæsar* knew well ynough. Then he sealed vp al the treasure, and the assurances and writings of euery man, and deliuered them to the Magistrates of *Vtica*, and in the euening vsing his bath and his supper, sitting at his meate as he was wonte to do, since the death of *Pompey*, nothing changing from his wonted

Bocchus King of the *Moores*, that deliuered *Iugurtha* to *Sylla*.

Cirtha a Citie of *Numidia*, nowe *Constans*, where *Iugurth* kylled *Adherbal*.

The fifth Legion giueth the Elephant in an enfigne.

Cæsars victory.

Cæsars felicitie.

Vnskilfulnesse.

The noblemen of *Rome* flee.

Cato to the *Vticenses*.

manner, neyther taking more nor lesse. He talked familiarly with them that were present, of them that were sayled, and if the wind were good for them, and how farre they might passe before the morning that *Cæsar* came. And when he went to bedde, he changed nothing of his vsage, but only embraced his sonne more straightly than he was wont: but because he found not his sword in the place at his bed where it was wont to stande, he cryed, he was betrayed to his enimies of his owne folke. What should I vse (quoth he) if they set vpon me in the night? They desired him he would be content, and to worke nothing against himselfe, but to rest without his swoorde. Might I not (quoth he) if I woulde, choke my selfe with my cloke, or crush my head against the wal, or fall & breake my necke, or stoppe my breath and kill my selfe? When they heard him speake after this sort, they broughte him his sword. Then he called for *Plato* booke of the Immortalitie of the Soule, which whē he had redde, and thinking them that kept the doores to be at rest, he stroke himselfe with the swoorde vnder the brest, whereat his bowels fell out, at the whiche noyse, they without came in & the Phisitions put in his bowels againe vnperished. When he came againe to himselfe, he was sory he had giuē no deeper wound, thāking them that they had saued his life, & made thē beleeue he would rest: then they toke away ỹ swoorde, and shut ỹ doore, that he might sleepe: he seeming to be asleepe, tare asunder with his hands (like a wilde beast) the sowing vp of hys wound, rente his belly asunder, and slong the entrayles into the fyre, and so dyed at fiftie yeares of his age. By doing this, he cōfirmed the opinion that he held of all men, most singulare by nature, iudging vertue, honestie, & goodnesse, not by mens maners, but by high cogitations of the minde: *Martia*, *Philips* daughter he married a mayde, and loued hir full derely, and after he had children by hir, he gaue hir to his friend *Hortensio*, that was desirous of children, and could not get a frutefull wife, and when she was with child by him, he receyued hir home again, as with interest. This was *Catos* behauiour. The *Vticenses* buryed him verye honorably. *Cæsar* sayde, that *Cato* enuyed his glorious procedings: *Cicero* made a booke in the praise of him, and called it *Cato*. *Cæsar*

Cato angry that his sword is priuily away.

Cato readeth *Plato* of the Immortalitie of the Soule.

Cato strike him selfe.

The death of *Cato*.

The singularitie of *Cato*.

Martia is giuen to *Hortensius*.

made

made another in the dispraysе of him, and called it *Anticato*. *Iuba* and *Petreius* hearing what was done, and thinking no saftie nor escape to be left for them, with their swordes killed one another in their house. *Cæsar* made *Iubas* Kingdome tributarie to *Rome*, and appointed *Crispus Salustius* to be Lieutenant of it. He pardoned the *Vticenses*: and *Catos* sonne, and a daughter of *Pompey*, with two little childrē whome he toke at *Vtica*, he sent safe to *Pompey*. Of the thrée hundred, as many as he found he put to death. *Lucius Scipio* the Generall, kéeping the seas all Winter, till he fell amōg the enimies, behaued himselfe very valiantly, till he was ouercome, and then stroke himselfe, and lept into the Sea. This was the end of *Cæsars* warre in *Libya*. Then he went to *Rome*, and made foure triumphes of the Frēch, of the which he had ouerthrowne many and greate nations, and the other reuolting, he brought to order, of *Pharnace* at *Pontus*, of *Libya*, and the confederates of *Scipio*, where *Iuba*, the sonne of *Iuba*, the wrighter of Histories, béeing yet an infant, was brought. He shewed also a certaine triumph of *Ægipt*, with a fighte by water at *Nilus*, whiche was done betwéene the Frenche, and the *Pharnatian* triumph: but he refrayned from triumphing of the *Romaines*, as ciuill matter not fit for him, & lothsome and vnlucky to ỹ *Romaines*, to be shewed in triumph: yet all the chances, and ỹ men in pictures, & diuers images, (*Pompey* excepte) he brought in: him only he forbad to be shewed, bicause he was so wel beloued of all sorts. The people (though they were afrayd) sighed at this fighte, especially when they saw *Lucius Scipio* the generall strike himselfe to the heart, & fall into the Sea, & *Petreius* in his tent so to kill himselfe, and *Cato* tearing his bowels like a brute beast, but at the death of *Achillas* and *Photinus*, they reioyced, and at the flight of *Pharnaces* they laughed. The money that was brought in the triumphes, is said to be 70. Talents and an halfe, and two thousande eyght hundred two and twenty Crownes of gold, the waight whereof did excéde twenty thousand foure hundred foureténe pound waight, by the which after ỹ triumphes were ended, he performed al that he had promised to his army, & more to. To euery souldier he gaue fiue M. drammes of *Athens*, to a leader of a bande twice so much, to a Captayne

Antica.

Iuba and *Petreius* killed themselues one another.

Crispus Salustius Lieutenant.

Yong *Pompey*.

Cæsar putteth to death.

Scipio drowned

Triumph of *Cæsar*.

Iuba.

Lamentable shewes.

Affections of the people.

A talent of the least value, was one hundred pounds, which is called the lesse talēt of *Athens*.

The greater talent of *Athens*, was aboute 135. pounde.

There were other talentes, whereof some were 400. pound.

A dramme of *Athens* conteyned fiue Oboles, whiche was much like oure halfepeny, and one hundred drammes made an *Athes* pound.

of a thousande, and a Lieutenante of Horsemen twice so muche more, and to euery one of the people, one pounde of *Athens*. Hée exhibited manye shewes of horse and musicke, and fighting on foote, one thousand against an other, and of horsemen two thousand against so many, and other of foremen and Horsemen mingled togither, and of Elephantes, twentye agaynste twentye, and a fight by Sea of foure hundred Galleys, and a thousande of eyther side. He created a Temple to *Venus* hys auncestor, as hée vowed at *Pharsalo*, and about the temple a goodly court, which he would should be called the *Romaines* court, not for byng and selling, but for conference, as among the *Persians*, there is for them that will haue any doubt discussed touching iustice. The Image of *Cleopatra* was set vp by the Goddesse very faire, whiche is yet séene there. A view of the people was made, and they foūd scarcely halfe so many men aliue, as were before the beginning of the warre, so much had contention wasted the Citie.

Shewes by *Cæsar*.

Venus Temple:

The *Romaines* Court like to our Exchange. Place of conference.

Image of *Cleopatra*.

Decay of people.

Now was he made Consull the fourth time, and went into *Iberia* against yong *Pompey*, as to the leauings of the ciuill warre, not to be neglected, for all the best men that fledde out of *Libya* resorted to him, and all the remnant of the armies at *Pharsalo*, and other places, repaired thither. Of ỹ *Iberianes* and *Celtiberianes*, very valiant natiōs, vsed to the warres, and of slaues a multitude, dyd serue *Pompey*, and hauing bin exercised foure yeares, were ready to fight with desperate minde. *Pompey* putting great trust in this, refused not to fighte, but woulde nédes trye it out wyth *Cæsar* as sone as he came. But the auntient and wise mē in experience that were come from *Pharsalo* and *Lybia*, did rather aduise him to consume *Cæsar* in time, and to distresse him with want, as in those strange places he might. *Cæsar* came from *Rome* in seauē and twenty dayes, passing a long way with a greate army, and suche a feare fell among them that he brought, as neuer did before, because of the multitude, experience, and desperation of the enimies: wherefore *Cæsar* came the slowlyer forth, and because he vsed some foresight, *Pompey* came lustily vpon him, and vpbrayded him of fearefulnes, which rebuke *Cæsar* could not suffer, but made order for the battell at *Corduba*: his words was,

Cæsar made Consull.

Power in *Spayne*.

Yong *Pompey* refuseth auntient counsell.

Cæsar into *Spayn*. Feare of his Souldyoures. Rashnesse of yong *Pompey*. *Corduba*, a Citie in *Spayne*, the countrey of both *Seneca* and *Lucane* the Poet, nowe Cordoua.

Venus

Venus and *Pompeys* Pietie. When they shoulde goe to it, a feare and dreadfull slouthfulnesse toke *Cæsars* army, wherefore he besought all the Goddes, and held vp his hands to Heauen, that he might not lose all his noble actes by this one Battell, and therefore went about the army, and exhorted them to be bold. He pulled his headpæce from his head, that they might see his face, and so receyue good heart: but they for all that could not put awaye their feare, till *Cæsar* toke a Target from one of them, and to the Captaynes about him thus sayde: Shall this be the ende to mée of life, and to you of seruice? and ranne from the army so farre, as he was but tenne foote from his enimies, who threwe two hundred dartes at him, of the which he shunned part, and part he receyued on the Target. Then his Captaynes ranne about him, euery man, and the whole army set forward with great violēce, and foughte all daye, sometime with aduantage, and sometyme with disaduantage, sometime winning, and sometime losing, tyll at night he gote the victory with muche adoe, so as he sayde, at other times, he had fought for victory, but now, he fought for life. There was great slaughter of *Pompeys* part, which fledde to *Corduba*. And *Cæsar*, that they shoulde not gather agayne to a newe fight, commaunded his army to compasse the Citie. They being wæry of the former payne, toke the bodyes, and the armure of them that were slayne, and bare them betwéene them, and making them fast to the earth with their speares, vsed them for a Trench. The next morning the Citie was taken of *Pompeys* captaynes. *Scapula* made a fire, and threwe himselfe into the flame. The heads of *Varus*, *Labienus*, and other noble men, were brought to *Cæsar*. *Pompey* at the beginning of the losse, fledde with a hundred and fiftie horse into the *Carteia*, where he hadde a Nauie of Shippes, he came secretely to the Shippes carried in a litter, and when he perceyued them there to be in feare of themselues, he was in dread to be betrayed, & therfore toke a boate agayne, and by the way, his foote hong in one of the ropes, whiche one minding to cut, milled the rope, and hurte him in the foote, but hée went on to the next village, and was cured, where being sought for, he fledde among the bushes and desert pathes, in the whyche

Feare in *Cæsars* army.

Same vvright, that this fight vvas giuen at *Monda*, vvhich is now *Mundeira*: the places not being farre asunder, some name the one, and some the other.

Danger of *Cæsar*.

Cæsars saying of this fight.

A trench made of dead bodyes.

Corduba taken.

Scapula, *Varus*, and *Labienus*, killed.

Pompey fleeth.

Carteia is a Citie in *Granado*, now *Tarifa*.

Pompey hurt.

the horſes did pricke his wounde ſo, as for very wearineſſe he
ſate him downe vnder a tree, whether the ſearchers purſued him,
Pompey the elder ſonne, ſlayne. and he valiantly defending himſelfe was ſlayne, his head being
carried to *Cæſar*, and by his commaundemente buryed: ſo thys
warre at one bounte, contrary to all opinion, was ended. A yon-
Pompey the yonger brother. ger brother of this *Pompey*, called *Sextus*, did gather the remnant
of the leauings of this warre, and in cloſe maner, conueyed him-
ſelfe hither and thither, robbing for their liuing. Nowe *Cæſar* ha-
uing finiſhed all ciuill diſſention, went to *Rome*, with ſuche feare
Cæſar honored of all. and opinion, as neuer man before. All honors that aboue mans
reach could be deuiſed, were done vnto him: Sacrifices, Playes,
and giftes, as well in Temples and publike places by the com-
panies of the Citie, as by all nations and Kings confederate to
the people of *Rome*. Many diuers formes were ſet vpon his ima-
The great honoures of the auncient *Romaines* were to giue Crownes or garlandes to them that had done worthy ſeruice. ges, of the which ſome had crownes of oke, as to the ſauioure of
the countrey, with the which in olde time they were honored that
ſaued their Countrey. He was named father of the Countrey,
and choſen Dictator perpetuall, and Conſull for tenne yeares,
and touching his bodye, accompted ſacred and inuiolable, to
giue audience in a chaire of golde and purple, and continually
Father of the Countrey. Dictator perpetuall. make Sacrifices, clad with triumphant garments. They ordei-
ned the Citie to be holy thoſe dayes that he wan anye victories.
Honours giuen to *Cæſar*. Holy dayes. They appointed Sacrifices and Prieſtes for fyue yeares, and
publike vowes for his preſeruation, and orders were made, by
the which all his actes were confirmed by oth. And in the hono-
Quintilis, Iulius. of his houſe, the Moneth *Quintilis*, was called *Iulius*. Many
Temples dedicated to *Cæſar*. Temples were dedicated to him alone, as to a God, and one
ioyntly to him and *Clementie* holding hande in hande. Thus dyd
they feare hym as a Lorde, and honor him as a mercifull Mini-
Cæſar refuſeth the name of King. ſter. There were that laboured to haue called him King, till he
heard of it, and forbad it with threats, that no man ſhoulde once
name it, as deteſtable, and vnlawfull from his auncеſtors. He
diſcharged the bands of his gard, by whome he had bin defended
from his enimies, and went abroade with the officers of the
Citie onely. He beeyng in the common place, and giuing audi-
ence, the Senate with the Conſuls going before in goodly order,

brought

brought him a decree of all these honors, whiche he receyued gently, not rising to them, neyther commyng nor going: whyche gaue occasion of matter to them that meant to accuse him of aspiring to a Kingdome. He accepted all the dignities, sauing the Consulshyp for tenne yeares, therefore willed himselfe to be declared Consull, and *Antonius* with him, that was Captayne of his Horsemen, whiche office he appoynted to *Lepidus*, to exercise the rule of Horsemen by deputies, bycause he was Gouernour in *Iberia*. He reuoked all banishments, except such as were dedde for wicked offences. He pardoned his enimies, and to suche as had foughte against him, he gaue yearely offices, and sente them to charges of prouinces and armies, whyche made the people to thinke, that he woulde haue lefte them in a common wealthe, as *Sylla* did when he had the like authoritie: but they were deceiued. One of them that would haue had the name of a King sette forwarde, did put vppon his image a Crowne of Laurell, wyth a wreath of a white riband. *Marullus* and *Sesetius* being Tribunes, apprehended him, and threwe him in prison, thinking so to haue pleased *Cæsar*, as one that abhorred the name of King. This he suffered patiently, and where others called him King as he went out at the gates, and the people sighed at it, he answered couertly, I am not King, but *Cæsar*, as though they had bin deceyued in the name. *Marullus* caused him to be apprehended, that fyrste of them beganne this matter, and willed hym to be brought to answere in hys Courte. Then *Cæsar* coulde no longer suffer, but accused *Marullus* and hys fellowes before the Senate, as one that craftily wroughte agaynste hym by a calumniation of Tyrannie, and whereas they deserued deathe, yet he thoughte it sufficiente for them to lose theyr office, and be putte out of the Senate. Thys dyd most of all confirme, that he coueted thys title, and that he bente all his praise to that ende, and was vtterly become a Tyrante, for as there was good authoritie to punish them that named any man king, so was the Tribunes office holy, inuiolate by lawe, and auntient othy, and it made the anger the sharper, that he woulde not tarie the time of the office, whiche when he vnderstoode, he did

Cæsars flatellines.

Occasion of hate.

Cæsar and *Antonius* Consuls.

The clemencie of *Cæsar*.

Cæsar deceyueth the peoples opinion.

A Crowne vpo *Cæsars* Image, by one that was apprehended of the Tribunes *Marullus*, and *Sitius*.

Cæsar accepteth not the name of a King.

Cæsar angrye with the Tribunes, causeth suspition of Kingdome.

ons repent him, and first perceyued, that it was an harde thing to
Cæsar vvarred. deale tyrannously in peace, without authoritie of warre. Hys
friends gaue him counsel to beware, and that he had giuen great
occasion to his aduersaries to get matter agaynst him: therefore
when they moued him ỹ he would be content to haue a garde of
Spanish bandes, he sayd, there was nothing more vnhappy, thã
Answere of Cæsar touching a gard of his person. a continual gard, for it is of one that is euer afrayd. Yet the prac-
tises to be a King, ceassed not, for sitting one day in the commõ
Lupercalia vvere shewes of naked Priestes in the honoure of Pane. place in a chayre of golde to see the playes of *Pane*, *Antony* his
fellowe in office, naked and annoynted, as the manner was for
Antony setteth a Crovvne on Cæsars head. the Ministers of that solemnitie, ranne vp to *Cæsars* seate, and set
a crowne on his head, at the which sight few reioicing, and more
lamenting, *Cæsar* threw it off. *Antony* set it on againe, but *Cæsar*
refused it. The people stode silent, loking what end this would
haue, and when they saw *Cæsar* vtterly refuse it, they reioyced, and
highly commended him therefore. Now eyther bycause he de-
spayred, or in vayne attempted, or would auoyde the practise of
so odious a thing, or for that he would leaue the Citie bycause
of some enimies, or that he had regard to his health, being trou-
bled with a falling sickneſſe, which in rest many times came vp-
Cæsar hath the falling sickneſſe. on him, he determined a greate voyage against the *Getes* and
Parthianes: against the *Getes*, bycause they were insolente people,
Gete Scithians in Europa. and quarrelling, euer troubling the *Romaine* state. Against the
Voyage into Parthie. *Parthianes*, bycause he would reuenge *Crassus* death whome they
had slayne, contrary to oth and promise, and so hauing an armye
of sixtene Legions, and tenne thousand Horse, he sent them afore
to passe the *Ionian* Sea. There was out of *Sybils* bookes an olde
Prophecie. saying, that the *Parthians* shoulde not be ouercome, till a King
went against them: wherefore some there were so bold to saye,
that as it was expedient for the *Romaines* to call him *Dictator*, or
Imperator, or anye other name in stead of a King; so that all na-
tions subiect to the *Romaine* Empire, should call hym King. He
refused this also, and made hast to his iourney, bycause he sawe
he was enuyed in the Citie: but whereas he tarried till the ap-
poynted time, his enimies killed him foure dayes before in the
Enuie. Senate house, eyther for enuie, which commonly accompaneth

such

such felicitie & auctoritie, or as they said, for the loue of their coũtreys libertie. For now they knew well that thoughe hée did not ouercome those nations, without doubte he wouldo be a King. And for this cause (I thinke) they toke the enterprise agaynste him, vnder the pretence of that name: for thoughe hée was but *Dictator* in degrée, it was as much as a Kyng in déede. There were two chiefe in that conspiracy, *Marcus Brutus Cepio*, sonne to *Brutus* that was killed of *Sylla*, whiche fled to *Cæsar* after the calamitie of *Pharsalo* field, and *Caius Cassius* that delyuered hys galleis into *Cæsars* hand at *Hellespont*. These two were afore of *Pompeys* part, and now much honoured of *Cæsar*. *Decimus*, *Brutus*, *Albinus*, alwayes thoughte worthy of *Cæsar* to be vsed in honor and credite, and had great affaires committed to them, and in the wars in *Lybia*, trusted them wyth armies, and made them Gouernours of Prouinces. *Decimus* of France beyond the Alpes, & *Brutus* of the same, on thys syde the Alpes. Conspiratours. *M.Brutus.* *Ca.Cassius.* *D.Brutus.*

Brutus and *Cassius* beyng Pretors, contended for superioritie of the place, eyther indéede who shoulde be higher, or else for a pretence, that they shoulde séeme to be no friendes. *Cæsar* setting order betwixte them, said to hys friendes: *Cassius* deserueth right, but *Brutus* muste be pleased. With so great loue and honour did *Cæsar* vse hym, that of some he was compted hys son, bicause he loued very wel *Seruilia*, *Catos* sister, and *Brutus* mother. Cloaked contention.

Therfore when he got the victory at *Pharsalo*, hée gaue greate charge to hys Captayns, that in any wise they should saue *Brutus*. But *Brutus* either as an ingrate man, or ignorant of his mothers faulte, or distrustfull, or ashamed, or very desirous of his coũtrys libertie, preferring it before all other things, or that he was descended of the auntient *Brutus*, that droue out the Kings: or that he was incensed and rebuked of the people, for manye things were written vppon the Images of olde *Brutus*, and in the Courte hall of this *Brutus* secretly set vp: *Brutus* thou takest rewardes, *Brutus* thou arte dead, O *Brutus* I wouldo thou were aliue nowe, *Brutus*, what vnworthy posterity hast thou? *Brutus* thou arte not come of hym. *Cæsars* care of *Brutus.* *Brutus.*

These and many other lyke, did inflame the yong mans mind

to take the worke in hande as from his progenitor: The fame of making him King did ſtill encreaſe, and that there ſhoulde be a Counſell for it, a little before the which, *Caſſius* toke *Brutus* by the hand and ſayd:

Caſſius. „ *Brutus* what ſhall we do in that counſell? ſhall we, as *Cæſars*
„ flatterers agree to make hym King? *Brutus* anſwered, I would
Brutus. „ not be at that Counſell. *Caſſius* being cheared with theſe wordes,
„ ſaid: what if they call vs as Officers, what ſhall we do (good *Bru-*
„ *tus?*) I wyll (quoth he) defend my Countrey euen to the death.
„ Then *Caſſius* embraced hym, ſaying: Whom wilte thou take of
„ the beſt being of this opinion? doeſt thou thinke that artificers
„ and light people do ſet theſe writings vpon thy Judgemēt place,
„ rather thā the beſt Citizens of *Rome*, which of other Prætors do
„ looke for ſhewes, and paſtimes of horſe and wilde beaſts, but of
„ thee they require liberty, as a worke worthy thine auncеſtors.

More Cōſpira-tours.

After they had thus firſte opened what they had long kept in their minds before, they then dealte plainely, and eche of them prouoked his own friends, and ſome of *Cæſars*, whome they knewe to be mete for a bolde enterpriſe, and they got of their frendes two brethren, *Cecilius* and *Bucolianus*, thē *Rubrius Riga*, *Q. Legarius*, *Marcus Sparius*, *Seruilius Galba*, *Sextius Naſo*, and *Pontius Aquila*, all theſe of their truſty friends, and of *Cæſars* familiars. *Decimus*, of whome we ſpake, *Caius Caſca*, *Trebonius Tullius Cymbrus*, *Minutius*, and *Baſillus*. Theſe beyng thoughte ſufficient, and not iudging it fit to haue anye moe, they agreed tog ther wythout othe or ſacrifice, and yet was there not one that changed or diſcloſed, but only ſought tyme and place.

The tyme was ſhorte, becauſe *Cæſar* muſte goe away the fourth daye to hys armyes, and then ſhoulde ſtraighte haue a guarde of Souldiours aboute hym: The place, they appointed the Senate houſe: thinking though the Senatours were not priuie, yet when they ſawe the deede, they woulde helpe to it, as they ſaye happened to *Romulus*, who of a King became a Tyranne.

Romulus vvas thought to be torne a peeces of the Senate.

And that thys acte euen as that, beyng done in the place of Counſel, ſhoulde not be thoughte a treaſon, but a deede of the Cittie,

Citie, voyde of dreade of *Cæsars* army, bycause it was a common consent, and that honour shoulde remaine to them also, as not ignorant of the whole entent. Concluding vppon this, they thought the Senate house the fittest place. Of the maner, they differed: some thought good to kill *Antonie* also, being Consull with *Cæsar*, and his greatest friend, and most accepted to the armye. But *Brutus* sayde, if we dispatche *Cæsar* alone, wee shall be named killers of a Tyranne, bicause we deliuer vs of a king, and thereof muste haue oure prayse: but if we kill anye of hys friendes, we shall be thoughte seditious against *Pompeys* enimies. Being all perswaded by this, they looked for the next meeting of the Senate. Consultation of *Cæsars* death.

The daye before that *Cæsar* shoulde goe to the Senate, he had bin at a banquet with *Lepidus* Capitayne of the horsemen, whither he carryed *Decimus Brutus Albinus*, and talkyng merilye what death was beste for a man, some saying one, and some an other, he of all, praised the sodaine death. *Cæsar* at a banquet. Sodayne death beste.

Thus he prophecied of hymselfe, and spake in feste of that whiche shoulde come to passe in earnest the next day. After the banquet, in the night, his body was sickely, and hys wife *Calphurnia* dreamed she sawe hym all to be goared with bloude, and therefore stopped hys going forth. In making sacrifices, manye fearefull tokens appeared, wherfore he determined to haue sent *Antony*, to dissolue the Senate. *Cæsars* wyfe a fearefull dream. Sacrifices vnprosperous.

Decimus being present, perswaded him not to take that calumniation of the suspition, but himselfe to goe and dissolue it, and so he was carryed thither in a Litter. Impediments to the conspiracie.

That daye certaine playes were exhibited in *Pompeys* Theatre, therefore the Senate shoulde be kept in the place nexte to it: vsing also to see the fights. Theatre of *Pompey*.

Brutus and *Cassius* early in the morning, did sit as Pretors, giuing audience to suitors very quietly in a courte nighe the theatre of *Pompey*, and hearing of *Cæsars* sacrifices, and the differing of the Senate, were in greate doubte: and one that was there, toke *Casca* by the hande, and sayde vnto hym: woulde you keepe it from me that am your friende? *Brutus* tolde me *Casca* Disclosing.

Edifices, the ouerright of houſes, temples, and preparation of Players.

was in a ſodayne paſſion, that he knewe it: then he ſaide more to hym ſmilyng, where wyl you haue money for your office of *Edilus?* and *Caſca* tolde him. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* beyng togither, and in talke, one of the Senators *Publius Lenas*, ſayde, hée wiſhed well to that they had in their mindes, and exhorted them to diſpatch it. They being much amazed, helde their peace for anguiſhe.

Suſpition of diſcloſing.

As *Cæſar* came forth, one of hys familiars vnderſtanding of the conſpiracie, and yling to tel what hée hearde, wente to *Calphurnia*, and ſaide onelye thys, becauſe the matter touched *Cæſar* much, he would tarry til he came from the Senate, for he knew not al that was wrought againſt him.

A booke of the Conſpiracie.

And one *Artemidorus* that was his hoſte in *Guido*, ranne vnto the Counſell houſe and found hym newe ſlaine. Of another a booke of the Conſpiracie was deliuered, as he made haſte into the Senate, whiche was founde againe in hys hande when hée was dead. And came out of his Litter *Lena*, that had wiſhed wel before to *Caſſius*, came vnto hym, and talked verye earneſtlye wyth him, the ſight wherof did trouble thē, and the length of the talke made them winke one at another, to diſpatche themſelues, before they ſhould be taken.

Feare to the conſpiratoures.

But perceyuing by the manner, that *Lena* was liker to ſpeake for himſelfe and make ſupplication, than to bewray them, they ſtayed, and in the ende, when they ſaw hym giue humble thankes, they were encouraged againe.

Sacrifices.

It was the cuſtome that Rulers of the Citie ſhoulde ſacrifice, when they went to the Senate: And agayne in *Cæſars* firſte ſacrifice, there was no harte, or as ſome ſay, no heade of the entrailes, and whē the Diuinor ſaid it was a ſigne of death,

Cæſar contemneth the ſacrifices of euil luck.

hée ſmiled and ſayde, ſo it was in *Spaine*, when I ouerthrewe *Pompey*: and the Diuinor aunſwering that then he was in perill indéede, and nowe the token was more manifeſt: *Cæſar* bad hym ſacrifice againe, & nothing appearing better than it was, & being aſhamed ỹ he made ỹ Senate tarry for hym, & being haſtned of his enmies, as though they had bin frends, in diſpight of his enimies, he went in, *For it muſt needes come that was determined.*

They

They left *Trebonius* to entertaine *Antony* without the doores, and when *Cæsar* was set in hys seate, they stode aboute him as hys friends, with weapons hid, and first *Attilius Cymber* stood before him, & made sute for hys brothers returne that was banished: *Cæsar* being against it, & vtterly denying it, hée toke hym by the purple robe, as he would haue made more sute, he rufled the garment, and pulled it ouer his necke, crying: Why stay you (O frends?) *Casca* came ouer his head, & first thrust his dagger at his throat, which missing, hit him on ỹ breast. *Cæsar* twitching his gown frō *Cimbro*, & catching *Casca* by ỹ hand, flung frō his seate, & with great violēce layd hold vpon *Casca*. Whiles he was doing this, wrestling with him, another stroke him on the side that laye open, and *Cassius* hurte him in the face, and *Brutus* on the thyghe, and *Bucolinus* betwéene the shoulders: yet *Cæsar* with rage and reare like a wilde beaste, stepped to euery of thē: but after *Brutus* had hurt him, as thoughe then hée had dispaired, he wrapte himself in his gowne, and fell comely before the picture of *Pompey*: and they, (when he was downe) vsed such despite, as they gaue him three and twentie woundes, and many were so hastie, that they hurte one another.

Tullius.

The manner of *Cæsars* death.

Cæsar gineth ouer vvhen *Brutus* had stricken him, and some vvrite that he sayd, vvhat thou also sonne.

When this act was done by these murderers in a sacred place, vpon a sacred and inuiolate man, by and by there was fléeing from the Senate house, and about all the Citie: and in the tumulte, some Senatours were hurt, and other men were killed: and there was muche slaughter done both of Citizens and straungers, not of purpose, but as happeneth in such a Ciuill stir, when one commeth vpō another ignorauntly. The sworde players that had bene in armour from the morning, for the shewe of certaine playes, ranne from the game place, to the barres of the Senate house: the people that came to the playes driuen into a feare, fledde away: shoppes were spoyled: all doores were shutte, and preparation made for defence from the house toppes. *Antony* went to his owne house, entending to take aduice for this case of *Cæsars*.

Confusion.

Antony.

Lepidus the Captaine of horsemen, being in the cōmon place and hearing what was done, ranne to the Ile within the Cy-

Lepidus.

tie, where he had a legion, and brought them abroade to be ready at *Antonies* commaundement. For he did cleaue to *Antony* as *Cæsars* friende, and chiefly as Consull. Being mette togyther, they had greate desire to reuenge *Cæsars* death that thus was handled. They feared the Senate woulde take the killers parte, therfore they would stay to consider of it. There were no souldiours about *Cæsar*, for he delighted not in a garde, but only vsed the Sergeants of his authoritye, and when he wente from his house to the Senate, he was wayted on with manye of the magistrates, and great number of people, as wel Citizens as straungers, and of seruauntes and free men in great multitude: all the which fleeing away by heapes, only three seruauntes taried, which layd his body in the litter. Thus three men not suteable, did carie him home, that a little before was Lorde of sea and lande. The murderers woulde haue sayde somewhat in ỹ Senate house, but no mã wold tarry to heare. They wrapt their gowns about their left armes as Targets, and hauyng their daggers bloudy, cryed they had kylled a king and a Tyranne, and one bare an hatte vpon a speare, in token of Libertie. Then they exhorted them to the common wealth of their countrey: and remembred, olde *Brutus* and the oth made againste the old Kings. Some went among them, shewing their daggers, who though they were not at the fact, yet woulde they haue parte of the prayse, as *Lentulus*, *Spintor*, *Fauorinus*, *Aquinus*, *Dolobella*, *Murcus*, and *Peticus*, who wer not then partakers of the glorie, but afterwarde tasted of the punishment with the offenders.

Conference of *Lepidus* and *Antony*.

Cæsar vsed no souldiours in the Citie.

Three men only tarie vvith *Cæsar*.

Liberty.

They that sought prayse found payne.

The common people came not to them, which made them the more doubtful and in feare. As for the Senate, although for ignoraunce and tumult, they were fled, yet they had good truste in thẽ, as in their kinsefolkes and friends, and such as could as euil beare Tirannie as they: but the people they suspected, and as many as had serued *Cæsar* in warre, whereof there were not a fewe then present in the Citie, some discharged of the warfare were appointed to habitations, and some that had bin at their dwelling places, were now come again to go the iourney

The feare of the conspirators

wyth

wyth *Cæsar*. They were afrayde also of *Lepidus* and his army in the Citie, and of *Antony* the Consull, leaste he would vse the people only, leauing the Senate, and worke them some displeasure, being thus bestad, they wente to the Capitoll with the swordeplayers, where consulting what was best to be done, it semed good to giue a largesse to the people, hoping that if some beganne to prayse their act, the other wold folow, for loue of liberty, and the desire of common wealth: for they thoughte ẏ people of *Rome* to be as sincere now, as they had heard it was when olde *Brutus* expelled the Kings, not vnderstanding that they loked for two things contrarye in themselues, that they that loue libertie and would be corrupted, should be profitable to them at this present, wherof ẏ one was more easie to be had, as in a state for ẏ most part corrupted: for now the people was mixt with strangers, ꝛ a libertyne was equal with a Citizen, ꝛ the fashion of a seruant, like to the maisters: for ẏ Senate except, the rest was indifferẽt to the seruantes. Further, ẏ distribution of corne, which was vsed only in *Rome* to be giuen to ẏ powre, had brought ẏ idle ꝛ needie vacabonds of *Italy* to *Rome*. Again, a nũber of olde worne souldiers out of wages, were not deuided into their coũtries as they wer wont seuerally, bicause some had serued in vniust wars, but would go into cõmon habitations, ꝛ take other mens land ꝛ houses, remayning togither in tẽples ꝛ cõmon places, vnder one bãner, ꝛ one chiefe, ẏ might apoint thẽ a prouince, ꝛ selling away their own, to be the more redy to go, they were sone bought for reward. Therfore it was not hard for *Cassius* to gather a nũber of such men, ꝛ bring them into ẏ cõmon place: ꝛ albeit they were hired, yet durst they not prayse ẏ was done, for feare of *Cæsars* glory ꝛ others deuotion, but for ẏ cõmon welth sake, they cried for peace, ꝛ earnestly exhorted the rulers vnto it, for thys was the deuise of the kyllers, to worke theyr owne safetye. And there coulde bee no peace vnlesse there were a forgetting, standyng in these termes.

Difference of tymes.

Causes of cerruption at *Rome*.

Distribution of Corne.

Maisterlesse men.

Cynna a Prætor and a kinsemanne by maryage to *Cæsar*, beyonde all opinion, came among them, hauing on hys vesture

Cinna accuseth *Cæsar*.

vesture of office, which he threw of, as giuen him of a Tiran, and called *Cæsar* the Tiranne, and them that kylled hym, killers of a Tiranne, and prayſed the facte, as moſte like to their progenitours, and that thoſe men were to be called from the Capitoll, and to be honoured with dew rewardes. This *Cinna* ſayde: but they, ſeeing the vncorrupted people was not myxte wyth them, did not call them from the Capitol, nor did anye thing elſe, but onely exhorted to peace. Then *Dolabella* a yong man and a noble, appointed to be Conſull, after *Cæsar* had ben gone, for the reſte of the yeare, hauing on the garment of a Conſul, and the Maces of his office, was the ſecond that ſpake euill, and pretended he was priuie to the deuiſe, and only ſorie that his hand was not at the doing of it: and as ſome ſaye, hee decreed that that daye ſhoulde be honoured as the byrth day of the Citie. Then the hyred men toke harte, when they ſaw both a Pretor and a Conſul to forgiue them, & they called *Caſſius* and the reſt out of the Temple, who were glad of *Dolabella* a yong noble man & a Conſul being moſt meete to match with *Antony*: only there came downe *Caſſius* and *Marcus Brutus* with his bloudy hand, for they had ſtriuē who ſhould giue *Cæſar* moſte woundes, and when they were amiddeſt the people, they ſpake nothing humbly, but as in noble and euident things one prayſed another, calling the Citie now bleſſed, attributing muche to *Decimus*, that in ſo fitte a time had ſerued them with ſwordplayers. Then they ſtirred the people, that they woulde do things worthy their auncestours, whiche had expelled kings, not reigning by violence as *Cæſar* did, but being choſen lawfully: they alſo propoūded that *Sextus Pompey*, ſonne to *Pompey* the greate, that hadde made warre againſte *Cæſar* for the common wealth, myght be called home, beyng yet in armes in *Spayne* againſte *Cæſars* Captaines, and lykewyſe *Ceſetius* and *Marullus* that were depriued and baniſhed by *Cæſar*, being Tribunes of the people. When they hadde thus ſayde, they wente byppe againe to the Capitoll, for they dyd not truſte verye muche in that multitude. Then their friendes and kinſfolke might repaire vnto them into the Temple, of whom, they

Dolabella.

Brutus and Caſſius to the people.

choſe

chose the most auntient to send to *Lepidus* and *Antony* for reconciliation, and regarde of libertie, and to saue the Countrey from the euils that might growe, vnlesse they be foreseene. This much did the messengers require, not praysing ỳ thing that was done, (for they durst not to *Cæsars* friends) but desired to haue it borne with, for the worthynesse of the doers, not for hate to him, but for the loue of their countrey, and pitie of the Citie, nowe consumed with continuall sedition, of whiche one more would vtterly destroy all good men of the same, and that it was not right that for any hate amongst a few, they shoulde worke the publike destruction, but rather that for publike commodities, priuate enmities might be wiped away. *Antonius* and *Lepidus* (as I sayde) minded to reuenge *Cæsars* deathe, eyther for friendships sake, or for a practise betweene them, or for desire of rule, and thynkyng all things would be the easier to them, if such notable men might be ridde out of the way, yet they feared their friendes and they? kinsfolkes, and the Senate that enclined to them, and most of all *Decimus*, whome *Cæsar* hadde appoynted to gouerne *France* they? neyghboure, whereby he hadde a mighty armye. Wherfore they thought it best to tarry for a better occasion, and deuise to gette *Decimus* army that was so valiant and expert, with labours neuer left. Hauing this fetch, *Antony* thus aunswered the messengers. For priuate displeasure we will worke nothing, but for offence and matter, wherein we are all sworne to *Cæsar* to bee keepers of his body, and defend it against violence, it is requisite, by our oth to follow the fact that is done, and the rather to lyue, with a few pure, than all to be in daunger of those execrations, yet for their honor that be of that opinion, we will debate with you in the Senate house, and take the way for the Citie, that, by common consent shall seeme good. Thus *Antony* aunswered, safelye. They gaue thankes and departed with sure hope that al should haue gone well, and that the Senate would haue fauoured their cause throughly. *Antony* in the meane time caused the officers to make watche for the Citie all nighte, and by turne to keepe their seates as was wonte in the daye, and to haue fires ouer all the Citie, by meane whereof, the friends of ỳ offendeures

Messengers to *Antony* and *Lepidus*.

The deuice of *Antony* and *Lepidus*.

Antonyes aunswere.

went to euery Senatoures house, and requested them for themselues, and for the Countreys common wealth. There ranne a broade also the Captaynes of suche as should haue habitations, threatning mischiefe, vnlesse some did performe the lāds & places that was giuen and promised. The sincere sort of the Citie toke good hearte, perceiuing the smal number of these doers. They enclyned to the memorie of *Cæsar*, and were of diuers opinions. *Cæsars* money, and the bookes of his doings, were carryed to *Antonie*, eyther bycause *Calphurnie* for the danger of hir house did send them to *Antony*, as more surer, or that *Antony* did so commaund it. This done, a decrée was made by *Antony* that nighte, to call the Senate before daye at the Temple of the Goddesse of the earth, not farre from his owne house, for neyther durst he goe to the Senate house in the Capitoll, bycause of the sworde players gathered there, nor bring the armye into the Towne for troubling of it: notwithstanding *Lepidus* brought them in. Day drawing nigh, other Senatoures came to ỹ Temple of ỹ Goddesse of the earth, and *Cinna* the Prætor hauing on agayne his garmēt, which the day before he had throwen off, as giuen him of a Tyrant, made hast thither, whome, when parte of the vncorrupted people, and parte of *Cæsars* Souldioures sawe, bēyng in a rage, bycause the daye before, he was the firste that openly spake euill of *Cæsar*, bēyng hys kinsman, they threwe stones at hym, and droue hym into an house, and gote woodde to haue burned it, had not *Lepidus* come with the army and forbydden them. This was the firste token whereby *Cæsars* friendes hadde confidence, that the conspiratoures and the hyred fellowes were afrayde.

Cæsars money and vvritings sent to *Antony*.

The Senate in the Temple of the Gods of the earth.

Assault against *Cinna*.

In the Senate house there were fewe that were pure from violence and contention. The moste parte with diuers deuice fauoured the manquellers, and thoughte them moste worthye of truste to be there for common consultation, and of offenders to make them Iudges, the whiche *Antony* dyd not lette, bycause he knewe they woulde not come, as they dyd not indéede. Then in tryall of the Senate, some very earnestly and playnely praysed the facte, namyng them Tyrant-kyllers, and wylled they shoulde be rewarded. Other denyed the reward, themselues not

Varietie of opinion touching the Senate.

desiring

deſiring it, nor hauyng done it for that intente, but thoughte it inſt they ſhould only be commẽded as well doers. Some would not allow that commendation, but onely thoughte it ynough if they were forgyuen. Thus did they deuiſe and forecaſt at the firſte, to what the Senate woulde encline, that after by little and little, they myghte the eaſier obteyne the reſt. The vncorrupted company did abhorre the acte as wicked, yet for the reuerence of their great houſes, were not againſte, but that they ſhoulde be ſaued: yet that they ſhould be honored as well doers, they coulde not abide. Other ſpake againſte this, that it was not conuenient ſo to haue them, as the reſt, that belõged to their ſafety, ſhuld bée enuyed. And when one ſayde, that theyr honour ſhoulde bée *Cæſars* diſhonoure, they aunſwered, that it was not fytte a dead man ſhoulde bée preferred to the quicke. Another vehemently ſaying, that of two things one muſt be choſen, eyther to declare *Cæſar* a Tyrante, or to forgiue theſe by mercy, they toke hold of this only, and required that voyces myghte be tryed of *Cæſar* by oth, and that the decrées made of neceſſitie, ſhoulde not preiudice them, for whyles he ruled, they dyd nothyng frely, but all for feare of themſelues *Pompey* bẽyng ſlayne, and wyth hym manye a thouſande more. *Antony* markyng all thyngs deceytefully, perceyuing that ample and euidente matter of ſpéeches was offered, determined to turne theyr cogitation wyth a priuate care and feare of themſelues, and vnderſtandyng that a greate parte of theſe Senatoures, were appoynted to offices and Prieſtehodes in the Citie, and to gouernements of armyes and prouinces by *Cæſar*, for the tyme to come, (for hée ſhoulde bée long fro the wyth hys armye, the ſpace of fyue yeares) commaundyng ſilence as Conſull, thus ſayde. *Antonyes ſubtelte.*

They that woulde haue voyces tryed vpon *Cæſar*, muſt know afore, that if he ruled as an officer lawfully choſen, then all hys actes and decrées muſt ſtande in force, but if by violence wée thinke he playd the Tyrant, then muſt his body be caſt out of ỹ Citie vnburyed, and all his actes be reuoked: wherfore (as I ſée) we muſt medle wt all ỹ world both by ſea & land, & many be ſuch, *Antonyes Oration.*

« as though we would, will not obey vs, as I shall declare hére-
« after. Now what appertayneth to vs alone (for this matter, tou-
« cheth only vs) I will put all things before you, that as in an ea-
« sye platte you may see a shew of harder things. All we in man-
« ner haue borne office vnder *Cæsar*, and yet doe beare, chosen, and
« made by him, and some are, to haue offices in time to come, as
« the lotte fals out, for you know he appoynted for fiue yeares the
« yearely offices of the Citie to you, and the regimentes of Coun-
« treys and armies. If you will willingly forgoe them (for that is
« in your power to do) this would I haue you first determine, and
« then proceede to other. Thus *Antony* did kindle a fire, not for
Cæsar, but for themselues, and helde his peace. Then they by and
by in throngs with shoutes, starte vp, and denyed that any other
triall shoulde be made by the voyces of the people, but that the
things appoynted, should be assuredly holden. There were some
vnder age, and other that mighte finde resistance in election,
whome he chiefly stirred, of whome *Dolabella* the Consull was
one, to whome it was not lawful to be consul by election, bycause
he was not fiue and twenty yeares of age. wherefore he shewed
Dolabella changed. a suddayne mutation of that he pretended the daye before, rebu-
king as many of them, as thought the conspiratours worthy of
honor, that they that were in office, should be dishonored, by ma-
king their securitie to haue the better shew. Other put *Dolabella*
and the rest in hope, that they shoulde receyue thankes of the
people, and straight resume their dignities, without any altera-
tion of the officers, but to shewe a lawfuller way by common e-
lection, and that it shoulde be an ornament to them to be aduan-
ced, as well by the authoritie of the people, as by the appoynt-
mente of one ruler: and this was no sooner spoken, but some of
the officers, to deceyue the other, put off their robes, as to re-
ceyue the same agayne more lawfully. Some perceyued the
craft, and did not thinke to get by election, that they already had.
The matter standing thus, *Antony* and *Lepidus* wente out of the
Senate house, for certaine that came running from the multi-
tude did call them, and as they were séene from aboue, and síléce
hardly put to them that made much noyse, one cryed vnto them,

whether

whether of his owne minde, or that he was suborned, and bade them take hēd, least they suffered the like. Then *Antony* losing his gowne, shewed his curet, incensing the lokers on, as though now no man coulde be safe, vnlesse he ware armoure, no not the Consull. There was some cryed that the fact might be punished, and more made request for peace, to whom he thus sayd: Of that, we will consider, as shall be fitte to be, and what it is, that it may auayle, but the suretie of it is hard to be found, since neyther oth nor erecration could profit *Cæsar*, and to them that called for reuenge, he turned and commended them, as more carefull of their othes and honestie. I would be (quoth he) youre Captayne, and crye as you do, but that I am a Consul, to whome belongeth rather to speake for profite, than for iustice, for so doe they within persuade vs, and so *Cæsar* himselfe, for the profite of the Citie, sparing them that he hadde taken in warre, was of the same destroyed. Thus wrought *Antony* artificially, they that thoughte the fact to be punished, required *Lepidus* that he would punishe it. *Lepidus* intending to speake, they that stode farre off, prayed hym to goe into the common place, that all might heare him indifferently. He wente straight forth, with opinion that the peoples minds were new turned, and when he was come to the place of speech, he lamented weping, and thus sayd. Here I was yesterday with *Cæsar*, and now am I here to enquire of *Cæsars* deathe, what will you haue done? many cryed that they should reuenge *Cæsar*. The hyred men cryed for peace in the Citie, to whome hee sayd, we will so, but what peace speake you of? with what othes can it be sure? for all our Countrey othes we haue sworne to *Cæsar*, and we that are compted the least of them that did sweare, haue troden all vnder the fote. Then he turned to them that cryed for reuenge. *Cæsar* sayd he, is gone from vs, an holy and honored man in deede, and we be afrayd to hurte the Citie, and them that be left. This do the Senate treate of, and manye thinkes it good: then they cryed, that he alone should take it in hand. I will (sayd he) for it is a iust oth to me alone, but it is not ynough that I and you alone doe will it, or that we alone can fulfill it. Handling the matter thus craftily, the hyred men, knowing that he

A newe stirre by *Antony*.

Lepidus to the people.

was ambitious, prayed him, and exhorted him to take the office of *Cæsars* Priesthode, of the which he being very glad, sayde: You shall remember me of this hereafter, if I shall be worthy of it. They that were hired, were the more instant for peace, because of the liberall speech of the Priesthode. Then sayde he, although it be vniust and wicked, yet will I doe it, because you will me. This said, he returned into the Senate house, where *Dolabella* all that time had bin importune for the continuance of his office. *Antony* gathering the peoples humor, loked ouer hym with a smiling countenance, and finding them to dissent among themselues, and the people to doe nothing earnestly, hauing beholden all sufficiently, he determined to saue the mē, hiding one necessitie with another, that both they should be saued by especial grace, and that *Cæsars* actes should be cōfirmed by decrée, & the Senates orders take effect: therfore silence being cōmanded, he sayd thus.

Cæsars Priesthode offered to *Lepidus*.

Antony to the Senate.

Of the Citizens offendoures (you men of equall honor) in this your consultation, I haue sayd nothing, but to them that contrarywise desired a tryall of *Cæsar*, I put for the onely one of his decrées, which hath not withoute cause kept you in contention tyll this time: for if we doe refuse those offices, we shall confesse so many worthy men, vnworthily to haue receyued them. Then cōsider that is not easie to be hard, and number in your mindes the Cities, the nations, the kingdomes, the regions, and (as I maye say) all things frō the East to the Weast, ỹ *Cæsar* had by his vertue vanquished for vs, and all that by his power subdued, the same by law, clemencie, and curtesie he made assured vnto hym. Which of these do you thinke wil beare to be depriued ỹ things they haue enioyed, vnlesse you wil fyll all with warres, that are desirous to heale youre countrey that is nowe most féeble with disease. Those that be farre off, and kepte downe with feare and fight, I wil omitte to touch: but those that be not at hād only, and as I may say, euen at home through out all *Italy*, some haue receyued rewards of victory, and by multitudes, with the armies, wherewith they serued, be of *Cæsar* appoynted habitations by the same institution, whereof many a thousand be within this citie: what do you thinke they wil do, if you take from them that they had,

had,or that they loked to haue of Cities and Countreys? Thys
last night did shew vs an Image of this matter, for whē you did
intreate for the offendoures, they on the contrary ranne aboute
with threatnings. Do you thinke they can abide to sée *Cæsars* bo-
dy violated,torne & vnburyed (for these things by law are wente
to be done againste Tyrants) whiche haue serued in the warres
with him,and to haue the gayne gotten by the victories of *France*
and *England* confirmed vnto them, when he that was the gyuer
of them,is so despightfully handled? what thinke you the people
of *Rome* will do? what thinke you the *Italians*? what hate shal you
haue both of God and man,if you do so defile your empire,enlar-
ged from the Oceane sea, to the people vnknowen: for you shall
not lacke reproufe and blame for this youre inconstancie, more
than they that thinke you worthy honor,that killed a Consull in
the Counsell house, an holye man in an holy place, Senatoures
being the doers in the sighte of the Gods, and dishonor him,that
of his enimies is most honored: from these things as vnlawfull
and not in your power, I do warne you to refrayne. Then thys
sentence I giue, that *Cæsars* actes and decrées doe remayne firme
and stable, that the offenders be praysed in no wise, for it is not
godly,iust,not consonant,*Cæsars* actes being ratified,that of mer-
cye onely you will pardon them for their friends and kinsfolkes
sake,so as they do so accept it,and will of thē confesse it in thāke-
ful part. When *Antony* had said this, with great contention and
vehemency the decrée was made, all other being silent and con-
tent: That there should be no action for *Cæsars* death: That all his
actes and decrées should be confirmed,so as they were commodi-
ous for the citie. And this, with much adoe,did the friends of the
offendoures cause to be added for their safetie,that they were not
more kepte for iustice sake, than for profite. *Antony* gaue place
vnto it. These being decréed, they that were heads of men to be
set in habitations, desired a priuate decrée by common authori-
tie, that their places of inhabitance myghte bée made sure vn-
to them, and *Antony* was not agaynste it, shewing some feare
with the Senate. This decrée was made, and another like for
them that went to their inhabitations.

Decrees.

A decree for habitations.

The

The Counsell being thus broken vp, there were some that
Liuy. perswaded *Lucius Piso*, to whome *Cæsar* had left his Testamente,
Consultation touching *Cæsars* Testament. that it should neyther be brought forthe, nor his body buryed openly, least it mighte brede some newe tumult in the Citie. He being otherwise minded, was threatned to be called to aunswer, for that he defrauded the people of such substance due to the common treasure, once agayne making signification of Tyrannie. Then *Piso* cryed as lowde as he could, praying the Consuls that
Piso to the people. ‹ were yet present, to goe to counsell againe, and sayde. They that ‹ haue affirmed that one Tyrant is taken away, they in stede of ‹ that one, be all Tyrants vnto vs, forbidding me to bury an holy ‹ Priest, & threaten me, if I bring forth his last will. They make ‹ confiscation of his goodes, as of a Tirant. His actes that maketh ‹ for them they ratifie, but those that he hath left for himselfe they ‹ reuoke, not *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but they that did incense them to ‹ this mischiefe. Of his Sepulture be you Lordes, of his Testa‹ ment, I will be, and shall not suffer him to be deceyued in my ‹ trust of faith, before some man taketh away my breath.

Much stirre and businesse did rise of this among them all, and specially by them that supposed to get somewhat by his Testament: therefore it was thought conuenient that his Testament
Cæsars Testament. should be brought abroade, and that his body shoulde be buryed openly, and so the Counsell rose. *Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstanding of this, did send to the multitude to call them to the Capitoll, and when many came running thither with greate hast, *Brutus*
Brutus to the people. ‹ sayd thus. Howe O Citizens, we be here with you, that yester‹ day were in the common court, not as mē flaeyng to the Temple ‹ that haue done amisse, nor as to a forte, hauing committed all wē ‹ haue to you, but the sharpe & straūge mishap of *Cinna*, haue cōpelled vs thus to do. We haue herd what hath bin obiected against ‹ vs of oure enimies, touching the oth, and touching cause of ‹ doubt, ỹ in peace can be no suretie. What we haue to say herein ‹ with you O Citizens, we will conferre, with whome we haue ‹ to do concerning other common matters. When *Caius Cæsar* frō *France* inuaded his Countrey with enimies armes, and *Pompey*, a singulare fauourer of the people, had suffered, as euery man knowes:

knoweth: after hym a nũber of good Citizens went into *Iberia*, & *Libya*, & were destroyed. We at his desire gaue him security, and as it should seeme, afrayde of himselfe, seking to make his Tyrãny sure, we sware vnto it. If he had required vs to swere not only to confirme the things past, but also to haue bene hys slaues in time to come, what woulde they then haue done that nowe lie in wayte for our liues? I suppose verye *Romaines* indede, wyll rather chose certaine death, as they haue oft done, than by an othe to abyde willing seruitude. If *Cæsar* hitherto haue gone aboute nothing to make vs seruile, we confesse we haue broken our othe: but if neyther offices in the Citie, nor prouinces in ỹ country, nor armies, nor dignities of the church, nor assigning of inhabitance, nor other honours be left to vs, or had the cõsent of the Senate, or the allowance of the people, but did all by his owne commaundement: if his ambition was neuer satiate, as *Sylla* was, who, when he had ouerthrown his enemies, restored to vs the common wealth: if he making another armye for a long time, toke awaye our election for fiue yeares, what libertie was this, when no hope coulde appeare? what should we say of the peoples chiefe officers, *Sestius* and *Marullus*, were they not with contumely thrust frõ the sacred & inuiolate offices? and where the lawe and othe of our auncestours do not suffer any actiõ to be made against ỹ Tribunes, yet *Cæsar* banished them and shewed no cause: whither thẽ haue offẽded against the holy Tribunes, we, or *Cæsar*? being a sacred and inuiolate man, to whom, not willingly, but of necessitie, we graunted these things, nor before he came agaynst his country in armour, and had killed so many noble Citizens. The office of the Tribunes can not be holy nor inuiolated, to the whiche our fathers in time of common welth dyd sweare without cõpulsion, with intent to haue it euerlasting. The reuenewe and accompt of the Empire, where became it? who brake open the Treasure house against our wills? who caught the money vntouched and vnremouable? who thretned death to the Tribune that resisted him? but what othe (saye they) shall be sufficient to preserue peace? if there be no Tyranne, there nedes no othe: our

forefathers neuer had neede of anye. But if any other wil aspire to tyrannie, there is no fayth, no not with an othe, betweene the Romaines and a Tiranne. Thus we speake now in perill, and will euer speake it for our country. For being in honoure and safety with *Cæsar*, we preferred the honour of our countrey before our owne: wel they vse calumniation againste vs and sturre you for the habitations. If here be any present, eyther y hath, or shalbe appointed to those inhabitance, I pray you do so much at my requeste as giue a token of your selues. Many dyd so: then sayde he: Oh well done (good men) that you be come to do as other do, and it is conuenient that you which indifferently doe trauayle and laboure for youre countrey, shoulde receyue equal reward of the same. The people of *Rome* did appoint you to *Cæsar* againste the English and French men: it is therefore reason, that hauing done good seruice, you receyue as good rewards. But he bound you with oths and vnwillingly led you against the Citie: he led you likewise against the beste Cittizens in *Libya*: likewise against your wils. If your trauayle had ben only in this, paraduenture you would haue bin ashamed to aske recompence: but the seruice that you did in France and England, no enuie, no time, no oblition of man, can put out of memorie: and for these, the beste recompence which the people was wont to giue to the old souldiers, not taking away mens landes or houses that had not offended, nor giuing to one that was an others, nor thinking they ought to recompence with iniustice, nor when they had conquered their enimies, to take away all their land, but made a partition, and appointed some of their souldiers to dwel there, as a garrison for the conquered places, and many times when the Land that was won wold not suffise, they eyther diuided of the common, or bought more of newe: So did the people place you, without any others displeasure. But *Sylla* and *Cæsar* who inuaded their countrey as enimyes, hauing neede of garde & garison vpon theyr countrey, dyd neyther send you to liue in any of your owne countryes, nor bought any land for you, nor bestowed that vpon you that they had got from other, nor vpon composition restored the honours

nours on them, from whome they were taken, although they had the treasure and conquered lande, but toke from Italy that had not offended, nor done any thing amisse, by lawe of warre. or rather of robbery, lands, houses, Sepulchres and Temples, which we would not take from our greatest strange enimyes, only setting a tare of the tenth part vpon them: but they haue made diuision to you of that which was your owne countreymens, and them that sente you to serue Cæsar in the Frenche wars, and made many bowes for your victories, and appointed you by companies to conuenient dwelling places, with ensignes and discipline of Souldiours: So as you can neyther enioye peace, nor be sure of them that be thrust out, for who so euer is put out and spoyled of hys owne, he will remaine to spie a time for to be euen with you. This was the cause why the Tirannes would not let you haue any land, which mighte haue bene giuen you by other meanes, that hauing euer enimies that laye in wayte, you shoulde be sure kepers of their power, whiche by iniustice did continewe yours. For, the good will that Tirans haue of their garde, is that they be as far in doing wrong, and feare, as themselues. And this they (M. God) do cal a cohabitation, whereby lament of countreymen mighte be made, and insurrection, of them that haue done no wrong, & they for this purpose haue made vs enimies, to our own countreyfolke, for their singular profite: we, who now ye chiefe officers of y countrey, do say they saue vs for mercies sake, do confirme presently, & herafter wil confirme, y same to be bond to you for euer, of the which we take god to witnesse, that ye haue & shal haue al you haue had, & that none shall take it frō you: not Brutus, not Cassius, not they y for your liberties haue put al their selues in peril, & we y be only accused in this matter, will saue our selues, & be to you & to your allied friends, a special cōfort, & y that is most pleasant to you to heare. At the first occasiō that shal be offered, we wil giue you the price for the land y is take frō other, of the cōmon reuenew, that you shall not onely haue your setting setled, but also voyde of al encombraunce.

Whiles Brutus thus spake, al the hearers cōsidering with thē selues that he spake nothing but right, did like them wel, & as

men of courage and louers of the people, had them in great admiration, and were turned into their fauour, and determined to doe them good the next day: whiche being come, the Consuls called the people to an assembly, and repeated the opinions.

Cicero. This forgetfulnesse vvas called *Amnestia* after the maner of the *Grecians.*

Then *Cicero* did speake very much in the prayse of forgetting of iniuries, of the which they reioiced, and called *Brutus* and *Cassius* from the Temple. They desired pledges, to whom *Lepidus* & *Antonies* sonnes were sente. When *Brutus* & *Cassius* were seene, there was such a noyse, as the Consuls that would haue sayde som what, could not be suffered, but wer first required to shake hands and be at one, which they dyd. And the Consuls mindes were troubled with feare of enuye, that these men and their friends should prouayle in that common cause. Then was *Cesars* testament with the writings for the disposition of his goods, brought forth, which the people commaunded to be red. There was *Octauius* his nephew by his sisters daughter, found to be his sonne by adoption. His gardings were giuen the people for solace, and to euerye Citizen of *Rome* that was present, seauentie fiue drames of *Athens*. Now was the people streyght turned to anger, being abused by the name of a Tyrante, that in hys testament had shewed most loue to his country. And one thing seemed most to be pitied, that *Decimus Brutus*, one of the killers was made his sonne among his second heyres: for the *Romaines* maner was, to their first heyres to adde the second, if the first take not, the second may. With this they were much troubled, thinking it a wicked and abhominable act, that *Decimus* should conspire against *Cesar*, whome hee had made one of his children.

Cesars testament.

Octauius.

This dramme vvas the value of a grote.

Decimus Brutus heyre to *Cesar* in remaynder.

The people turned.

Piso brought forth *Cesars* body, to the which, infinit numbers in armes ran, to kepe it, & with much noyse & pope, brought it to the place of speech. There was much lamentation & weeping, ther was rushing of harnesse togither, with repentaunce of the forgetting of reuengeance. *Antony* marking how they were affected, did not let it slippe, but toke vpon him to make *Cesars* funeral sermon, as Consul, of a Consul, friend, of a friend, & kinsman, of a kinsman (for *Antony* was partly his kinsman) and to

vse craft againe. And thus he said:

Antony of Cæsar.

I do not thinke it meete (O Citizens) that the buriall praise of suche a man, should rather be done by me, than by the whole country. For what you haue altogither for the loue of hys vertue giuen him by decree, aswell the Senate as the people, I thinke your voice, and not *Antonies*, oughte to expresse it.

This he vttered with sad and heauy cheare, and wyth a framed voice, declared euery thing, chiefly vpon the decree, whereby he was made a God, holy & inuiolate, father of the country, benefactor and gouernor, and suche a one, as neuer in al things they entituled other man to ỹ like. At euery of these words *Antonie* directed his countenance & hands to *Cæsars* body, and with vehemencie of words opened the fact. At euery title he gaue an addition, with briefe speach, mixte with pitie and indignation. And when the decree named him father of the Country, then he saide: *This is the testimony of our duety.*

And at these wordes, *holy, inuiolate* and *vntouched*, and *the refuge of all other*, he said: None other made refuge of hym. But, he, *thu holy and vntouched*, is kylled, not takyng honoure by violences whiche he neuer desired, and then be we verye thzall that bestowe them on the vnworthy, neuer suing for them. But you doe purge your selues (O Citizens) of this vnkindnesse, in ỹ you nowe do vse suche honoure towarde hym being dead.

Then rehearsing the othe, that all shoulde keepe *Cæsar* and *Cæsars* body, and if any one wente about to betraye hym, that they were accursed that would not defende him: at this he extolled hys voice, and helde vp his handes to the Capitoll, saying:

O *Iupiter* Countries defendour, and you other Gods, I am ready to reuenge, as I sware and made execration, and when it semes good to my companions to allowe the decrees, I desire them to aide me. At these plaine speaches spoken againſt the Senate, an vproare being made, *Antony* waxed colde, and recanted hys wordes. It seemeth (O Citizens) (saide he) that the things done haue not bin the worke of men, but of Gods, and that we ought to haue more consideration of the present, than of the past, because the thyngs to come, maye bring vs to greater

, danger, than these we haue, if we shall returne to oure olde, and
, waste the reste of the noble men that be in the Cittie. Therfore
, let vs send thys holy one to the number of the blessed, and sing to
, him his due hymne and mourning verse.

Antonies gesture in the time of the funerall of *Cæsar.*

When he had saide thus, he pulled vp his gowne lyke a man beside hymselfe, and gyrded it, that he might the better stirre his handes: he stode ouer the Litter, as from a Tabernacle, looking into it, and opening it, and firste sang his Hymne, as to a God in heauen. And to confirme he was a God, he held vp his hands, and with a swift voice, he rehearsed the warres, the fights, the victories, the nations that he had subdued to his Countrey, and the great bootes that he had sent, making euery one to be a marueil Then with a continuall crie,

This is the only vnconquered of all that euer came to hands with hym. Thou (quoth he) alone diddest reuenge thy countrey being iniured. 300. yeares, & those fierce nations that onely inuaded *Rome*, & only burned it, thou broughtest them on their knées.

And when he had made these and many other inuocations, he tourned hys voice from triumphe to mourning matter, and began to lament and mone him as a friend that had bin vniustly vsed, & did desire that he might giue hys soule for *Cæsars*. Then falling into moste vehement affections, vncouered *Cæsars* body, holding vp his vesture with a speare, cut with the woundes, and redde with the bloude of the chiefe Ruler, by the which the people lyke a Muire, did sing lamētation vnto him, and by this passion were againe repleate with ire. And after these speeches, other lamentations wyth voice after the Country custome, were sung of the Muires, and they rehearsed again his acts & his hap.

Then made he *Cæsar* hymselfe to speake as it were in a lamētable sort, to howe many of his enimies he hadde done good by name, & of the killers themselues to say as in an admiratiō. *Did I saue them that haue killed me?* This the people could not abide, calling to remembraunce, that all the kyllers (only *Decimus* except) were of *Pompeys* faction, and subdued by hym, to whom, in stead of punishment, he had giuen promotion of offices, gouernments of prouinces & armies, & thought *Decimus* worthy to be made his

heyre

heyre & ſon by adoption, and yet cõſpired hys death. While the matter was thus handled, and like to haue come to a fray, one ſhewed out of the Litter the Image of *Cæſar*, made of waxe, for hys body it ſelfe lying flat in the Litter, could not be ſeene. Hys picture was by a deuiſe turned about, & with wounds wer ſhewed ouer al his body, & his face horrible to behold. The people ſeeing this pittifull picture, coulde beare the dolour no longer, but thronged togyther, and beſet the Senate houſe, wherein *Cæſar* was kylled, and ſet it a fyre, and the kyllers that ſtodde for their liues, they ranne and fought in euery place, and that ſo outragiouſlye both in anger and dolour, as they kylled *Cynna* the Tribune being in name lyke to *Cynna* the Pretor that ſpake euill of *Cæſar*, and wold not tarry to heare the declaration of his name, but cruelly tore him a peces, and lefte not one parte to be put in graue. They caried fire againſt other mens houſes, who manlye defending themſelues, and the neighbours entreating them, they refrayned from fyre, but threatned to be in armes the next day. Wherefore the ſtrikers hid themſelues, and fled out of the Citie. The people returned to the Litter, & caried it as an holye thing, to be buried in an holy place among the Gods, but bicauſe the Prieſts did deny it, they brought hym againe into the common place, where the Pallaice of the old Kings were, and there, with al the bourds & tymber, which they could find in the place, which was muche, beſide that euery man broughte of himſelfe, with garlandes and other gifts of priuate perſons, making a ſolemne ſhew, they buryed the body, and abode al night about the fyre. In the whiche place, at the firſt was made an Altare, but nowe there is a temple of *Cæſar*, where he is thought worthy diuine honors. For his ſon by election, *Octauius*, taking the name of *Cæſar*, & diſpoſing the ſtate after his example, which then takyng the beginning, & he exceadingly aduancing to the degree it is now did thinke his father to deſerue honors equall with the Gods, the which at this time hauing their originall, ỹ Romaines now vſe to giue the ſame to hym that ruleth the eſtate, vnleſſe he be a Tyranne, or diffamed at his death, that in olde tyme could not ſuffer the name of a Kyng alyue.

Cæſars shape shewed in waxe.

Change of peoples mindes.

The Senate houſe ſet a fire wherein *Cæſar* was killed.

One *Cynna* killed an other.

Tumulte and rage of people.

Cæſars funerall.

A Temple to *Cæſar*.

The *Romaines* vſed to giue diuine honours to their princes.

Thus

Idus in Marche the. 9. dayes following the first 7. daies.

Thus *Cæsar* was killed, on the day which they cal the Ides of Marche, whiche daye of the Moneth, the Soothsayer sayde he shoulde not passe, at the whiche, he, in the morning mocked him, saying, the Ides be come: to whome he aunswered bololye againe, but they be not yet gone.

Cæsar scorneth the Soothsayers.

Thus hee despising as well the foresayings of this constãt Soothsayer, as all other tokens spoken of before, went abroad, & was killed ỷ. lvj. yere of his age. A man most happy & fortunate in al his noble actions, and most like vnto *Alexander* the great, for they both were very ambitious, and valiant and swifte to execute their enterprises, in perils moste bolde, of their bodies most careleſſe, and did not more trust in Soldiours seruice, than in courage and fortune, of the which the one, in the heate of sommer through places voide of water, went to *Ammon*, and came ouer the gulfe of *Pamphilia*, of the crosse surgyng Sea, fortune staying the ragyng waues whiles he passed, and sendyng hym rayne when he wente by lande, he assayde the *Indian* Sea that was not Nauigable. He was the firste that scaled a town, and alone mounted the enimies wall, & alone receyued. xiij. woũdes on his body, euer inuincible, and alwayes getting victory at the first or the second Battayle. He subdued manye barbarous nations in *Europe*, and ouercame the *Grecians*, a valiant people, and louing libertie, and before him, obeying none, but *Philip*, & that a litle whyle, for an honour to appeare in his feates of warre. *Asia*, (as a man may say) he ranged all ouer, and briefely for to tell his fortune and Empire, as much land as he saw, he gotte. And conceyuing and determining a Conquest of the rest in his mind, he was destroyed.

A comparison betwene *Alexander* and *Cæsar*.

Ammon in the deserts of *Aegypt*, where *Iupiter* gaue oracles.

In *India* at the place called *Mauri*.

Pamphilia in *Asia* the lesse.

Alexanders actes.

To *Cæsar* the *Ionian* sea gaue place in the middest of winter, and shewed it selfe cauline to his nauigation. He also sayled the Bryttaine Ocean, not attempted before, and fallyng vpon the rockes of Englande, he bad the shipmaysters runne a shore and litte their shippes. In an other sea, striuing with the streame alone in the night in a little boate, he badde the Maysters let the sayles go to the winde, and trust more in *Cæsars* fortune, than in the Sea. Against his enimies alone he hath lepte many tymes,

Cæsars actes.

and

and all the reſte haue bin afraide. He alone did fighte with the Frenche thirtie times, til he had ſubdued fourtie nations of the, whiche were ſo terrible to the Romaines, as olde and holy men, by lawe were priuileged from warre, except when the French enimie came, for then both horſe and olde men muſte go forth. At *Alexandria*, being left alone to fight on the bridge, and beſet on euery ſide, he threwe off his purple, and leapte into the ſea, and being ſought of hys ennimies, he diued in the bottome a greate while, and only ſometime roſe to take breath, til a friendly ſhippe came nighe hym, to whome he helde vp his hands, ſhewed himſelfe, and was ſaued. 400

All ages and degrees muſt ſtrine againſt the frēch.

Falling into the ciuill wars, eyther for feare, (as he did ſay) or for deſire of rule, hée didde matche wyth the valiauntest Captaines in his tyme, in many and great battailes, not *Barbarians* onelye, but alſo *Romaines*, whiche in manhode and fortune dydde excel, and ouercame them all, eyther at the firſte or at the ſeconde battaile. Hys armye not being inuincible, as *Alexanders*, for in *France*, *Cotta* and *Titurius* hys lieutenants were euidently ouercome with a greate loſſe, and in *Spaine*, *Petreius* and *Affranius* helde hym beſieged. In *Dyrrachio* and *Libya*, they fled fowly awaye, and in *Spaine* they were afraide of young *Pompey*. But *Cæſar* himſelfe was euer voide of feare, and in the ende of euerye warre, had the victorie.

Cæſar had loſſe ſometymes.

The Romaine Empire from the weake to the ſloude *Euphrates*, by force, or by fayre meanes he obtayned, muche ſurer and ſtronger than *Sylla*.

Euphrates a flood of *Macedonia*, running into the redde Sea by *Babylon*.

He ſhewed himſelfe to be a King in ſpight of them al, though he would not receiue the name. And he alſo hauing made determination of other warre, was taken away. Beſyde forth, their armies were alike: prompte to them bothe with a beneuolente minde: and in fighte, of lyke fiercenesſe: diſobedient many times to them both, and ful of ſedition for their long laboures. Neuertheleſſe, when they were deade, bothe after one ſorte did lament and mone, and thought them worthy diuine honors. They were both in body of good complexion and fayre: bothe of them hadde

Cæſar and Alexander lyke.

their petigrée from *Iupiter*, *Alexander* from *Aeacide* and *Hercules*, and *Cæſar* from *Anchiſes* and *Venus*. As both were deſirous to conquere with whome they contended, ſo eaſy to be entreated and to forgiue them whom they had ſubdued, and beſide forgiuenelle, woulde do them good alſo, ſeeking nothing elſe but victory.

Alexander and Cæſar vnlyke.

Thus farre they were alyke, but in riſing to their rule, they were not of lyke power: for the one roſe from a Kingdome encreaſed by hys father *Phillip*, the other from a priuate eſtate, yet noble and renoumed, and very needy of monye. Of tokens, whiche to them both were great, they were alyke contemners, yet neyther of them angrye with the Diuiners, that diede foreſhewe their death. The tokens were like many times to them both, & to like effect. Twice to them bothe were vnluckye ſignes, in the whiche the firſt ſhewed to them both doubtfull danger. *Alexander* among the *Oxidrines*, ſcaling the wall before the *Macedonians*, being vtterly deſtitute by breaking of the ladders, leapte boldly among hys enimies within, where he was ſore hurt in ỹ breaſt, & in the necke, & beaten down with a mighty mace, ſo as he was hardely ſaued by the *Macedonians*, that for very ſhame burſte open the gates. *Cæſar* in *Spaine*, when his army was very feareful of *Pompey* the young, and refuſed to go to the fight, ran betwéne them both, & receyued .ij. C. dartes vpon his Target, his armye ran in for feare and ſhame, and ſaued hym. So the firſte vnlucky ſacrifices diede ſignifie perill of death to them both, and the ſeconde, death it ſelfe indéede.

These people be of *India* and called Malli of *Plutarcth*.

Perill of *Alexander*.

Perill of *Cæſar*.

Pythagoras a Soothſayer, tolde *Apollodorus* that was afraide of *Alexander* and *Epheſtion*, that he ſhoulde not néede to feare, for by the ſacrifice, he founde that both of them ſhoulde ſhortely bée dead. And comming to paſſe, that *Epheſtion* died by and by after, *Apollodorus* was afraide that ſome treaſon had bin wrought againſte the King, and tolde hym what the Soothſaier had ſayde: he ſmiled, and aſked of *Pythagoras* what the token did pretende, he anſwered *the laſte day*, whereat he ſmyled agayne, and thanked *Apollodorus* of hys faithfulneſſe, and the Soothſayer of his confidence. To *Cæſar* (as we haue ſayde) the laſte tyme that hée went

wente into the Senate, the same tokens happened. Whereat he laughed, and saide: The like was seene in *Spaine*, and when the Diuinour aunswered, that then he was in daunger, but nowe the token signifieth more certaine death, then relenting somewhat to this free speeche, he sacrificed againe, till he tarryed so long aboute the sacrifices, that he was angry, and went in and was kylled.

The like happened to *Alexander* when he came from *India* to *Babylon* with his army, where being nigh, the *Chaldeans* exhorted hym to refraine at this presente, to whome hée rehearsed a verse.

The best Prophet is he, that coniecture th honestly.

Then the *Chaldeans* warned hym the second tyme, not to go wyth his army on ỹ weast side, but to compasse & take the City on the Easte, and stay there: with that (they say) he was content, and beganne to go about, but being angry at the mory and fenny way, he contemned the seconde warning, and went in at the Weaste. Then he sayled vpon *Euphrates* to the floud *Pallacotta*, that receyueth *Euphrates*, and runneth into the Fennes, whereby *Assyria* is kept from ouer-flowing. He minded to haue defended thys floud with a wall, and whiles he was sayling vpon it, they say he scorned the *Chaldeans*, bycause he safely had entred *Babylon*, and was come forth againe to saile, but it was but deferred till he came againe, for then he dyed out of hande.

Alexander contemneth tokens.

Euphrates & *Pallacotta*, floudes.

The lyke contempt *Cæsar* seemed to vse, for the Soothsayer & hadde appoynted the daye of hys death, and saide hée shoulde not passe the Ides of March: & when that day was come, he laughed at hym, and sayd, the Ides were come, but that very day he was kylled. Both they despised ỹ Prophesies alyke, but were not angry with the Prophets, yet they both dyed as they were tolde. They were both studious of learning and vertue, aswel of their own coũtry, as of Greek & other strãgers. *Alexãder* delighted in

Cæsar contemneth tokens.

Brachmães vver the vvyſe Philoſopers of India, choſen to it by conſent.

the *Brachmanes*, whiche among the *Indians* be reputed moſte learned and wiſe men, as the *Magies* among the *Perſians*. *Cæſar* dealte with the *Aegiptians*, when he putte *Cleopatra* in hys kyngdome, wherby he directed many ciuil things in *Rome*: among other, he turned the order of the yeare, being without certaintie, bycauſe of the odde moneths (for they meaſured it by the Mone) to the courſe of the Sunne, as the *Aegiptians* doe. It was hys happe that none dyode eſcape that ſoughte hys death, but by hys heyre receyued worthye puniſhemente, as *Alexander* dyode them, that kylled *Philippe* hys father. Howe that was done the bookes in order ſhall declare.

(:·:)

The end of the ſecond booke of Ciuill diſſentions.

Diſſention.

THus *C. Caſar*, ỳ was moſt worthy of rule among ỳ *Romaines*, was ſlayn of his enimies, & buried of the people Of al his killers puniſhment, & how the beſt of them ſoneſt receyued it, this Booke & the nert ſhal declare, & likewiſe comprehende al the other Ciuill ſtrifes, that the *Romaines* had among thẽſelues.

The Senate blamed *Antony* for the funerall of *Caſar*, by the which the people was ſo ſtirred, as they did forthwith deſpiſe the law of Dolitton, and ranne with fire to the houſes of the ſtrykers. This vnkindneſſe, with one inuention, he turned into beneuolence. *Amatius*, a coũterfaite Mariane, pretending to be *Marius* ſonne, was for that name accepted of the people, & by this counterfaiting, being taken as a kinſman to *Caſar*, he made moſt mone for his death, and ſet vp an Aulter where he was buried. He had a rowte of Ruffians about him, & was euer terrible to the killers, of the whiche ſome were fled out of the citie, and ſo many as had by *Caſar*, the gouernment of prouinces, were gone to their charges. *Decimus Brutus* was gone to *Fraunce* nert *Italie*: *Trebonius* into *Aſia* aboute *Ionia*: *Tullius Cimber* into *Bythinia*. But *Caſſius* & *Marcus Brutus* with whome the Senate bare moſt, and were likewiſe choſen of *Caſar* to be Preſidents for the yere to come, as *Caſſius* in *Syria*, & *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, being yet officers in *Rome*, of neceſſitie and law, (as Pretors) muſt attend vpon the diſpatch of thẽ that ſhould haue places appointed to liue in, & gaue audience to anye other that made ſute to ſell the partes of their places, which by law was forbiddẽ to be done within .xx. yeres. With theſe *Amatius* did conſpire, & only erſpected occaſiõ. At the talke of this cõſpiracy, *Antony*, as Conſul, came vpon them, & apprehended *Amatio*, & without iudgemẽt, put him to death very ſtoutly. The Senate marueled at this matter, as great & beſide law, yet the commoditie of it, they embraced very ioyfully: for without ſuch ſtoutneſſe, they thought *Brutus* & *Caſſius* could not be in ſafetie. The companions of *Amatius* and other people with them, for the

Tumult.

Amatius the counterfeyte *Marius.*

Lombardy.

Aſia the leſſe.

Amatio put to death by *Antony.*

loue of him, were much greued at this fact, chiefly that *Antony* shoulde so dispatche one that was honoured of the people. They could not abide so to be despised, wherefore, with shoutes they went crying out of *Antony*, & commaunded the Magistrate to erect an aulter to *Amatio*, & there to make the firste sacrifice to *Cæsar*. They were driuen out of the common place by the souldiours that were sent of *Antony*, wherewith they were more greued and made greater noyse: some of them brought forth the settles of *Cæsars* pictures pulled downe, and whereas one sayde he could bring them to a shop where his images were defaced, they straight way followed him, & when they saw it, they set al a fire, till other were sent of *Antony* which killed parte of the that stode to their defence, and parte they toke, & as many as were bonde they hanged, and the free men, they threw downe headlong: and thus, this tumult ceased. But extreme hate of exceading loue, was now wrought in the people, agaynst *Antony*. The Senate was glad, as though there was none other feare to be had touchyng *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

The complices of *Amatius* punished.

Antony pretendeth to call home yong *Pompey*.

And further, where *Antony* purposed to call home *Sextus Pompey*, sonne to *Pompey* the great, who yet was loued of al me, out of *Spayne*, where still he made warre with *Cæsars* Capitaynes, and for his fathers goods confiscate, to giue him of the common, fiue thousand millions of Drammes of *Athens*, and to make him admirall of the sea as his father was, and to vse the *Romaine* nauies, where so euer they were, to al occasions: The Senate not a litle marueled & accepted his offer, spending an whole day in the prayse of *Antony*, for they knewe no man more accepted, nor better beloued of the people than *Pompey*.

Millions be here ten thousande.

Brutus and *Cassius* the most honorable of all other, & of *Pompeis* faction, thought to holde their safetie with sure hande, and that the course that they had take shoulde preuayle, and the peoples authoritie be surely confirmed, and that their estate shoulde stande. *Cicero* for this, made continuall prayse of *Antony*, and the Senate considering that the people euidently did meane euill to him, gaue him leaue to chose him a gard for his person of the olde Souldiours that resorted to him: he, eyther because

Cicero prayseth *Antony*.

The Senate giueth a garde to *Antony*.

he

he had done all to this ende, or for that he would embrace this occasion so fauourable, picked out at length a garde of.vj.M. not of the common Citizens, whom he knew he might haue at his pleasure at any other time, but of all the leaders and Captaynes of experience and estimation in *Cæsars* army. Of these, hée chose chiefe officers in comely order, whome he vsed honorably, and made them partakers of ordinary Counsels. The Senate driuen into a iealousie for this number and choyse, counsayled hym to reduce this garde as enuious, to a conuenient number: he promysed so to doe, when he had quieted the tumultes of the people.

Antony choseth a legion for his garde.

The Senate in a ielousie of *Antony*.

Nowe where by decrée he had stablished all that *Cæsar* had done and would doe, and had the writings of memoriall in his custodie, and *Phaberius Cæsars* Secretary at his commaundement, for *Cæsar* going away, lefte all his determinations with *Antony*, he added many things to the behoofe of many men: he gaue graunts to Cities, Princes, and to his owne garde. And he made knowne to all them, that coulde clayme any thyng by *Cæsars* allignation, that they takyng the benefite, might yelde him the thankes, and by this meane he brought many into the Senate and degrée to himselfe, & the other, he wan with faire promise, that they did no more maligne agaynst his garde.

Phaberius. in the Greeke. *Taberius* in the Latten.

Antony abuseth *Cæsars* testamẽt.

Brutus & *Cassius* perceiuing nothing, neither of the people, nor of the soldiours to appeare peaceable for thẽ, neither vnlikely but ỹ cõspiracie of *Amatio* might be done againste thẽ by some other, neither well abiding variable *Antony*, that bare himself so boldly of his army, nor seyng that the peoples rule could be cõfirmed by these doings, but suspecting that *Antony* wrought against it, they put their chiefe trust in *Decimo*, who had thrée Legions, lying in the sides of *Italy*. They wrote secretely to *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and to *Tullius* in *Bythinia*, to gather money closely, and loke aboute for an armye. They were desirous to take the prouinces that *Cæsar* had appointed thẽ, but ỹ time did not yet suffer them. They thought it not conuenient to leaue their office in the Citie, before the end of the same, and to run into suspition of desire of rule of nations. They chose rather for

the

their necessitie, to spende the meane time, as priuate men, than to be officers in the Citie, where they could neyther be sure of themselues, nor do anye thing to their honour, in the seruice of their countrey. Being in this case, and the Senate perceyuing their minde, they thought good to make thē purueyers of grain for the Citie, from euery countrey, til the time might serue thē to take the charge of their prouinces: and thus they did, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* shoulde not seeme to flee. So great a care and reuerence was there of them, that for them chiefly they maynteined the other killers. Whē *Brutus* and *Cassius* wer gone out of the Citie, and *Antony* nowe alone ruled all, he coueted the presidentship of some prouince, and the armye therof: he was chiefly desirous of *Syria*, but knowing he was alredy suspected, he thought he should be more, if he required any, for the Senat had secretly wrought *Dolobella* to be against him, who was the other Consul, and always at strife with *Antony*. *Antony* seing that *Dolobella* was a yong man and ambitious, perswaded him to aske *Syria*, in *Cassius* place, and their army that was made against the *Parthians*, but not to aske it of the Senate, (for that was not expedient) but of ỹ people, by a law. He was perswaded by and by, and propounded the lawe. The Senate aleaged that he brake *Cæsars* actes: he answered, that the war of *Parthia*, was appointed to no man by *Cæsar*, and that *Cassius*, who was sent to *Syria*, was the first that had altered *Cæsars* decrees, in giuing leaue to them that wer assigned dwellings in the coūtry, to sel their portions before twenty yeares determined by law: & that he could not take it wel, being *Dolobella*, not to be thought worthy of *Syria*, before *Cassius*. The Senate persuaded *Asprina* one of the Tribunes, to find a fault in the assēbly by some token, hoping that *Antony* would haue allowed it, being Consul, and officer of the tokens, and stil (as they thought) at variance with *Dolobella*.

Brutus and *Cassius* made purueyers.

A deuice to defeate a lawe.

The electiō now being come, & *Asprina* affirming the token to be vnlucky, & then the maner was to send other into it, *Antony* was angry at the subtilty, & cōmaunded the cōpanies to make choyce for *Dolobella*. And so was *Dolabella* made president of

Dolabella president of *Syria*.

Syria,

Syria, and generall of the army against the Parthians, and of the legions that Cæsar had gathered for this purpose, and left in Macedonia. This was the first time that Antony seemed to fauoure Dolabella. This being done of the people, Antony required Macedonia of the Senate, thinking they would be ashamed to denye it him, seeing Dolabella had Syria, and nowe voyde of an office. The Senate gaue it him vnwillingly, and marueiled that he woulde deliuer the armye that was there to Dolabella, whome yet they were glad shoulde haue it before Antony. Nowe Brutus frindes thought good to aske Antony other prouinces for Brutus and Cassius, so Cyrene and Creta was giuen them, or as some saye, both Creta and Syrene to Cassius, and Bythinia to Brutus. And these were the doings at Rome.

Macedonia giuen to *Antony*.

Cyrene a Citie and a prouince in *Affrica*, nowe *Corcyria*.
Creta, an Iland in the middest of the Sea, nowe *Candia*.
Syrene and *Creta* to *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

Octauius, Cæsars sisters nephew, was made of Cæsar generall of the horsemen for one yeare, and this honor Cæsar vsed to gyue to his friends from yeare to yeare. He being yet yong, was sent of Cæsar to Velona to apply his booke, and to be trayned in feates of warre, there to remayne whilest he wente againste his enimies, and to exercise himselfe with the bands of Horsemen that came from Macedonia, with other great Captaynes of the armie that resorted thither to visit hym, as Cæsars kinsman, whereby he was knowen to many, and wanne the loue of the army, for he receyued them that came to him with great curtesie. Hauing bin now fiue monethes in Velona, about the euening, it was told that Cæsar was slayne in the Senate house, of them that he loued best, and might doe most with hym. Of further matter nothyng being yet tolde, he stode in feare and doubt, whether it were the whole publike worke of the Senate, or some priuate practise, or whether the doers were punished of the more parte, or whose acte it was, or whether the multitude did ioyne with them. After thys, his frindes sente to hym from Rome, wishing him to goe to the host of Macedonia for his suretie, in the which place, after it shuld be knowen, that it was no common fact, he might be a terror to his enimies, in reuenging of Cæsar, and diuers of the Captaynes promised him, that if he woulde come to them, they woulde see hym safe. His Mother, and Philip his Father in lawe wrote vn-

Octauius Cæsars nephew, at *Velona*, which is on the other side of the gulfe of *Venice*.

to him, to take nothing vpon him, nor to be encouraged, remembring that after *Cæsar* hadde ouercome his enimies, he was thus vsed of his dearest friendes. The priuate life at this present was further off from perill, and nowe rather to be chosen, and if he were with them at *Rome*, he should be well kept. *Octauius* by these persuaded, without further knowledge, what was done after *Cæsars* deathe, embracing the Captaynes, sayled ouer the *Ionian* Sea, not taking land at *Brunduse*, bycause he did not trust the army that was there, and therefore was well ware: but at another Citie not farre off, called *Lupio*, where he stayed, and receyued aduertisementes from his friends, of *Cæsars* deathe, of the peoples tumult, of the publication of his testamente, and of the orders taken, and was aduised to beware of *Cæsars* enimies, bycause he was named his sonne and heire, & counselled him not to take the inheritance vpon him. But he thinking it a dishonor, as wel of this, as not to reuẽge *Cæsars* death, wẽt to *Brundusc*, sẽding afore to search, that there should be none of the strikers in anye awaite. The army of that place did mẽte him, and receyued him as *Cæsars* sonne, where with good courage he made sacrifice, and straightway accepted the name of *Cæsar*, for the *Romaines* vsed to giue their name to them whome they made their children by adoption, which he did not only admitte, but changed his name frõ *Octauius*, *Octauius* sonne, to *Cæsar*, *Cæsars* sonne, which continued till his ende. By and by was there great repaire of mẽ to him, some as *Cæsars* friendes, some as his seruantes, and freemade men, and some souldioures with them, some bringing preparation & money toward *Macedonia*, and some other reuennes of other prouinces to *Brunduse*. He then trusting vpon the multitude that came vnto him, and in *Cæsars* glory, and in the beneuolence of all mẽ to him, toke his iourney toward *Rome*, accompanyed with a conuenient number, which dayly like a streame did increase, being safe from open force, by the multitude of people, not without suspitiõ of deceypt, bycause all that came with him almost were of newe acquaintãce, and euery citie did not fauour him. But *Cæsars* souldioures, and such as were by his appoyntmẽt placed, came from the habitations to the fauour of this yong man. They lamented for

Octauius sayleth into *Italy*.

Lupie Iesse, a port Towne.

The army at *Brunduse* receyueth *Octauius*. Adoption.

Octauius receyued the name of *Cæsar*.

Resort to yong *Cæsar*.

for Cæsar, and complayned of Antony that woulde not reuenge so great a mischiefe, affirming that they, if any man would be their guide, would reuenge his death. Octauius Cæsar gaue them great prayse, and willed thē to be quiet for the time, and came to Terracina, about fiftie miles from Rome, where it was told him, that Syria and Macedonia was taken from Brutus & Cassius by the Consuls, and that to comforte them, Creta and Syrene were graunted them, and that certayne banished men were reuoked, and that Pompey was restored, and that many were made Senatours by Cæsars determination, and diuers other things. Being come to Rome, his mother, & Philip, and their friendes came vnto him, and againe prayed him, not to dissente from the Senate, bycause it was decréd, that there shoulde be no question of Cæsars deathe. Further, they feared Antony and his power, who neyther came himselfe to méte Cæsars sonne, nor sent any man to receyue hym, all the whiche Octauius toke very temperately, and said, it was méte that he should goe first to Antony as a yong man to an elder, and a priuate man to a Consul, and that he would obserue ỹ Senate as should be conuenient. And though (quoth he) there be a decrée, that no man should persecute the killers, and yet if anye mā durst take it in hand, both the people and the Senate by law, and the gods by iustice, yea and peraduenture Antony also wyll be helps to it, & if he did refuse the inheritāce & adoptiō, he should offend againste Cæsar, & defraude the people of their distribution. In the end he knit vp his spéch, that it was not onely honest for him, to put himselfe in dāger for this matter, but also if nécde be, to lose his life, otherwise he should séeme vnworthy the choyce ỹ Cæsar had made of him in so great matters, séeing he himself was wont to contemne all maner of perill. Then turning to his mother, he rehearsed those words that Achilles spake to Thetis.

Terracina, sometime Anxur.

In desire of Octauius.

Octauius words to his mother.

I do rather wish of my life an ende,
Than I should omitte reuengement of my friend.

This word (quoth he) did winne Achilles immortall fame, but much more the déede, and that he ought to reuenge Cæsar, not as a friende, but as a father: not as a fellowe Souldiour, but as a Generall: not dying by lawe of warre, but murthered

wickedly in the Senate house. For this speche, his mother, from feare, turned to you, embraced him, affirming he only was worthy for *Cæsar*. This talke being ended, she prayed that all myghte haue lucky and prosperous successe with speede, yet she perswaded him at the firste, rather to vse policie and sufferance, than playnenesse and boldnesse, when he commending hir, aunswered he would so do. In the nighte, he sent to his friendes, and prayed them the nexte morning to be with him in the cõmon place wyth the other multitude. In that place meeting with *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Marcus Antonius*, a Prætor of the Citie, he sayde vnto him, that he did accept the adoption of *Cæsar*, for it was the manner of *Rome*, that the adopted children should exhibite testimonie to the Prætors, which beyng registred, he straighte wente out of the common place to *Antony* the other Consull, who was then in *Pompeys* gardings, whiche *Cæsar* had giuen him: and when he had tarryed at the gate a long whyle, he entred into a suspition of *Antonies* alteration. Being at length lette in, due salutations and intretaynmẽts were betweene them, and bycause they must talke of things that were expedient, *Octauius Cæsar* sayd thus.

Adoption.

The meeting of *Octauius* and *Antony*.

Octauius Oration to *Antony*.

"I (Father *Antony*) for the benefites that *Cæsar* shewed to thé, and the thankes thou gauest to him, requiring thée to be a father to me, do prayse thée for the things thou hast done for him, and I will be thy debtor of thankes for them, but wherein I maye blame thée, I will speake it frankely, for dolor doth thereto driue me. When he was slayne, thou wast not present, the quellers holding thée withoute the dores, for eyther shouldest thou haue saued him, or haue bin in the like daunger thy selfe: of the whych if the latter must haue happened. It is well now that thou wast absente. When some decreed them to be honored as againste a Tyrant, thou denyedst it effectually, for the whych I know thou deseruest clere thankes: but if thou knowest that those men did conspire thy death, not as one that woulde reuenge *Cæsar* (as we thinke) then were they not Tyrantkillers, and for that they fled to the Capitoll, as to a Sanctuary like offendors craning mercye, or into a forte, as enimies for their strength, wherefore oblition and acquitall of the murther, was required for thẽ, though

But as a successour of his tyranny as they say.

some

some of the Senate or the people were corrupted of them, and if, thou hadst bin otherwise minded, thy office did require thee to, punish so great a fault, and to correct them that did erre, yet didst thou send pledges of thine owne into the Capitoll, for the assurance of the manqueilers. Well, graunt the corrupted sort did force thee to it, but when *Cæsars* Testament was redde, and thou, madest his funerall Oration as righte was, and the people for, the freshe memorie of *Cæsar*, carryed a fire againste them, and for, their neyghbours sake, spared them: and agayne, they were in, armes twice the nexte day, why didst not thou helpe the people as, their leader, with fire or armoure, to punishe the murtherers? if, any punishment ought to be of them that are euident offendors,, by thée, a friende to *Cæsar*, a Consull, and *Antony*. *Marius Amatius*, by commaundement of thy great power, was put to deathe,, but the quellers thou sufferedst to flée, and to runne to certayne, prouinces, which wrongfully they holde, hauing killed him that, gaue them. *Syria* and *Macedonia*, thou and *Dolabella*, doyng well,, when thinges were setled, toke from them, for the whiche I, would thanke thée, if thou hadst not straight appoynted them to, *Creta* and *Cyrene*, and thought fugitiues worthy prouinces, euer, to be as garrisons against me. *Decimus* hauyng *France* our neyhbour, you haue suffered, he also being made ruler of that, and other by my father, but some will say, the Senate did determine, it, yea and thou didst confirme it, and satest as chiefe in that Senate, the which thou chiefly of all others for thy selfe, oughtest to, haue relisted. To giue them oblision of their faults, was as a, granting only of their liues, but to assigne prouinces and honor,, was a contumelie of *Cæsar*, and an ouerthrow of the iudgement., Therefore as passion dothe carrie me peraduenture beyonde the, due respect of my yeares and reuerence to thée, I will speake it,, both as to a sure friende of *Cæsar*, and of him, though worthye, much honor and power, and also, as to one, that mighte haue bin, his heire, if he had knowen that thou hadst come of *Æneas*, rather than *Hercules*, for that did he muche consider, when he toke, order for his succession. But for the tyme to come, O *Antony*,, for the Gods of friendship, and for the dutie to *Cæsar*, if thou wilt,

‹ change any of the things done, as thou muſt if thou wilt, if not, at
‹ the leaſt helpe to further me, that minde to be reuenged of ỹ quel-
‹ lers, with the people, and ſuch of my fathers friends as I haue:
‹ and if any reſpect of men, or of the Senate doth moue thée, be not
‹ angry with me. Thou knoweſt what a charge I and my houſe
‹ haue about theſe matters, for the perfoꝛming of the diſtribution
‹ that my father gaue to the people, and for the care thereof, that
‹ by delaying of them, I might not ſéeme vnthankefull, noꝛ they ỹ
‹ ſhould receyue habitations in the countrey, ſhoulde be conſumed
‹ by me, tarrying in the Citie. Of al that was to thée brought im-
‹ mediately after ỹ death of *Cæſar*, to be in ſafetie for danger of his
‹ houſe, the iewels & apparel, I thinke good thou ſhalt haue, and al
‹ other things which thou wilt, but for the diſtributiõ, giue me the
‹ coyned gold which he had gathered for his determinate warres,
‹ which ſhall ſuffice me to deuide amõg thrée hũdred thouſand mẽ.
‹ The reſidue of the charges, if I may be ſo bold, I will eyther of
‹ thée, or by thy helpe, boꝛowe it of publike money, and forthwith
‹ make ſale of my priuate ſubſtance. Whileſt *Cæſar* ſpake thus,
‹ *Antony* was aſtonished at his courage and boldneſſe, farre be-
‹ yond the opiniõ of his yeares, and being gréeued with his ſpéech
made without reuerence of him, & ſpecially for that he required
the money, he anſwered him charply after this manner.

Antonyes aunſwere to Octauius.

‹ If *Cæſar*, togither with his inheritãce and name (O ſonne) had
‹ left thée alſo the ſtate, thou mighteſt well haue required an ac-
‹ compt of common things, and I muſt haue aunſwered: but if the
‹ *Romaines* haue by oth decréed, that no man ſhall receyue rule by
‹ inheritance, noꝛ no man be a ſucceſſour to Kings, whome they
‹ did expell, whiche was chiefly obiected againſte the father of the
‹ quellers, affirming they killed him as a King, and not as a Cap-
‹ tayne, I ought not to aunſwere thée touching any of theſe pub-
‹ likecauſes, and by the ſame reaſon, I do deliuer thée of the gy-
‹ uing of thankes, whiche thou oweſt to me therefoꝛe, for it was
‹ done not for thy ſake, but for the peoples, yet one of the grea-
‹ teſt actes that euer was done for *Cæſar*, and for thée: for if I of
‹ mine owne boldneſſe and hate to them, had ouerpaſt the honoꝛs

for

for the strikers as killers of a Tyrante, *Cæsar* had bin iudged a, Tyrant, to whome, neyther glory, nor honor, nor establishmente, of his actes had bin made, neyther Testament, forme, or substãce, had bin stayd, nor his bodye bin thought worthy buriall, no not, as a priuate man, for the law doth commaund the bodyes of Tyrants to be cast vnburied, their memorie to be raced, and theyr, goodes to be made common, all the which I fearing, did contend, for *Cæsars* immortall glorye, and for his publike buriall, neyther, without perill nor enuie of mine owne person, of men fierce and, full of bloudshed, and as thou mayst know, conspiring agaynste, me, and of the Senat that could euill beare thy fathers gouerne-, ment: but I thought rather to offer my selfe to peril and trouble, than to suffer *Cæsar* to be dishonored and vnburyed, the best of all, other men, most fortunate in his affaires, and of all other vsing, me most honorably. By these mine onely perils, thou hast pre-, sently these singulare benefites of *Cæsar*, his bloud, his name, hys, dignitie, and his substance, for all the whyche, thou oughtest ra-, ther to giue me thankes, than to reprehende me for anye thyng, done for the appeasing of the Senate, for the recompence of such, as had deserued, or for other commodities and considerations, , séeyng thou art yong in respect to me: therefore this shall be suf-, ficient, for that thou spakest herein. Thou doest glance at mé, , as though I were desirous of rule only, which I neuer coueted, , and yet haue bin thought not altogither vnworthy of it. Thou, sayest I am sorry, for that I was not made heire by his testa-, ment, yet by thine owne confession, I am content with the peti-, gree of *Hercules*. For thy necessitie, that thou wouldest borrow of, the common treasure, I thinke thou didst but dissemble, bycause, thou canst not be ignorant, that all is cõsumed, & that thy father, had ỹ receypt of all the reuenue, since he came to his authoritie, , being brought to him in steade of ỹ treasure house, & to be found, in his substance, whẽ we had determined to search for thẽ. This, cã be no wrõg to *Cæsar* being dead, nor be called vniust, though he, wer aliue, ỹ being required, would yéld thée accõptes: & whẽ thou, shalt find ỹ many priuate men will cõtend to thée for hys goodes, , thou shalt wel perceiue thou cãst not obteine thẽ without great,

contro-,

'controuersie. As for the money which thou sayest was left wyth 'me, neyther was the summe so greate, nor nowe they be in my 'handes, for all were distributed to officers and magistrates, as 'Tyrants goodes, *Dolabella* and my brethren onely excepted, and 'by me bestowed vpō such purposes, as *Cæsar* had appointed: whē 'thou shalt haue the rest, thou shalt bestow it rather vpon thē that 'may hinder thee, thā on the people, if thou bee wise, whome they 'will sende away (if they be wise) to their habitations. For the 'people as thou oughtst to know (being lately trayned in Greeke People vnstable. 'letters) is vnstable, and euer moouing as waues in the Sea, now 'comming, now going. After the which sorte, the people haue set 'aloft oure ambitious men, and brought them downe as lowe 'agayne.

Octauius beyng greeued with many of these things that tended to contumelie, wente his way, often calling vpon his fathers name. He put to sale his whole substance by and by that came vnto him by inheritance, couetyng to winne the people by thys liberalitie, bycause *Antony* appeared a manifest enimie vnto him. The Senate intending to make enquirie by decree for the publike treasure, many of them were afrayde of yong *Cæsar*, for the beneuolence of his father had with the Souldyers and the people, and for the present largesse in alluring of them, by consuming of his substance which was verye greate, many thinkyng that he woulde not liue in the rate of a priuate man, and chiefly for that *Antony* woulde agree with him, bycause he was yong, famous, and rich, and would still vsurp *Cæsars* former dominion. Some were ioyfull of these things, that these men shoulde be at variance, and by the inquisition of the moneys, *Cæsars* ryches shoulde waste, and they haue abundance of the common treasure, bycause muche of the publike store would be found among *Cæsars* goodes. Manye of them called *Cæsar* into the lawe for their lands, euery one clayming his owne, and for that muche was common, by reason of condemned, banished, and attaynted men. These controuersies they brought before *Antony*, or before *Dolabella*, the other Consul. If any matter were heard before other Iudges, *Cæsar* had euer the worst, bycause of *Antonyes* friend- *Octauius* selleth his substance.

ship,

ſhip, albeit he ſhewed by record what his father had purchaſed, & that al his acts were ratifyed by the laſt decrée of the Senate. Many other actions of iniurie were put vp againſte him extraordinarily, and they grew infinit, in ſo much as *Pedius* and *Pinarius*, to whom *Cæſar* had giuen a portion of land, complayned of *Antony* for thẽſelues and for *Cæſar*, as they that ſuffered wrõg by the Senates decrée, affirming he ought to reiect onely matters of deſpight, and al other of *Cæſars* doings he ſhould confirm. He anſwered, that things done peraduẽture, had ſome contrarietie with the Senates decrée, and (quoth he) the decrée may be written contrary to the meaning. For where only oblíuion of iniuries was graunted, there was no alteratiõs of the former proceedings, neyther for his ſake, nor to be playne, for anye of their ſakes, rather than a deuice to appeaſe and ſtay the people which was in tumulte, and that it were more iuſte to vſe the meaning of the decrée, rather than the wordes: neyther was it méete to reſiſt ſo many men, that by ſedition were fallen from their owne, or their auncеſtours poſſeſſions, for one yong man that beyonde all hope had gotten ſo muche of other mens ſubſtaunce, and none of his owne, vſing fortune not for honoure, but for inſolencie. Yet he ſayd he would fauour them, whẽ they had diuided with *Cæſar*. Thus did *Antony* anſwere *Pinarius*, who ſtreight made diuiſion, leaſt their partes ſhoulde be conſumed in ſutes, not for themſelues but for *Cæſar*, whom not long after they muſt gratify in all.

The time of playes drew nygh, which *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Antony*, ſhould exhibite for *Brutus* as Pretor, being abſent, in as good ſortas might be, bicauſe *Brutus* had made great preparation for the ſame, thinking by this liberality & paſtime, the people would be wonne to cal him and *Caſſius* home again. But new *Cæſar* working ẏ multitude to the contrary, did giue among the ambitious ſort (as euery man firſt came) al the money that he had got by his ſale, to preuent the others whole purpoſe. He went into euery common market, commaunding to be proclamed, ẏ they ſhould ſel al his goods, thoughe that he had were neuer ſo good cheape, bycauſe of the doubtful and ſuſ- Playes for *Brutus*.

pitious controuersie of the lawe and of his harte. Whereby hee turned all the people to benevolence and pitie, as vnworthye to suffer so muche. For whereas beside his owne heritage he had solde his private substaunce that came to him by his father *Octauius*, or by any other waye, and all that his mother and hir husband *Philip* hadde, and clayming a portion of more goods of *Pedius* and *Pinarius*, he determined to sell all, as though *Cæsars* substaunce woulde not suffice, onely because of his donatiõs. The people thinking no lõger ỹ to be *Cæsars* gifte, but *Octauius* liberalitie, they had inwarde compassion of him, wondring at his great attemptes, and well perceyuing that he would not long passe for *Antonies* displeasure.

The playes disturbed.

Now were the playes of *Brutus* shewed in most ample manner. When certaine hyred men, did cry that *Brutus* and *Cassius* might be called home, and the rest of the Theatre did agrée vnto them for their pardon, the other rushed in by heapes, and marred all the playe, and quenched their instant request. *Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstanding that *Cæsar* had dashed their hope in the shewe, they determined to goe to *Syria* and *Macedonia* by force, as prouinces appointed to them before *Antony* and *Dolabella*.

This being euident, *Dolabella* also went into *Syria*, and made hast by the way, to make money in *Asia*. *Antony* desired much to haue the army of *Macedonia*, as very fit for the maintenãce of his power, being in vertue best, and in power most, (for they were fiue legions) beside other number of Archers, Darters, and light armed, with many horsemen and other greate furniture for the warre, al the whiche he feared should follow *Dolabella* into *Syria*, going against the *Parthians*, whether *Cæsar* had appointed them. He minded to haue them himself, because they were nyghe to the sea of *Ionia*, frõ whence he might sone bring them into *Italie*. In the meane time a sodaine rumor came, that *Getes*, knowing of *Cæsars* death, did inuade *Macedonia*. Wherefore *Antony* required his armie of the Senate, that he myght punish the *Getes*, because they were first appointed against thẽ of *Cæsar*, & so that all was nowe quiet wyth the *Parthians*. The

The *Getes*, be a people of *Scythia* in *Europe*.

The name nowe is turned into the *Thracians*.

Senate

Senate suspected this rumor, and sente to vnderstande the certainty of it.

Antony deuiseth to stoppe the creation of a Dictator.

Antony, to deliuer them of feare and suspition hereof, decréed that for no cause it should be lawfull to create a Dictator, nor that any man should take it, though it were giuen him: and if any man did perceyue anye to contemne this order, it shoulde be lawfull to kill him whereseoeuer he were mette. By this meanes he did temper the hearers, and practising with *Dolobellas* friend to giue him one legion, he was chosen captaine of the army, & Lieutenant of *Macedonia*. Hauing now what hée would, he sent his brother *Caius* in al hast to cary the decrée to ỹ army.

They that wente to vnderstande of the *Geetes* being returned, affirmed that they sawe no *Geetes* in *Macedonia*, but they added (either saying true, or being taught of *Antony* what they shold say:) It was to be feared, if the army were taken away, the *Geetes* would ouerrunne *Macedonia*.

Dolobella kept out of *Ephesus*, now *Egli* in *Ionia*.

Dolobella taketh *Smyrna*.

Whiles this was doing in *Rome*, *Cassius* and *Brutus* did gather money and men, and *Trebonius* that was gouernour in *Asia* did make Cities strong for them, and woulde not admit *Dolobella* neither at *Pergamo* nor at *Smirna*, onlyhe appointed him a market place out of ỹ wals as to a Consul. He therfore went about with anger to winne the walles: *Trebonius* not obtayning, promised he should be receiued at *Ephesus*: he going thither, *Trebonius* sent certaine alowe to sée his doings: who, when night was come, séeing him going on, not suspecting anye thing else, lefte a fewe to followe hym, and returned to *Smirna*. *Dolobella* hauyng layde wayte for thys matter, turned vppon these fewe, and slewe them, and streight in that nighte came to *Smirna*, whyche findyng without watche, he toke wyth a scale. *Trebonius* was founde in bedde, and desyred hée might bée broughte to *Dolobella*, and that hée woulde willingly followe them. One of the Captaynes loked on hym, and sayd: Come on, giue vs thy heade, for thy heade, not thée, are we commaunded to bring: and when he had thus sayde, he stroke off hys heade streighte. When daye was come, *Dolobella*

Trebonius killed and spightfully vsed.

caused *Trebonius* heade to be set vp ouer the iudgemente place wher he was wõt to giue audiẽce. The army (in fury) ỹ folowed ỹ cãpe, & the people (bicause *Trebonius* was priuy to *Cæsars* deth, and helde *Antony* with a tale without, when they killed *Cæsar* in the Senate house) did vse his body very spightfully, & threw his head vpon a pauemẽt of stone, like a bal frõ one to another, which whẽ they had scornefully vsed, they crushed and brake it a pieces. And this was the first of *Cæsars* strikers that receiued this punishment.

Trebonius one of the conspirators vvas the first that vvas killed.

Antony intended to bring the army from *Macedonia* into *Italie*, and wanting other pretence therunto, desired the Senate, that in steade of *Macedonia* he might haue Fraunce within the *Alpes*, of the which *Decimus Brutus Albinus* was ruler, remembring that *Cæsar* brought his army from thence, when he ouercame *Pompey*: but when it was perceyued, that he minded to bring that army not into *Italy* but into *Fraunce*, and the Senat considering that part of *Fraunce* to be as a strong fort for thẽ, was grieued, and now vnderstode the deceytes of *Antony*, repenting they had giuen *Macedonia* vnto hym. Therefore they sent priuie messengers to *Decimus*, to kepe his prouince strongly, and to gather other army and money, that he might resiste *Antony*. So muche were they troubled and in anger against *Antony*. And he, contrary to the Senats minde, entending to aske it of the people by lawe, as *Cæsar* once obtayned it before, and as *Dolabella* had *Syria*, now of late. And to afray ỹ Senate, he commaunded his brother *Caius* to transport the army of *Macedonia* by the *Ionian* Sea to *Brundusse*, and there to doe what *Antony* should require.

Celtica nowv Lombardy.

Senate vvorketh secretly against *Antony*.

Critonius shevvs

Edilis Cereale, & of houses as vvel profane as holy.

Nowe was there playes to be shewed by *Critonius* the ouerseer of victuals. At the whiche *Cæsar* hadde prepared a crowne and a chayre of golde for his father, as in al shewes they had ordeyned, so to honour him.

Critonius sayde he woulde not admitte *Cæsar* to be honored in the charges ỹ he should make. Wherefore *Octauian* brought him before *Antony* the Consul: *Antony* sayd he would put it to the Senate. Whereat *Octauian* being offended, Doe

so

so (quoth he) and I will set the Chaire till thou hast made the decree.

Antony was angry and forbad hym. He forbadde it also in other playes after to be made, and that was somewhat unreasonable, for *Octauius* hymselfe did exhibit it, being instituted of hys father, to *Venus* his parent, to whome in the common place, hee builded a Temple with a Courte. *Antony against Cæsar.*

Of thys did manifeste hate growe against *Antony* of all men, as thoughe he did not rather enuy *Octauius Cæsar* now, then contemne the former unthankfully. Young *Cæsar* with a multitude as a guarde wente among the people, and such as had bin benefited by hys father, or serued hym in the wars cruelously, hee besoughte them, that they woulde not suffer hym thus, to be so many waies despised, but both reuenge *Cæsar* their chiefe-tayne and benefactour so dishonoured of *Antony*, and defende themselues, who should haue none assurance, unlesse the things that he had decreed were established. He went vp to euery highe place of the Citie, and cried vpon *Antony*: Hate against *Antony.* *Cæsar* to the people.

Be not angry with *Cæsar* for me, nor dishonor him that hath moste honoured thée O *Antony*, and was moste affectionated to thée, do me what iniury thou wilt, but saue his substaunce from spoile, till the Citizens haue their parte, all the reste take vnto thée. It shal be sufficient for me, though I be poore, to be successor to hys glorye, so thou wilte suffer the people to haue their portion. *Cæsars exclamations against Antony.*

After these wordes, there was euident and continuall exclamation against *Antony*, and although he sharpelye threatned *Octauius*, and that hys threats were openly known, yet did they the more stirre at it. Wherfore the chiefe of the Capitains that serued in *Antonies* guard, in great estimation with hym, and had bin before with *Cæsar*, desired him he woulde leaue his dispight, as well for their cause, as for his own, hauing serued vnder *Cæsar*, and receyued so many good turnes of him. The Capitaines of *Antony* in fauour of *Octauius.*

Which things *Antony* considering, and confessing them to be true, and halfe ashamed they shoulde be layde vpon hym, and nowe shoulde haue nede of *Octauians* helpe, for the prouince of

Antony relieueth France, he beganne at lengthe to bée quiet, and to shewe, that some thyngs were done againste hys wyll.

But bycause the young manne was so hawtie at those yeares, hée dydde reuoke certaine thynges, for that he hadde no regarde nor reuerence to the Capitaines and olde officers: yet for theyr sakes he woulde refraine hys anger, and returne to his olde conditions, if hée also woulde leaue hys insolent behauiour.

Reconciliation of *Antony* and *Octauius*.

The Captaines being gladde of this, brought them togither, & when they had declared their griefs, they set them at one. Now was the law called vppon for *France*, the Senate being against it, and entending to prohibite it, if *Antony* woulde propounde it to them, and if hée didde not, but require it of the people, they woulde set the Tribunes to be against it, and some there were, that woulde haue it frée from al Lieutenants ouer that nation, so muche afraide were they of it.

Antony did obiect vnto them, that they would truste *Decimus* with it, that was one of *Cæsars* killers, and distruste hym that did not kill hym that wanne that prouince, and made it falle his knées, casting forth openly against them al, as though they had bin desirous of that was done to *Cæsar*.

The Senate taketh a guarde.

The courte daye being come, the Senate willed the assemblie of the companyes to be gathered, and in the night, they sette vppe Tentes in the common place, and called a bande of Souldioures to defende them from all happes.

Octauius moyueth speacheth for *Antony*.

The people being offended, laboured for *Antony* by the helpe of *Octauie*, that sate among the Tentes, who entreated for hym: for hée was very much afraid, least *Decimus* shoulde be Gouernoure of a Prouince of suche importaunce, and an armye so greate, béeyng one that hadde kylled hys father: and for thys cause hée beganne to fauoure *Antonie*, wyth whome he was reconciled, trusting to gette some god at hys hande.

Tribunes corrupted.

The Tribunes being corrupted of *Antony*, and keping silence, the lawe toke place, and the armye being nowe at the sea,

was

was for reasonable consideration assigned to *Antonie*.

One of the Tribunes being dead, *Octauius* much fauoured *Flaminius* against the next election, and because the people thought himselfe woulde haue the office, but refused to aske it, because of his yong yeares, they determined neuertheless at the election, to make him Tribune. The Senate had enuy at his encrease, it were afraide, if he were Tribune, he woulde accuse his fathers killers to the people. And *Antonie* not regarding to breake friendship with *Octauius*, whither it were to please the Senate, and to quiet their minds, for the late lawe made for hys Prouince, or for their sakes that shoulde go to inhabite as Consull, hée decreed that *Cæsar* shoulde deale with no man but lawfullye, otherwise he woulde further by al means his auctoritie against hym.

Flaminius. The people minded to make *Octauius* Tribune.

Antony against *Octauius* againe.

Whys declaration beyng vnpleasaunte to *Cæsar*, and contumelious bothe to hym and the people, they were angrye, and entended to make stirre at the election, and to affraye *Antonie*, and by the helpe of the other Tribunes, to reuoke the decrée.

Sedition procured.

Octauius Cæsar, as one euidently deceyued, sente manye to the Citties that hys father made for to inhabite, to shew them how hée was vsed, and to knowe their minds therin.

He sent some also as cariers of victual into *Antonies* campe, to mingle among them, chiefelye to deale wyth the boldest of them, and among the reste to scatter libells: and thus hée dyde.

The Capitaines and chiefe men with *Antony*, finding time conuenient, saide thus vnto him:

The oration of the Capitaynes to *Antony*.

Wée (O *Antonie*) that wyth thée haue serued *Cæsar*, and gaue to hym chiefe auctoritie, and till this daye haue remayned as assured seruauntes of it, haue knowne that hys killers and the Senate fauouring them, diddo as muche hate and séeke to dispatch vs. But when the people did disturbe them, we were encouraged agayne, because wée sawe that *Cæsar* was

'was not forgotten lacked no friendes, nor destitute of fauoure:
'yet did we put all our truste in thee, as in *Cæsars* friende, and
'nerte him, moste acquainted in the seruice of warre, and nowe
'our Generall and for al respects moste fit for it. When our en-
'mies did rise, and boldly force *Syria* and *Macedonia*, and prepared
'mony and men against vs, and the Senate maintaining *Dola-*
'*bella*, and thou consuming the tyme in contention with *Cæsar Octa-*
'*uius*, not without cause, we were afraide, that in tyme to come,
'thys dissention betweene you, woulde raise a greater warre
'than hathe bene, and geue occasion to our enimies to do what
'they woulde againste vs: all the whyche, seeyng thy selfe doest
'understande, we beseeche thee, that for *Cæsars* sake, and for oure
'loue, whiche hath done nothing to offend thee, and for the com-
'modities that may rise both to thee and vs, that whilest thou
'mayest, thou wouldest agree with *Octauius*, whiche onlye is suf-
'ficient, entending to be reuenged of the strykers. The whiche
'thing, cleare of all care, shall stay thee in authoritie, and place
'vs in securitie, that now are in doubt both for thee, and for oure
'selues.

The chiefetaynes hauyng sayde thus muche, *Antony* thus aunswered:

Antonies aun-swere to the Capitaynes.

'What benenolence and loue I haue euer borne to *Cæsar*,
'in all hys causes, offeryng my selfe to moste perills of al o-
'ther, you that haue bene in Souldiour fare with me, and pre-
'sent to euery thing that hathe bin done, can well testifie. How
'muche loue and good will he shewed to me, euen till his last day,
'I shall not neede to repeate. For his quellers, wayeng both
'these, meante to haue kylled me with him: as thoughe I be-
'ing a liue, they coulde not thinke their intentes to consiste
'in safetye. And if anye manne dydde affraye them from
'that myndе, it was not done for desire and care of my
'life, but for a respecte onelye that they woulde not seeme
'to persecute their enimies, but to dispatche a Tyran. Who
'then can thinke that I doe forgette *Cæsar* my benefactour, or
'haue more esteemed his enimies than him, or woulde willingly
'forgyue them his death, that haue sought mine, as this new *Ca-*

sar

ſar thinketh? How then commeth the oblition of his deathe, and their aduancemēt to prouinces: for this he obiecteth againſt me, and not the Senate? Heare you then how it hathe come to paſſe. Cæſar being ſlayne in the Senate houſe, euery man was afrayd, and I moſt of all for Cæſars friendſhip, and ignorance of the facte, for I neyther heard of the coniuration, nor vnderſtode howe manye were of the conſpiracie. The people was in tumulte, and the ſtrikers with the ſwordplayers toke the Capitoll, and made themſelues faſt, and the Senate was of their ſide, whyche is nowe more euident, bycauſe they decreed honors to them, as to the killers of a Tyrant, and if Cæſar were a Tyrant, then muſt we haue bin deſtroyed ſtrayght, as friends to a Tyrante. So I beyng troubled with tumult, with feare and ſorrow, coulde not vſe reaſon, nor bee without perpleritie, as you maye perceyue, if you will conſider, for on the one ſide, was neede of boldneſſe vehemente, and on the other diſſimulation extreame. Firſte thys was to be done (the reſidue eaſlie followyng) to take away the honor to be gyuen to the ſtrikers, againſte the whiche I onely ſtandyng, reſiſted both the Senate, and them, and brought to paſſe with greate payne, vſing euident courage, onely offering my ſelfe to that perill, ſuppoſing that wee, Cæſars friendes, ſhould be in ſuretie, if hee were not condemned as a Tyrant. The lyke feare troubled our enimies and the Senate, that if he were not iudged a Tyrant, they ſhoulde be accompted manquellers. And for thys contention, I thoughte it beſt to gyue place, and to allow oblition of hys death, in ſtead of honor to be giuen to them, that I mighte wynne of them, as muche as by neceſſitie I coulde. And this was the manner of my doings, that neyther I dyd ſuffer Cæſars name to be aboliſhed, nor his ſubſtance to bee confiſcate, nor his adoption (in the whiche this man nowe moſt gloryeth) to be diſſolued, nor his teſtament to be fruſtrated. Hys bodye I cauſed to be buryed princely, and honoures due vnto him before, to be conſecrated as immortall, and all his actes and decrees to be kept firme and ſure, and hys ſonne and our friends the Captaynes and the Souldioures, to be in good ſafetie, and to liue in honor in ſtead of rebuke. Thinke you the obteyning of

'these thynges of the Senate for Oblyuion, were but small and
'trifles? or doe you thynke wythout Oblyuion the Senate would
'haue graunted them? whyche for these causes (I thynke) is
'playnely to bee perfourmed, for a true dealyng wyth the strikers,
'and for an immortall glory of *Cæsar*, and all oure weale and sure-
'tie. The whyche I haue not done of that purpose, but to turne
'the course to the contrarye. For when I hadde brought the Se-
'nate to that that was profitable to vs, and allowed the killers
'to remayne in quiet, I did ouerthrowe the Oblyuion, not by de-
'cree nor statute (for that I coulde not) but by an earnest ielou-
'sie of the people, bringing *Cæsars* bodye to be buryed in the com-
'mon place, and causing hys woundes to bee seene of the multi-
'tude, shewyng his vesture bloudy and mangled, and declaring his
'vertue and beneuolence to the people, weeping when I made the
'mourning Oration. I called hym by the name of a kylled God.
'These were my wordes and workes, whereby the people was so
'prouoked, as in stead of Oblyuion, they toke fire, and wente to
'the quellers houses, and in the ende droue them out of the Citie.
'Howe thys was contrarye to the Senate, they beeyng greeued
'wyth it, it was euidently seene. For they accused me first of am-
'bition, and appoynted prouinces to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Syria*, and
'*Macedonia*, whyche were full of greate armyes. And leaste they
'shoulde seeme to make haste before theyr tyme, they gaue them
'pretence to prouide grayne for the Citie. Wherefore a greater
'feare dyd yet trouble me, for lacke of an appoynted armye,
'as menne naked to fyghte wyth so manye well armed, my fel-
'lowe beeyng a man suspected, and disagreeyng from me, and
'one of the conspirators agaynste *Cæsar*, and appoynted to bee
'heere at the daye of hys deathe. For these thyngs beeyng in great
'trouble, and seekyng with speede to disarme oure enimies, and
'to arme oure selues, I kylled *Amatius*. I thoughte good to call
'home *Pompey*, that by thys meane I mighte ioyne the Senate a-
'gayne. Yet not much trustyng them, I persuaded *Dolobella* to
'aske *Syria*, not of the Senate, but of the people, by a lawe to bee
'made: and in hys sute I furthered hym, of a friende to make
'hym an enimie to the strikers: and that it shoulde seeme verye

vnfytte

vnfytte for the Senate to denye me *Macedonia*, sayng they hadde graunted *Syria* to *Dolobella*, for otherwise woulde they not haue graunted mée that prouince, nor delyuered me that armye, excepte they hadde firste graunted to *Dolabella* the same, to goe agaynste the *Parthians*: nor they woulde not haue taken from *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Syria* and *Macedonia*, vnlesse they hadde appoynted some other prouinces to them for theyr suretie. Nedes must they appoynte one for another, but what manner ones, *Cyrene* and *Creta*, voyde of armies, whyche they oure enimies, in contempte, haue lefte as vnprofitable, and by violence, haue entred the other, whyche wée toke from them. Thus was oure armye putte from oure enimies to *Dolabella*, by deuice and sleighte, and exchange of other prouinces: for where warre was not, there must thinges bée done by lawe. This béeyng thus brought to passe, and oure enimies gathering another armye, I hadde néede of the same my selfe, that was in *Macedonia*, yet wanted occasion to require it. When the fame came that the *Getes* woulde inuade *Macedonie*, whyche not béeyng beléeued, espies were sente to vnderstande the truth, I decréed, that no man ought to aske the Dictatorshippe, nor to take it though it were gyuen hym. By the whych thyng they béeyng chiefly allured, appoynted me the armye, and then dyd I thinke my selfe equall with mine enimies, not these that be euidente, as *Octauius* thynketh, but other moe in number, greater in power, and not yet appearing. When I had done this, one of the strikers remayned still hard at our sides, *Decimus Brutus*. He béeyng a gouernoure of a greate countrey, and a mighty armye verye bolde, I deuised to take hys prouince from hym, yet wyth a regarde of the Senate, promising to delyuer *Macedonia* voyde of armye. The Senate takyng the thyng euill, and perceyuing some deuice to bée hadde, what and howe greate matter was written to *Decimus*, you knowe, and to stirre the Consulles agaynste mée, wherefore wyth the more boldenesse dyd I practise to wynne that prouince, not by the Senate, but by the people and lawe, and to haue the armye of *Macedonia* come to *Brundusie*, to

‘ vse at all opportunities: and with the Gods help, we will vse them
‘ as necessitie shall compell vs. Thus from muche feare, wherein
‘ we were at the first, we be turned into safetie of them that haue
‘ to doe wyth vs, and into boldnesse agaynste oure foes, whose
‘ courage beginnes to shrinke, and ours to increase. You see what
‘ repentance they make of their decrées, and what payne it was
‘ to mée to take *France*, gyuen to another man. You knowe what
‘ they wrote to *Decimus*, and what they persuaded the Consuls a-
‘ gaynste me for that matter, but wyth the Gods of oure Coun-
‘ trey, wyth dutifull mynde, and wyth oure valiante actes, by the
‘ whyche *Cæsar* was a conqueroure, wée wyll reuenge him, labou-
‘ ring with our bodyes, and counselling wyth oure mynds. These
‘ thynges (O Souldioure fellowes) I woulde haue secrete, al-
‘ though howe I haue done them, I haue tolde you, with whome
‘ I will participate all thynges both in worde and déede, the which
‘ you may shewe to any other that do not knowe it, onely *Octauius*
‘ except, who is most vnthankefull to vs.

When *Antony* hadde thus saide, it séemed to the Captaynes that he had done all things with great art and policie, to deceiue the quellers whome he hated, and therefore they were desirous to reconcile them with *Cæsar* once agayne, and persuaded them to mæte in the Capitoll.

Nevv despighte of *Antony* against *Cæsar*.

Not long after, *Antony* did cause some of his gard to be ap-prehended by his friendes, as entised by *Octauius* to destroy him, eyther to discredite *Octauius*, or for that he thoughte it true, learning it of such as were sente to hys Campe. He declared this to be done by all coniecture, to dispatche hys person, whiche mat-ter béeyng quietly heard, caused muche adoe and indignation a-mong the people. A fewe that were grounded vppon reason, were glad that *Antony* myghte doe *Cæsar* good, and also hurte at hys pleasure, bycause hée was terrible to the strikers, and if hée were once dispatched, they myghte wyth the more securitie, doe theyr feates, bycause the Senate chiefly fauoured them. Thus the wyser sorte did thinke: but the multitude séeyng that despight and hynderance was dayly offered to *Octauius*, they thoughte it not vnlike to be a calumniation, and yet supposed it not good

nor

no? honeſt, that *Antony* beyng Conſull, ſhoulde bée in daunger of hys perſon. *Octauius Cæſar* with greate anger and furie wente among them that were of thys opinion, and cryed, that hée was circumuented of *Antony*, fo? the frendſhyppe that he onely had with the people, and ranne to *Antonyes* houſe, and there he exclaymed and called the Gods to witneſſe, with all execrations and othes, pro?uoking hym to come to tryall: and bycauſe no bodye came to hym, he ſayde to hys friendes, I am contente to bée iudged by hys owne people. And with that, he bzake in at the do?es, but bèeyng kepte backe, he ſware, and rebuked them that kepte the gates, bycauſe they ſtopped hym from making further tryall wyth *Antony*. He wente hys way, and pro?teſted to the people, that if any hurte came vnto hym, it ſhoulde come by *Antonyes* meanes.

Cæſar exclaymeth agaynſte *Antony*.

Hauyng ſpoken this with greate vehemencie, it gréeued the people, and ſome of them repented of they? fo?mer opinion. Some ſtode in doubte, and ſpyked neyther of them. Some thoughte it a diſſimulation betwéene them, the better to bzyng to paſſe, that they had agréed vpon in the Temple againſte their enimies: and ſome thought *Antonie* deuiſed it, to haue a greater garriſon about him, and to turne mens good will from *Octauius*.

Nowe was there ſecrete intelligence gyuen to hym, that the armye at *Brunduſe*, and the o?dinarie Souldioures, were angrye with *Antonie*, bycauſe he neglected *Cæſars* death, and that they woulde reuenge it to their power, and that *Antonie* was gone in haſt to *Brunduſe* fo? this cauſe. *Octauius* was afrayde, leaſt he returning with his armye, ſhoulde finde hym vnpro?uided. He toke mony, and wente to *Campania*, to winne the Cities that were inhabited by ſuch as had ſerued his father, and firſt he perſuaded *Celatia* and *Silio*, two Townes about *Capua*. He gaue euerie man fiue hundzed d?ammes, and had tenne thouſande menne, neyther armed, no? diſtributed into due bands and o?der, but only as a gard of his perſon vnder one enſigne. They in the Citie were afrayde of *Antonies* commyng with his army, and when they heard that *Octauius* was comming with another, they were in a double feare, and ſome toke it well, that they might vſe

Antonyes armye at *Brunduſe* diſcontented.

Antonyes goyng to *Brunduſe*, ſuſpected to *Cæſar*.

Octauius goeth to make men. *Celatia* in *Latio*. *Silio*, *Caſilinum* in *Campania*, not farre from *Capua*. Feare in the Citie.

Octauius against *Antony*. Some that sawe theyr reconciliation in the Capitoll, thought it but a dissimulation, and a recompence of the one to be in authoritie, and the other to persecute the quellers.

Carnutius. In thys disquietnesse, *Carnutius* the Tribune, enimie to *Antony*, and friende to *Octauius*, wente to knowe the truth, whyche beyng done, hee declared to the people that there was playne variance betwéne *Antony* and *Octauius*, and that it stode them in hande to make *Octauius* theyr friende, seeyng they had none other armye to resist *Antonyes* Tyrannie. When he had sayde thus, he willed *Octauius* to enter, who lay a little without the Citie at the Temple of *Mars*. Hée dyd so, and came to the Temple of *Iupiters* chyldren, about the whyche the Souldioures stode with theyr weapons openly. *Carnutius* spake firste against *Antony*. Then *Octauius* hymselfe reuiued the memorie of hys father, and shewed what iniurie *Antony* hadde done hym, whereby he was forced to gette an armye for hys suretie, wyth the whyche he woulde obey, and serue his Countrey in all thynges, nowe readye agaynste *Antonie*. When he hadde thus sayde, the Counsell was broken vp.

Carnutius a Tribune, receiueth yong *Cæsar* against *Antony*.

Octauius to the people.

The armye that thoughte otherwyse, bycause of theyr reconciliation, and that they were onely brought to preserue *Octauius* person agaynste hys quellers, séemed to bée grieued, that suche wordes shoulde bée spoken agaynste *Antonie*, then beeyng a Generall of an armye, and Consull of the Citie: and some desired to goe home, as to arme themselues, for they coulde abyde none other, but theyr owne armies: and some tolde the very truth.

Octauius armye goeth from him.

Octauius beganne to doubt agayne, seeyng it came otherwyse to passe than he thought, and therefore gaue place to the occasion, trustyng to wynne them rather by gentlenesse than by force, wherefore some he sente to bée armed, and some to theyr home agayne, promising them all for theyr labours, and hyding hys griefe, he gaue them newe giftes, and promised them more liberally to requite them, and that he woulde vse them in all hys enterprises, rather as hys fathers friendes, than as hys

Octauius giueth place to the souldyoures.

Soul-

Souldioures: When he hadde so sayde, one thousande, or three at the most (for in thys the Writers vary) he wanne to tarrie, the rest wente awaye. They remembryng the toyle of tyllage, and the gayne of warfare, and the wordes of *Cæsar*, that easilie dyd drawe them, and the giftes they hadde receyued, with the hope of that they shoulde receyue, as the variable nature of people is, beganne to repent, and turning occasion to dutie, they armed themselues, and returned to him, and he went to *Rauenna* for more reuenue, and when he hadde gone ouer the Countrey, and gotten more menne one after another, he sente them to *Arezzo*.

Octauius armye returneth to him.

Arretium a Citie in *Tuscane*, thirty myles from *Florence*.

In this meane time, of the fiue Legions of *Macedonie*, foure were come to *Antonie* to *Brunduse*, accusing him, as one that neglected *Cæsars* deathe: and bycause they gaue no greetyng to hym when they broughte hym to hys seate, as to heare somewhat firste sayde of themselues, he was offended with their silence, and coulde not refrayne, but rebuked them of vnthankefulnesse, that where by hym they were called from the iourney into *Parthia*, to remayne in *Italie*, they did not acknowledge anye thanke for it. Then he blamed them for bearing with the rashe yong man, (for so he called *Cæsar*) that they woulde not discouer to hym suche persons, as he had sente to make difference betweene them: but he woulde fynde them out hymselfe, intendyng to leade them to the wealthie prouince of *Celtica*, and to giue euery one that woulde abide with hym, one hundred drammes. The Souldyoures laught at his miserable offer, and the more he was angery, the more were they in disorder and tumulte, wherefore he rose and sayde, *You shall learne to be ruled.*

Antony offended with the Souldioures.

A mutiny in *Antonyes* Camp.

The Souldyoures laughe at the miserie of *Antony*.

Then he enquired of the Chiefetaynes, who were the seditious? (for among the *Romaines* they vsed to note euerye manne by writing) and by lawe of warre he chose them out, but hee dyd not kyll euery tenth manne, but parte of them, thinking by a fewe, to affray the rest. They, not to feare, but rather to anger and hate, tourned his doings, whiche thyng when they perceyued, that were sente thyther by

Octauius,

Octauius, they threwe billes aboute the Campe, conteyning the nigg ardnelle and crueltie of *Antonie*, with an vnthankefulneſſe to *Cæſar* that dead was, and the liberalitie and gentleneſſe of him that now they might help. *Antonie* with great diligence ſoughte out the authors, with threatning of greate payne to them that dyd not diſcloſe them, but when he coulde not finde anye out, hée was muche offended, that the whole army ſhould fauoure them: and when he hearde of the extraordinarie bands that were gone to *Cæſar Octauius*, and what was done for him at *Rome*, he was troubled, and came agayne to the army and ſayde. It did grœue him to doe that he had done for the neceſſitie of Souldiours diſcipline, taking but a few, in ſtead of many, according to the lawe, and that they did well knowe, that *Antonie* was neyther cruell, nor ſparing, but (quoth he) let anger go, let this be ynough, both of puniſhment, and of offence, and as for the hundred drammes, he meante it not as a gifte, (for *Antonies* fortune requyred otherwyſe) but as a welcome of fryſſe acquayntance betwéne them, rather than a gifte, hée wylled them to haue it, and that by the lawe of their Countrey and Souldyoures order, they ought to bée obediente to hym in thys, and in all other thyngs.

The practiſes of Octauius againſt Antony in his Camp.

Antony to his Souldyoures.

Thus he ſayd: yet dyd he not adde anye more to the ſomme, leaſt the Captayne ſhoulde ſéeme to giue place to the Souldyoure, and they eyther for repentance or for feare, accepted it, and hée changed the officers of hys Campe, eyther for the diſpleaſure of thys ſedition, or for ſome other ſuſpition. The reſt, with ſuche furniture as he had, deuiding his hoſt, he ſent by ſea to *Arimeno*.

Arimeno in Romagna.

Hée takyng one bande of the moſt likely men, both in bodye and obedience, wente towarde *Rome*, from thence to goe alſo to *Arimeno*. Hée proudely entred the Citie, leauyng one bande without the Citie in Campe, and wyth them that were aboute hym armed, hée cauſed hys houſe to bée garded in the nyghte for hys ſafetie, to whome he gaue watchwordes, in dyuers parts, as a garriſon in the Citie. He aſſembled the Senate, intending to haue accuſed *Octauius* for his doings, but at

hys

his entry, it was tolde him that the martiall legion by the way was gone to *Octauius*. And as hee stode in doubt and feare what to doe, it was also shewed hym, that the fourthe legion following the Martials example, was likewise reuolted to *Octauius*. Being much troubled, he entred, and made a shew as he had called the Senate for an other purpose, & tarried not long there, but went to the gates, and from thence to the Cittie of *Alba*, to stay the reuolters. But being put from the walles, hee returned, and to the other legions hee sente fiue hundred drams a man, and with them that he hadde, hee wente to *Tiburo*, hauyng suche prouision as they bee wonte that goe agaynst theyr enimies. Two legions reuolte to *Octauius* frō *Antony*. *Tiburo*, now *Tiuole*.

Nowe was it euident that warre woulde followe, for *Decimus* meante not to leaue hys Prouince.

Antony beeyng in thys place, almoste all the Senate, and manye of the Gentlemen came to do hym honor, and so dyd a great part of the people, fyndyng hym gruyng othe to hys souldiors that were presente, and of other that hadde serued hym beefore, whyche resorted to hym in greate number. And they freely sware to *Antony*, that they woulde not breake faith and beneuolence wyth hym. So as nowe a man mighte doubte, who they were, that a little before hadde spoken against *Antony* for *Octauius Cæsars* sake. The Senatoures and Citizens swoorne to *Antony*.

Antony thus wyth great pompe, approched *Arimeno*, where was the beginning of *Fraunce Celtica* his armye. Beside these newe Souldioures, was three legions from *Macedonia*, for nowe all were come vnto hym, and the olde Souldioures that then serued, were counted twice so good as the yong.

So hadde *Antony* an armye of foure legions of experte Souldioures, beside suche as hee wonte to followe as venturers, and the olde guarde of hys person, wyth other newe chosen. *Antonies* armye.

Lepidus in *Iberia*, hadde three legions, *Asinius Pollio*, two, and *Plancus* in further Fraunce, three, all the whyche seemed to take *Antonies* parte. *Lepidus*. *Asinius Pollio*. *Plancus*.

Octauius Cæsar had two choise legions that wente from *An-*

tony, one of yͤ ſouldiors, and two of them that ſerued him firſt, neyther full in number, nor furniſhed in armoure, yet ſupplyed of the newe commers. He gathered theſe togither at *Alba*, and ſent them to the Senate.

The Senate miſliked of *Octauius* and *Antony* bothe.

They dydde ſo muche reioice in *Octauius*, as a man myghte doubte that anye dydde before honoure *Antony*: yet were they not content that the legions that went from hym, ſhoulde goe to *Octauius*, and not to them. Neuertheleſſe, they prayſed them and *Caſar*, promiſing ſhortly after to determine by decrée what was to bée donc, when the newe Magiſtrates habde theyr offices.

It was euident in the ende, that they woulde bend againſt *Antony*, and bycauſe they had no armye, and coulde gather none wythout the Conſuls auctoritie, they deferred all till the newe election.

Cæſars army offred him Paces and Sergeants prepared, and prayed him to take vpon hym the Lieutenantſhip and leading of their warre, they being euer vſed to ſuch auctoritie.

He thanked them for the honoure, but referred the matter to the Senate, & them that wolde haue gone by heaps for this purpoſe, he forbad, and ſtaied them that would haue ſent Ambaſſadours, that the Senate (quoth hée) maye take order for it of themſelues, vnderſtanding of your offer, and my refuſall. They hardly beeyng contented this waye, and the Capitaines conſtruing it as men had in ſome ſuſpition, he declared vnto them, that the Senate dyd not rather encline to him for good will, than for feare of *Antony*, and want of armye, til we (quoth he) haue diſpatched *Antony*.

The murtherers being friends and kinſemen to the Senate, wil gather power for thē, whych I perceyuing, wil pretend to obey them. And this is not to be diſcloſed, for if we take power vppon vs, they will call it violence and contumelie: but if wée make daunger of it, they will peraduenture giue it vs, fearing otherwiſe wée ſhal haue it by pou.

When hée habde thus ſayde, hée ſalue the two legions

that

that came to him from *Antony*, shewing the shape of battayle, contending together in as vehement wise, as thoughe they hadde bene fighting indede (kylling onely excepted) and hee being delighted with this feate, and glad to take the occasion, didde gyue to euery man other fiue hundred drammes, and if anye necessitye by the warre shoulde followe, hee promised to them, hauing the better hande, fyue thousande drammes a man. A sheuve of fight by twoo legions.

Thus did *Cæsar* with liberalitie of reward, winne them that were hys hyred menne, and these were the beginnings in *Italy*.

In *Fraunce*, *Antony* commaunded *Decimus* to go into *Macedonia*, to obey the people, and saue himselfe. *Antony* warneth *Decimus* oute of his Prouince.

Decimus sente him the letters of the Senate verye well written, signifying, that as well oughte hee to obey the Senate, as he the people. *Antony* appoynted hym a daye when hee woulde vse hym as an enimie. *Decimus* required hym to appoynt a longer daye to hymselfe, that hee shoulde not too soone be made an enimye to the Senate. *Antony*, that was too good for hym in the fielde, yet thoughte it better to goe vnto the Cities, and they receyued hym.

Decimus beeyng afrayde that hee shoulde not when hee would, enter anye of them, fayned he hadde receyued letters from the Senate, to returne to *Rome* wyth hys armye, and so as one goyng home into *Italy*, he was receiued in euery place.

But when he came to *Mutina*, a plentifull Citie, he shutte the gates, and commaunded the Citizens to bring all thynges for the, that was necessarye for foode, and caused al their beastes to be kylled and poudred, for feare the siege woulde laste long, and so he tarryed for *Antonies* comming. *Mutina* a Citie in Lumbardy, nowe Modena. *Decimus* taketh Modena for hys defence.

Hys armye was a number of Sworde-players, and three legions armed, whereof one was of new Souldiours without experience, the other two of former seruice, and very faithfull to hym.

Antony with anger came againſte *Decimus*, and caſte a trenche aboute the Cittie, and ſo was *Decimus* beſieged. In *Rome*, the Conſuls according to the yeare, being choſen, dyde ſtraighte aſſemble the Senate with ſacrifices in the Temple againſte *Antony*.

Cicero againſte *Antony*.

Cicero and his friends, did require he might be iudged an enimie, bycauſe, he by force of armes, didde take the Prouince of France, contrarie to the Senats pleaſure, to trouble hys countrey, and bycauſe he had brought that army into *Italie*, that was appoynted hym againſte the *Thracians*.

They alleadged alſo againſte hym, that after *Ceſar* he ſought to rule, being armed in the Citie with ſo many band-leaders, and vſing his houſe as a forte full of Souldiours and Enſigns, and in all hys doyngs more inſolent, than became a yearely officer.

Lucius Piſo againſte *Cicero*.

Lucius Piſo, one that fauoured *Antonies* faction (and a man verye notable among the Romaynes) and other that fauoured *Piſo* for *Antonies* cauſe, required hée myghte bée called into iudgement, bycauſe it was not the manner of theyr countrey to condemne anye manne beſore hée were hearde, nor conuenient, that hée that was yeſterdaye a Conſull, ſhould thys daye be an enimy, eſpecially hauing bene ſo ofte praiſed bothe of *Cicero* and of other.

Senate againſte *Antony*.

The Senate ſtoode doubtfull in the cauſe all the night.

The nexte day in the morning, beeyng agayne aſſembled, the *Ciceronians* wyth greate inſtaunce, hadde decréede *Antony* an enimye, hadde not *Saluius* the Tribune diſſolued the counſell till the nexte daye. In theſe offices hée hathe moſte power that maye prohibite.

Adira againſte *Antony*.

Saluius.

The *Ciceronians* dyde ſpitefully labour againſte hym, and ranne among the people, to ſtyre them vppon hym, and cited *Saluius* to aunſwere. He wythoute feare came forthe, till the Senate ſtayed hym, fearing leaſte he ſhould incenſe the people to drawe them to the memorye of *Antonie*, they were not ignoraunte, that they condemned a noble manne wythout iudgement, nor that the people had gyuen hym France:

but

but for feare of the strykers, they were angry with hym, bycause he first brake the lawe of *Oblision*, & therefore they chose *Octauius*, agaynst him before, who not being ignoraunt therof, was desirous to dispatch *Antony*.

The Senate being thus affected, the voyces notwithstanding were deferred to the Tribunes. Yet it was determined, that *Decimus* shoulde be praysed for that he had not giuē place to *Antonie* in *Celtica*: And that *Cæsar* with the Consuls *Hircius* & *Pansa*, shoulde ioyne with such armies as he now had, & that an Image of golo should be made to honour him, & that he might giue voyce among the Senatours, and be allowed to be Consull ten yeares before the lawe: and that the legions that went from *Antony* to him, shoulde haue as muche giuen them of the Treasure, as *Cæsar* had appointed to them after the victorie: all the which being decreed, they brake vp, euen as already *Antony* had, being an enemy in deede, no Tribune daring speake for him the nert daye. Honours giuen to *Octauius*.

Wherefore his wife, and hys mother, wyth his sonne being yet yong, and his other friendes and familiars, all the night went to the great mens houses, to beseech them, and the nert daye came to the Senate house, suing to euerye man, falling to their feete, with weeping and wayling in blacke habite, they cryed out at the counsel doore: and some, for the lamentable voyces and behauiour, & for the sodennesse of the matter, were moued with compassion: wherefore *Cicero* being afrayde, he spake thus vnto the Senate.

What we ought to decree of *Antony*, yesterday we did determine, for when we gaue honour to his aduersaries, we condemned him as an enimie. *Saluius*, was only an impediment agaynst vs, eyther for that he thinketh himselfe more wise than we, or for the friendship he beareth to *Antony*, or for ignorāce of the matter. Euerye one of these, is to our great shame, that al we should haue lesse wit than one: and also to *Saluius*, if he do prefer his friendship before the cōmon wealth. But whē he hath not well vnderstand this present case, he should haue giuen credite to the Consul, the Pretors, and to the Tribunes, *Cicero* against *Antony*.

his fellowes, and to the other Senatoures in number and worthineſſe ſo manye, who for cure age and experience, oughte to knowe *Antonie* better than *Salust*. In publique cauſes and iudgementes the moze parte euer hath the right, but if cauſes muſte bee knowne, and nowe learned agayne, I wyll repeate them briefelye, and touche the moſte principall matter.

When *Cæſar* was deade, *Antony* toke awaye oure common money, the rule of *Macedonia* he hadde by vs, but into Fraunce he entred violently without vs. The army that was deliuered hym againſte the *Thracians*, hee brought into *Italie* againſte vs, requiring theſe deceitfully of vs, and not obtayning, hee did them of himſelfe. At *Brundiſe* hee ordained a princelye bande to be aboute hym, and openlye in Rome, men in armour dyd guarde and watche hym vnder enſignes. He broughte from *Brundiſe* an other armye to the Citie readye to all attemptes, aſpiring to the things that *Cæſar* (whom hee lamented) coueted: and when yong *Cæſar* prepared againſte hym another armye, hee was afrayde, and wente into Fraunce, as a place fitteſt to vſe force againſte vs, becauſe *Cæſar* from that place did inuade vs, and got the rule ouer vs, and giuing terrour to his armye, that they mighte ſticke to him in all hys vnlawfull doynges, by lotte, hee cauſed them to dye, neither making anye mutinie, nor forſaking their charge and order in battell, for the whiche onelye the lawe of armes, (I thinke,) hath appoynted that puniſhemente, whyche, fewe Capitaynes ſcarcelye in greate perills woulde vſe for neceſſitie: But hee at a worde and a ieſte giueth death to Citizens, and death not of them that deſerue, but of ſuche as he woulde chooſe: wherefore they that coulde, haue forſaken hym, and you yeſterdaye dyd determine to rewarde them, as thoſe that hadde done well. They that coulde not eſcape awaye, for feare doe dwell with him, and as enimies inuade youre lande, and beſiege youre armye: and youre generall, and whom you appointed

to

to remaine in Fraunce, *Antony* commaundeth hym to departe.

Whether then haue we iudged *Antony* an enimye, or doeth hée vse vs as enimyes? Dure Tribune wyll not know this, tyll *Decimus* be deade, and tyll that prouince so greate, and so nygh vnto vs, and after the prouince, the armye also of *Decimus* maye be in *Antonies* power, to worke hys hope agaynste vs. For by lyke the Tribunes wyll not to some decrée hym to be an enimye, tyll hee bée Lorde ouer vs.

Whyle *Cicero* was thus saying, hys friendes made a greate noyse continuallye, and woulde not suffer anye manne to speake agayne, tyll *Piso* rose vppe, when as the Senate for the reuerence of him commaunded silence, and then the *Ciceronians* stayde, and *Piso* thus beganne to speake:

Piso against Cicero

The lawe, (O Senatours) doth allowe the accused to haue hys cause heard, and when he hath aunswered for himselfe, to be iudged accordyngly: *Cicero* the moste vehement Oratoure, I doe chalenge, who durste not accuse *Antony* when he was presente, and in hys absence hath layde greate matter to his charge, the greatest and doubtfullest whereof I wyll note, and wyth shorte aunswere shewe them to bée false.

Hee sayeth, that *Antony* after *Cesars* deathe, dyd take the publique money as hys owne, the lawe calleth suche one a Thiefe, and not an enimye, appointyng the payne. Wherefore when *Brutus* hadde slayne *Cesar*, and accused hym to the people, for spoyling the common money, and leauing the Treasure nothyng, *Antony* by and by dio decrée, that the matter shoulde be searched: whn approued hys sentence by publique proclamation, appointyng a reward of the tenthe parte, to them that woulde declare it, whych we wyll double if any man can accuse *Antony* of that. And thus much concerning the money.

The

The prouince of *Fraunce* we did not appoint to *Antony*: the people did by lawe, *Cicero* being present, in such sort as manye other be giuen, and heretofore gaue the same to *Cæsar* in like maner. Part of the decrée is, that *Antony* should make warre vpon *Decimus* if he would not giue place vnto him, and that the army prepared against the *Thracians*, (who stirreth not) should be led against him, if he resisted. *Cicero* doth not iudge *Decimus* an enemye that maketh warre againste the lawe, but *Antony*, that obeyeth the lawe. If he condemneth hym, hee condemneth them that made the lawe, whome hee ought by persuasion to pacifie, and not to prouoke by contumelie. Neither ought he to credite that place to *Decimus*, whō the people haue banished for murder, & discredite *Antony*, to whom the people haue giuen it by law. It is no good counsel to make diuision with the people, especially in daūgerous times, nor to forget, that this belongeth chiefly to the people, to iudge of friendes and foes: for by the auntient lawes, the people only is Lord of warre and peace, in the whiche at this time notwithstanding they haue not appointed, nor commaunded, nor vsed their priuiledge ouer vs. But (he saith) *Antony* killed certain Souldiours, being generall and appointed therevnto by you. Neuer was there Captaine generall, that was charged with that office. For the lawes haue not thought it meete, that the Captaine should be subiect to the Souldiours: and there is nothing worse in a campe, than disobedience, by the whiche some conquerours haue bene ouerthrowen. None of them that were punished, haue complayned, nor none of their frindes or kinsfolke. But *Cicero* hath accused, and finding fault at their death, in stead of such honor as hath ben wont to be giuen to such executors, he will haue *Antony* exclaymed an enimy. How *Antonies* army was disordered, & how they disayned hym, it is euident, by the two legions ý are fled frō him, whō you cōmanded to serue vnder him: & they, contrary to ý law of souldiers, haue not fled frō him to you, but to *Octa. Cæsar*, which *Cicero* prayseth also, & yesterday would haue thē rewarded of ý cōmō Treasure, whiche example I pray God you do not one daye repent,

to

to suche inconuenience hath enmity caried *Cicero*. He accu-
seth *Antonies* Tyranny also, and murder of soudiours, wher-
as they that seke mischiefe to their countries, euer do please
their armies, and not so punish thē. And bycause he can accuse
Antony of none other matter of Tiranny after *Cæsars* rule, go
to, I wil aske him questions of euery thing. Whom hath *An-
tony* killed vnharde, as a Tyrant, who now him selfe vnhard is
in daunger to be condemned? whome hath he banished? whom
hath he cast out? hath he bin so to euery particular man? hathe
he layde traynes for vs all at once when (O *Cicero*) he decreed
forgetfulnesse of all things done? or that no man shoulde prose-
cute the murder? or that a search shoulde be made of common
Treasure? or when he called home *Pompey*, your *Pompeis* sonne?
or when he wished he might be recompenced of the common,
for his fathers substaunce? or when he dispatched the counter-
fayte *Marius*? whom then you al praysed and now only, in that
Cicero will not, you dispraise? or when he determined that no
Dictator should be created or spoken of? or when he ordayned
that he that would, shoulde dye for it. These were the things
that *Antony* did to vs in two monethes, when he alone re-
mayned in the Cittie after *Cæsar*: when by and by the people
pursewed the stirkers, when by and by we were afrayde of
things to come. When, if he woulde haue taken his occasion
and haue bene vniust, he coulde not haue had a better, yet hee
dyd not vse hys power to the contrary. What did not he alone
rule, when *Dolobella* was gone into *Syria*? What dyd not he
vse hys army prestie, to al purposes in the Citie, whyche you
appointed to hym? did he not watch the Citie? was not he him-
selfe garded by night for feare of his enimies? had he not occasiō
by *Cæsars* death, his friend, and benefactour, and most deare to
the people? Had he not another, more nere whē his body was
laid for of mē, of whom he neyther banished, nor put to death
any but rather fauoured them as much as by reasō & honestie
he coulde, not enuying them? These you sée, O *Romaines*,
be the greatest, and most doubtful matters that *Cicero* hathe a-
thered against him, and to hys accusations he ioyneth deuina-

'tion: as thoughe *Antony* woulde haue broughte so greate 'an armye, againste the Cittie, but that hee was a- 'frayde of *Octauius Cæsar*, that preuented hym wyth an 'other armye. If to entende onely so, bee the parte of 'a manne that is an ennimye, why doeth hee not counte 'hym one that came and encamped in the Cittye, and 'gaue you no warnyng of it? If *Antony* woulde come, 'howe hapte it hee came not? was hée afrayde of *Cæsars* 'thrée thousande vnarmed, he hauyng thirtye thousand well ar- 'med? They came onely to *Cæsar* for to helpe to a pacifycation 'betwéene them, but when they saw that warre would follow, 'they forsoke hym. If he were afrayde when hée had thyrtie 'thousande: howe came he hither with one thousande? with 'the whyche goyng to *Tibure*, howe manye dyd wee sende 'vnto hym? howe manye of vs wente to bee swoorne of 'hym, that were not swoorne before? what prayses dyd 'Cicero make of hys good gouernemente and vertue? howe 'wouloe *Antony*, if hee hadde knowen thys, haue lefte 'wyth vs the pledges that nowe bee without the Senate 'house, hys mother, hys wife and hys young sonne, 'whyche lamente and feare nowe, not of *Antonies* doyngs 'in the common wealthe, but for hys ennimyes po- 'wer.

'Thys I haue rehearsed vnto you, as an example 'of *Antonies* innocencye, and *Ciceros* mutabilitye. And to 'them that well wyll consyder, I wyll giue thys exhorta- 'tion: neyther to charge the people nor *Antony*, ney- 'ther to bring in generall enimetie and daunger, the com- 'mon wealthe, beyng sickely, and wantyng them that spé- 'dilye might relieue it: but to make the Cyttie strong 'before they abroade doe styrre anye tumulte, whereby 'wee maye resiste anye that wyll ryse againste vs, and 'iudge of them as wee shall thinke good, and performe 'what wee haue iudged. But howe can thys bée done? 'If wee can suffer *Antony* for the loue or fauour of the

people

people, to haue Fraunce, if wee call home *Decimus*, wyth hys three legions, and when hée is come, sende hym into *Macedonia*, retayning hys legions, and calling for the two legions that wente from *Antony*, wee doe require them (as *Cicero* sayeth of *Cæsar*) to bee in the Citie, so as hauyng fiue legions, wee maye conferme what wee will by decrée, and not be driuen to hang of anye mans hope.

Thys haue I spoken to the hearers, without enuye or emulation. But for them that inconsiderately and vnaduisedly séeke to trouble you for priuate grudge or displeasure, I shall beséeche the Iudges not to bée to quicke nor swifte againste so greate men, and leaders of so mightye armyes, that they doe not force them to make warre againste their wyll, remembryng *Marcus Coriolanus*, and the late *Cæsar*, whom, bringing an armye likewise, and offring verye good conditions of concorde, wee rashelye condemned as enimye, and of necessitie made him to bee so indéede. Let vs beare wyth the people, that while earst did stirre againste the strykers of *Cæsar*, that we séeme not, to hys reproch, to giue them prouinces of nations, nor praise *Decimus*, bycause hee despiseth the peoples lawe, and condemne *Antony*, bycause hee receyueth Fraunce by the peoples order. And it behoueth them that bee of good iudgement, to redresse them, that goe astraye, and the Consuls and Tribunes to prouide for the daungers of the present state.

Thus dyd *Piso* speake in defence, with cries and sharpe wordes, and was the onlye cause why *Antony* was not iudged a rebell. Yet coulde he not obtayne that hee shoulde haue the prouince of Frenche *Celtica*. For the kriendes and kinsefolke of the killers for feare did lette it, leaste the warre shoulde ceasse, and hee bee at one wyth *Octauius*, and they both reuenge *Cæsars* deathe. Wherefore theyr practise and deuise was to kepe *Antony* and *Octauius* styll at debate.

It was decréd that *Antony* shou ld receiue *Macedonie*, in stead of *Lombardie*. Al other orders, eyther of ignorannce or of purpose, they committed to *Cicero* to appoint, and to giue answere to Embassadours. He hauing this sentence, dyd thus determyne.

The decrees of *Cicero* against *Antony*.

That *Antony* shoulde streight departe from *Modena*, and leaue *Celtica* to *Decimo*: and to be within the compasse of the flood *Rubicone* (which diuideth *Italie* from *Lombardie*) by a daye prefixed, and committe all his matters to the Senate.

Thus *Cicero* ambitiously and vniustly dyd appointe his determinations, not for anye so great priuate enmitie, but as it shoulde seeme, by destinye that was determined to trouble the state with mutation, and bring himselfe to some euill happe in the ende.

At this instante they were come that broughte the ashes of *Trebonius*, and the despight vsed to him, which being throughly knowne, the Senate did easilye decrée *Dolobella* to bée a rebell.

Dolabella declared a rebel.

When the messengers were come to *Antony*, they were ashamed of their strange commission, and sayd nothing, but deliuered the decrée vnto him. He with great anger did inueigh against the Senate & *Cicero*, maruelling that they would thinke *Cæsar* a Tyrranne or a king: that had so muche augmented the state of *Rome*, and not accompte *Cicero* so, whome *Cæsar* toke in warre, and yet did not kill, whereas *Cicero* doeth preferre hys killers, before his friendes, and hated *Decimus*, when he was trusty to *Cæsar*, and loued him euer since he was a killer of him, & would ayde him that only by *Cæsar* kept *Celtica*, & iudge hym a rebell that had it by the people. To the legions that were assigned by decrée, and reuolted, the Senate giueth rewarde, but none to them that remayne in their duety: and so corrupt (quoth he) the discipline of war, not belonging to me, but to the Citie. To the quellers, he could graunt oblition of the facte, to whiche I consente for two noble mennes sake: but *Antonye* and *Dolobella* hee iudgeth enimyes, bycause

The answere of *Antony* to the decree.

hee

wee kéepe that was giuen vs, for that is the verye cause. But if I leaue *Celtica*, I am neither enimy nor tyranne. I protest I will dissolue that forgetfulnesse, that shall not be verye acceptable to hym. *Antony* to the Senate.

Many things after this sorte spake *Antony*, and wrote thys aunswere to the decrée, that to the Senate he woulde obey as to hys Countrey, but to *Cicero*, that wrote the commaundement, thus he spake: *Antony* to *Cicero*

The people haue giuen me *Celtica* by lawe: *Decimus*, that will not obey, I will remoue, and reuenge the matter of murther in hym for all, that the Senate may be purged of the faulte they be in, whereof they be ful for *Ciceroes* sake, to helpe *Decimus*. When *Antony* had thus saide, he wrote it by and by. Wherefore the Senate iudged hym an enimy, and the armye with him, vnlesse they wente from hym. *Antony* condemned.

Macedonia and *Illiria* with the armies of both, they appointed to *Marcus Brutus*, till the common wealth were brought to better state. He had an armye of hys owne, and had receyued one of *Appuleius*. He had shippes bothe gallies and hulkes, and sixtéen thousand talents of money, and greate plenty of armour, which he founde in the Citie of *Demeatride*, layde vp there by *Cæsar*, all the whiche the Senate confirmed by the decrée, that hée might vse to the benefit of hys country. The powver of *Marcus Brutus* in *Asia*, *Macedonia* and *Illyria*. *Demeatride*, a towne in *Thessalie*, that was called *Pegasi*, nowe *Demeatrida*.

Syria was by the Senate appoynted to *Cassius*, and commaunded to make warre vppon *Dolobella*, and all that had prouinces or armies of the Romaines from the *Ionian* Sea to the Easte, were charged to obey *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Wherefore *Cassius* and *Brutus* estate was sodainely in great fame. *Syria* appoynted to *Cassius*.

When *Octauius Cæsar* vnderstoode these thynges, hée was in doubt, for whe re he thought the lawe of Oblition to proceede of a conueniécie of humanitie, and a respect of pitie of their kinsfolke that were men in like authoritie, and therfore had appointed them to prouinces for a shorte tyme for their securitie, as *Celtica* to *Decimus*, to note *Antony* of Tyranny, and by that deuice to induce hym againste *Antony*.

Nowe that *Dolobella* was condemned as a rebell, for killing

one of the quellers, and that mightye nations were giuen in prouince to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and manye armies wyth greate ſpeedineſſe appointed to them, with abundaunce of money: and that they were made Generalles of all the people from *Ionia* to *India*. He perceiued that all this tended to the aduauncement of *Pompeys* parte, and to the vtter deſtruction of *Cæſars*: And that the Senate wente aboute to deceyue hym as a younginan: (the plotte wherof he conceiued in his mynd,) and that when he was made a Capitaine againſt *Antony*, it was meant to take his armye from hym, and that the Conſulls being in the fielde, there was no nede of any other Capitayne, and that onely honours were gyuen to the Souldiours that reuolted from *Antony*, and hys vnhonoured: and that this warre would worke his infamy, beyng vſed to none other intent of the Senate, but to the deſtruction of *Antony*. He kept the conſiderations ſecrete to hymſelfe, and makyng ſacrifice for the charge gyuen hym, he thus ſayd to hys armye.

When they decreed an Image and an office vnto him.

Oratius to the ſouldiours.

‘ This honour, (O fellow Souldiours) I may thanke you ‘ for, not onelye nowe, but from the tyme you gaue mee power. ‘ For your ſakes the Senate haue gyuen it me, and therfore, for ‘ this alſo you know I am youre debtor of thankes, whiche, if ‘ the Gods ſhall gyue vs good lucke, I will requite abundantly. ‘ Thus did he ſpeake to winne hys armye and marched forth.

Panſa, one of the Conſuls, lead his army, ouer *Italy*, *Hirtius*, the other Conſull, diuided with *Cæſar*: and as he was ſecretely inſtructed of the Senate, he required in the diuiſion, the two legions that went from *Antony*, bycauſe they were counted the beſt Souldiors. *Cæſar* did grant euery thing, and when they had diuided, they encamped togither that wynter.

Oratius deliuereth two legiõs to *Hirtius* the Conſull.

At the ende of winter, *Decimus* begaune to lacke victual, wherefore *Hirtius* and *Cæſar* wente to *Mutina*, that *Antony* ſhoulde not get from them *Decimus* armye oppreſt with famine.

The ſiege of *Modena*, one of the olde Cities of Italy, and made an inhabitaunce of *Rome* with *Peſaro* and *Parma*.

Antony holding *Mutina* ſtraighte, they with all their forces woulde not fight with hym, but tarried for *Panſa*. Diuers ſkirmiſhes were made, in the whyche, thoughe *Antony* hadde the greater number of horſe, yet the narrowneſſe of the fielde, and the

the ditches about the riuers, did kéepe backe the multitude of horsemen. And thus went the matter at *Mutina*.

In *Rome* in the absence of the Consuls, *Cicero* dydde al, as the peoples ruler. He assembled the Senate euerye daye: hée made prouision of armour, compelling workemen without payment: He gathered money, and putte great impositions vppon *Antonies* frendes. They suffered it patiently to auoide displeasure, til *Publius Ventidius* that had serued vnder *Cæsar*, and was friende to *Antony*, could not abide the sharpenesse of *Cicero*, but wente to *Cæsars* habitations, where he was well knowne, and gotte two legions, whyche he ledde to *Antonie*, by *Rome*, to take *Cicero*. Great trouble grew of this, insomuche as manye wente awaye wyth their wiues and children for feare, and *Cicero* fledde oute of the Cittie, whyche when *Ventidius* knewe, hée tourned straighte to *Antony*, and being kepte by *Cæsar* and *Hirtius*, hée wente to *Picene*, where he gathered another legion, and stayed to sée what would come.

Cicero ruleth all at *Rome*.

Ventidius marketh *Rome* afraid and *Cicero* to flee.

Cicero fleeth.

La Marca de Ancona the coūtry of *Ancona*.

The Consull and *Cæsar*, séeing that *Pansa* drew nighe with hys hoste, sente *Carsuleius* the leader of *Cæsars* chiefe bande, and the Partiall legion to helpe him to passe the straights.

Carsuleius.

Antonie dydde not muche care for the passage, so he mighte otherwise hinder them, and being desirous of the fight, could not vse his horsemen in the playne, bycause of the Fenny place full of ditches. He hidde two of hys beste legions in the Fenne, the waye béeing made by hande, and straighte, and on both sides couered with réedes.

The stratagems of *Antony*.

Carsuleius all the nighte passing thys place, by the breake of day, was come to the way made with hand. With the Partialls Souldiours and syue other bandes, they wente vppon the made way, being cleare of ennimyes, and beholde the Fenne on euerye syde, and when they sawe the stirring of the réedes, and some glittering of targats and headpéeces, they began to suspect, when as the chiefe band of *Antony* sodainelye appeared afore them.

The Partiall legion being on both sides beset, and hauing

no

no rowmth to ſhifte abroad, forbad the newe ſouldiours to take anye paines wyth them, leaſte for lacke of experience they ſhoulde trouble them, they placed *Cæſars* thiefe bande againſte *Antonies*, and they diuiding themſelues to two, encountred with bothe legions. *Panſa* was Capitaine of the one parte, and *Carſuleius* of the other. And bycauſe there was two Fens, there was two fights: and bycauſe of the ſtraight place, the one could not ſée the other: and vppon the verye waye, the two chiefe bandes beganne another fight betweene themſelues. *Antonies* men entended to be reuenged of the Martialls, bycauſe they were fugitiues, and to vſe them as traytoures. The Martialls wouloe bée reuenged of them, as ſuſpected of theyr fellowes deathes at *Brunduſe*. Béeyng thus priuie one to anothers doings, and that they were the ſtrength of eyther armye, they hoped by thys onely feate, that the warre woulde be determined. The one was aſhamed that two legions ſhoulde be ouercome of one, the other ſought glorye, that one legion ſhoulde deſeate two: and ſo they ioyned battel for anger and emulation, rather of themſelues, than of their Capitaynes, trying now their owne matter. And for their experience, they neyther made crie, as though they had not ſtroken one another, nor in the fight any of them vttered anye voyce, neither when he had the better, nor when he had the worſe. They fetched no compaſſe nor courſe, but ſtode firme, as in Fennes and ditches, where they could not one put another backe, but with their ſhorte ſwords, they claſped together, as in a wreſtling place. No blowe was giuen in vaine, but either woundes or ſlaughter followed, and only ſighes in ſtéede of voice. He that fell had ſtraight another putte in hys place. There was no néede of exhortation or calling on, euerye man by his owne experience was a Captayne to hymſelfe. And when they had ouerlaboured, they wouloe ſtaye to take breath, as men do in places of exerciſe, and ſtraighte cloſe agayne.

The notable fighte of the Martiall legion againſte twoo of *Antonies*, and the twoo chiefe bandes of *Antony* and *Octauius*. This battell is declared in the tenth booke of *Cicero* hys Epiſtles.

The young ſouldiours ſtode in a maze to ſée thys feate done with ſo good order and ſilence: all theſe continuing beyond mans nature, the chiefe band of *Cæſar* was all ſlaine. The Martialls vnder *Carſuleius* badde rather the vpper hande of their enimies,

who

who not disordredly but in ray, withdrew themselues. They vnder *Pansa* dyd abide it out, and equally stode to it on bothe sides, till *Pansa* was wounded with a darte in the belly, and was caried to *Bononia*. Then they, at the firste retyred in order, but after they turned more swiftely as flying, which when the yong Souldiours sawe, they fled with confusion and crie to the campe: which *Torquatus* the Prætor had prouided whyles they were fightyng, forseeing the nede of it, to the whiche the new Souldiours ran with great violence, beyng *Italians* as well as the Martials, but exercise maketh them of one nation so much to differ in vertue. The Martials dyd not enter the trench for dishonour, but stode before it, and weary though they were, remayned ready to resist any assaulte, and to abide the ende of the matter. *Antony* dyd not touche the Martialles, bycause he knewe them valiant, but the yong Souldiours he chased, and made greate slaughter among them.

Pansa the Consull is wounded.

Bononia, now *Bologna*, a noble *Bologna* in *Italy*. The olde name was *Felsina*.

Torquatus.

Exercise.

Hirtius, at *Mutina*, hearyng of the fight, beyng aboute eyght myles distant, came in haste with the other legion that was fled from *Antony*. The sunne was now goyng downe, and *Antonies* Souldiours hauing the victory, went singing to their camp. *Hirtius* appeared to them, he beyng in good order with one legion sounde and valiante, and they out of order. Wherefore of necessitie, they placed themselues in due sort, and shewed many valiant and noble feates: but although they were corragious, yet beyng weary, they were ouercome of the other that were freshe, and the most parte slayne of *Hirtius* in this feate: albeit he did not folow them, for feare of the Fennes, and the night comming on, did seuer them. The Fenne in most places was filled with harnesse and dead men, and with half dead and wounded. They that were safe, dispaired of themselues for wearinesse. But the horsemen of *Antony* rode about al night, and gathered them together: some they caried themselues: some they brought home on horseback: some they badde take holde by the horse tayle, to goe the faster, and seeke to saue themselues. Thus *Antony* hauyng fought very nobly, losse his force by the commyng of *Hirtius*: wherefore he abode in a village in the fielde without a campe.

Hirtius.

The fight with *Hirtius* and *Antonies* men.

Antonies men ouerthrowen.

The horse men of *Antony*.

&c. The

Forum Gallorum.
Forum Cornelium now Conti.

The Village is called *French Market*. The halfe of eyther syde was slayne, and *Cæsars* bande of his person vtterly destroyed. Of *Hirtius* Souldioures few were left, all the which the nexte morning remoued their Camps to *Mutina*.

After this losse, *Antony* determined no more to giue battell to hys enimies, nor to admitte any attempt to the same, but with his Horsemen only to molest them daye by day, till he had gotten *Decimus* to yelde, being driuen by hunger. For this cause *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* the rather prouoked hym to fight: and whereas they did perceyue, that *Antony* woulde not come forth, kéepyng his men in order, they went to the other side of the Citie, whych, (bicause it was the harder to approch, was the lesse kept) y with their whole army they myght enter by force. *Antony* made resistance only with his horsemen, but they being put backe by other horse, and the army passing as it would, *Antony* was afraid of the Citie, and brought forth two legions. They glad of thys, retired, and foughte with them, and whilest *Antony* from other campes sent for moe legions, as in a troubled time of so greate and suddayne attempt, the whiche being long a comming, *Cæsars* men ouerthrew *Antonies* in the fight, and *Hirtius* drone *Antony* to his Campe, where fighting manfully before *Antonies* Tente, he was slayn, whose body *Cæsar* louing, in great spéd recouered, and gote the Campe, till shortlye hée was repulsed by *Antony*. Both of them watched all night in armoure. *Antony* being fallen with this seconde losse, streighte after the battell called hys friends to counsell. They thought, according to his former meaning, to kéepe still the siege at *Modena*, and not to come to anye fight, for both the losses were like, *Hirtius* slayne, and *Pansa* hurte. In Horsemen, he the better, and *Mutina* broughte to extreame want, must néedes shortly giue ouer. Thus his friends thoughte good, and it was best indede, but *Antonie* (God now striking him) was afraide least *Cæsar* shoulde procéede to the obteyning of the Citie, as he did the day before, or by making walles entrenche hym, hauing many pioners for the purpose, and then his Horse should do him no good: he said, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* wil despise me, as one ouercome, but if we goe frō *Modena*, *Ventidius* wil streight come

The third fight where *Antony* lost the felde, and the Consull was slayne.

Hirtius slayne.

Antonies determination.

come to vs with three legions, from the marches of *Ancona*, and then being so strong, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* will take my part. Thus he said, and as a man not afrayde in perils, he leuyed his seege, and went straight toward the Alpes. When *Decimus* was deliuered of the seege, he began to feare *Cæsar* as an enimie, because both Consuls were now gone, wherefore he brake the bridges of the riuer before day, & sent to him, both acknowledging hym the author of his saftie, and prayed him, that hauing the floude betwixte them, he woulde come to a talke, with witnesse of Citizens, where he would let him vnderstand, that very wicked Fortune forced him to conspire against *Cæsar*, being thereto driuen of other. *Decimus* sendeth to *Octauius*.

Octauius angerly answered the messengers, refusing the thankes that *Decimus* gaue him, for I (quoth he) came not to saue *Decimus*, but to ouerthrow *Antonie*, with whome to be reconcyled, there is no reason, but to come to speech or sighte of *Decimus*, his nature abhorred it: let him therefore kepe himselfe, so long as it shall so seeme to them of the Citie. When *Decimus* heard this, not being farre from the floud, he called to *Cæsar* by name, and with a loude voyce, redde vnto him the Senates letters, by the which they had giuen him the prouince of *Celtica*. And he forbad also *Cæsar*, that without the Consuls, he shoulde not passe the bridge into any others prouince, nor follow *Antonie*, for he was able ynough to do it. *Octauius* seeyng him in such boldnesse by the Senate, when he mighte by his commission haue taken him, hee spared him, and wente to *Bononia* to *Pansa*, from whence he wrote to the Senate of all things, and so did *Pansa*, whose letters *Cicero* did reade to the people of *Rome*, as from the Consull, but *Cæsars*, were redde to the Senate onely. There was decreed generall Processions of fiftie dayes agaynste *Antonie*, the like whereof was not done of the *Romaines*, neyther for the warre of *Fraunce*, nor none other battayle. *Octauius* answeare to *Decimus*. The Consuls letters are redde openly. *Cæsars* to the Senate only. Supplications of fifte dayes.

The Consulles armyes were appoynted to *Decimus*, *Pansa* beeyng yet aliue, but not lyke to scape, and *Decimus* made generall alone agaynste *Antonie*, and publike Prayers were made, that *Decimus* myghte ouercome *Antonie*: so greate an hate and displeasure was growen agaynste *Antonie*. *Decimus* made generall.

To the two legions that fledde from *Antony*, was confirmed to euery Souldiour accordyng to the former promise, fiue thousand Drammes of the common treasure, as to Souldiours of conquest: and it was graunted them in solemne feastes to weare a crowne of Oliue leaues. Of *Octauius* nothing was mentioned, not so much as his name, so sone dyd they contemne him, as though *Antony* had bene vtterly destroyed. They wrote also to *Lepidus*, *Planens*, and *Asinius*, to fight with *Antony*, when they should be nygh hym. These were done in *Rome*. *Pansa* beyng at poynt of death by reason of his wounde, said thus to *Cæsar* sittyng by him:

« I was a friende to thy Father as to my selfe, whome I coulde
« not reuenge beyng slayne, not able to resiste so many, whome,
« thou also haste done wisely to obey, although thou haddest an
« armie. They at the firste fearyng thée and *Antony*, a manne
« moste ambitious, and enclinyng towarde *Cæsars* sentence, haue
« bene content to suffer you to be at variance, and consume your
« selues, and when they sawe that thou wast Lorde of an army, as
« I yong in yn, they set thée forth with some countenance and sley-
« der honours. After thou wast stronger and of more estimation,
« and that thou wouldest not receiue the authoritie vnder the army
« that they gaue thée, they were troubled, and they appoynted thée
« to ioyne with vs, that wée might take from thée the two legi-
« ons, which were moste practised, hopyng that if any of you were
« ouercome, the other alone shoulde be the more weaker, and af-
« ter hym destroy al *Cæsars* friendes and set vp *Pompeys*. This was
« the summe of the determination. I and *Hirtius* haue done our cō-
« mission, to represse *Antony* that grewe into suspition. Now that
« he is ouercome, wée thought it beste for thée to be at one with
« him, doyng thée this benefite, in remembraunce of *Cæsars* amitie,
« onely that whiche we supposed will further thy felicitie in tyme
« to come. Afore this time to haue giuen thée this Consell had not
« bene fitte, but nowe that *Antony* is broken, *Hirtius* dead, and I
« not like to liue, opportunitie serueth to speake, not that thou shoul-
« dest thanke me when I am dead, but that thou beyng borne to
« great felicitie (as thy déedes do shewe) mightest knowe what is
« beste for thée, and the chayse and destiny of *Hirtius* and mée.

The

The armye that thou gauest vs, we thinke it most fitte to gyue thée agayne, and so we do. The yong Souldyoures if thou coul-
dest keepe, I would also giue thée, but it would much offende the
Senate, bycause the officers of them, were sent as kéepers to vs,
and it would worke thée enuie, and put thée to more trouble than
nédes, therefore *Torquatus* the Pretor shall haue them. When he
had thus sayd, and deliuered them to *Torquatus*, he dyed: and they
as the Senate commaunded, were sent to *Decimus Cæsar* deliue-
red *Hirtius* and *Pansa* to their funerall with greate honor, and
sent them to *Rome* with great shew. In *Syria* and *Macedonia* at
this time diuers things happened.

Pansa the Consul dyeth.

The Consuls buryed honourably.

Iulius Cæsar when he passed by *Syria*, left a Legion there, myn-
ding then to go against the *Parthians*. *Cecilius Bassus* had the charge
thereof, but *Iulius Sextus*, a yong man, and allyed to *Cæsar*, had the
dignitie, who ledde the legion without order, to delitious and li-
centious life, the which when *Bassus* reproued, he vsed him wyth
despightefulnesse, and *Bassus* againe calling him, and he grudging
at it, he commaunded he should by force be broughte before him.
At the which whē tumult and fray was made, the army not bea-
ring this despighte, killed *Iulius*, whereof they streighte repented
thē, for feare of *Cæsar*. Then making oth one to another, that vn-
lesse forgiuenesse and faith were giuen them, they woulde fyght
to deathe, and compelling *Bassus* to that oth, they gathered ano-
ther legion, & trayned them to their exercise. Thus some do write
of *Bassus*. But *Libo* writeth, that *Bassus* was of *Pompeys* parte, and
after the battayle, liued priuately in *Tyro*, where he did corrupte
some of the Legion, who killed *Sextus*, and after obeyed *Bassus*.
But howsoeuer the matter wente, they valiantly resisted *Sextius*
Murcus, that was sente of *Cæsar* with three Legions, till *Murcus*
did call to *Minutius Crassus*, that was ruler of *Bythinia*, who came
into his ayde with three other Legions, and when *Bassus* was be-
seeged of these, *Cassius* came in great hast, and receyued by and by
the two legions of *Bassus*, and also wanne the fire legions that be-
seeged him, by friendship, who obeyed him as vnder-Consul. For
(as I sayd before) it was decréed, that all should obey *Cassius* and
Brutus.

Cecilius Bassus.

Iulius Sextus.

The mutiny of the army in *Syria*.

Iulius kylled.

Sextius Murcus.
Minutius Crispus.
Bythinia in *Asia* the lesse, nexte *Troy*.
Cassius obeyned the Legions.

Albienus.

Albienus at that time, being sente of *Dolobella* into *Aegipt*, brought from thence foure legions, whiche being scattered after the ouerthrowe of *Crassius* and *Pompey*, or else lefte of *Cæsar* with *Cleopatra*, *Cassius* comming suddaynely vpon hym, compelled him to deliuer his Legions in *Palestina*, being afrayd with foure Legions to fighte with eyghte. So *Cassius* beyonde expectation, was Lord of twelue full Legions, and *Dolobella* going out of *Asia* into *Laodicea*, where for frendshyp he was receyued, he followed and besieged, whiche thyng when the Senate hearde, they were glad.

Palestina nexte *India* and *Arabia.*

Cassius, Lord of twelue Legions.

Laodicea, a noble Citie in *Asia*, nigh the flood *Lycus.*

In *Macedonia*, *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Antonius Marcus*, dyd make warre with *Brutus*, hauing one Legion of armed Citizens, and being inferioure to *Brutus*, he layde traynes for hym, which *Brutus* escaping, did catch him with the like traynes, and doing nothing to him nor them that he had taken, he badde his owne Souldioures to be familiar with their enimies, but they refusing that familiaritie, and not admitting their conuersation, he suffered them freely to departe, when he had them at aduantage. They goyng another way, he appeared suddaynely vnto them in another straight, where he dyd not touche them, but gently receyued them. They remembring that he was euer thought to be the most courteous Citizen, and worthy the opinion that he had of wisedome and mildenesse, they accepted hys courtesie, and gaue themselues vnto him. *Caius* also yelded to hym, and was in honor with *Brutus*, till he was founde manye times corruptyng the army, and so put away.

Brutus getteth legions in *Macedonia.*

Brutus the gētle.

Thus *Brutus* to his former army, had syre Legions, and prayssing the *Macedonians*, he gathered of them two legions more, whome he exercised after the Italian manner.

These thyngs were done in *Siria* and *Macedonia.*

In *Italie*, *Cæsar* toke it euill, that *Decimus* was made Generall agaynste *Antonie* before him. He hidde hys anger, and desired that hee myghte make a Triumph for the feates hee hadde done, and beeing reiected of the Senate, for requiring greater thynges than belonged to hys age, hee

Octauius desireth Triumph.

The Senate denyeth Triumph to *Octauius.*

hée was afraide, least if *Antonie* were ouerthrowen, they woulde moze despise him, and therefoze desired to haue conference with hym, as *Pansa* counselled hym when hée dyed.

All the Souldioures and Captaynes of *Antonies* that he had taken, hée vsed courteously, and toke them as hys owne, and them that woulde, he sente to *Antonie*, as a signification, that he was no enimie to hym. *Cæsar* vseth *Antonyes* Souldioures vvell.

To *Ventidius* that was friend to *Antonie*, and hadde broughte thrée legions, he drewe nygh wyth hys army, and when he had made hym afrayde, he did nothing to hym, but graunted hym eyther to ioyne with hym, oz to goe to *Antonie* freely with hys armie, and to protest, that foz lacke of knowledge, he had omitted the common profite. When *Ventidius* heard thys, he wente to *Antonie*. *Octauius Cæsar* practiseth vvith *Ventidius*, *Antonyes* friende.

In the meane tyme, *Octauius Cæsar* honoured *Decius*, one of *Antonies* Captaynes whome hée hadde taken at *Mutina*. He gaue hym leaue to goe to *Antonie* if he woulde, and he demaunding of hys mynde towarde *Antonie*, hée sayde, he had shewed sufficiente and manye tokens to them that coulde perceyue, and to them that woulde be ignozante, moze woulde not suffice. *Octauius* saying to *Decius*, a Captayne of *Antonyes*.

Thus dyd *Cæsar* signifye to *Antonie*.

To *Lepidus* and *Asinius* he moze playnely signifyed of the despight againſt hym, and of the myghtie preparation of the kyllers, makyng them afrayde, that to increase *Pompeis* faction, all *Cæsars* friendes one after another, shoulde be serued as *Antonie* was, whych he, through ignozaunce and suspition of a feare, did longer suffer. He allowed well they shoulde obey the Senate foz a fashion, but foz theyr owne suretie they shoulde agrée togyther whyleſt they myghte, and that they shoulde herein repzoue *Antony*, and to vse the manner of the legionaries, not to departe from them when the seruice was done, noz to leaue the trade of warre and dilleuer, (leaſte thereby the Enimie myghte take some aduantage,) but *Octauius* dealeth vvith *Lepidus* and *Asinius*. *Octauius* practiſe vvith *Antonyes* friends.

but rather togither inhabite others places, thereto desirous for their power, than seuerally euery man in his countrey consume his owne. This did *Cæsar* send to *Lepidus* and *Asinius*. *Decimus* armye alter hunger, fallen licke for plenty.

Decimus armye olde and famished, was full of sickneſſe, and loſeneſſe of bodye, and the newe Souldioures were yet vnexercised: but *Plancus* with his ordinarie armye drew nigh vnto him, & *Decimus* wrote to the Senate, that *Antonie* shoulde be caught in his snares, beeing tyed with things past. *Plancus* ioyneth with *Decimus*.

Pompeys friends hearing of this, did maruellously reioyce, crying now to be time, to reſtore their Countreys libertie. Euerye man made sacrifices, and elected tenne men to punishe *Antonies* power. And this was a forme to abolish *Cæsars* decrées, whiche *Antonie* put in vre by his remembrances, doing little or nothing of himselfe: whiche thing the Senate well perceyuing, did by occaſion disanull some, and so they hoped to dissolue all: and the tenne men did commaund, that whoſoeuer hadde receyued anye thing by *Antonies* authoritie, contrarye to the Senate, they shoulde reſtore it, and declare it, and to them that disobeyed, a punishment was threatned. *Pompeys* sonne required the rule of Conſuls, in stead of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, for the reſt of the yeare. *Cæsar* did the like, not of the Senate, but of *Cicero*, priuately sendyng to him, and exhorting him to be in office with him, bycause he was more sage, more experte, and better acquainted with the office than he, and that he only would thinke it a benefyte to beare the name, that he might haue an honeſt pretence to leaue his armye, for the which cause he had required a triumph.

A creation of tenne men in *Rome*.

Edict of tenne men.

Ofilanius requireth to be Conſull with *Cicero*.

Cicero hereby being blowen vp with ambition, sayde, he perceyued a conſpiracie to be wrought by the Captaynes abroade, and therefore he thought good to pleasure this yong man, beeyng not well intreated, and Lorde of a greate armye, and rather to graunte him an office in the Citie before his time, than to force him to be in armes, leaſt he might do something that shoulde not content the Senate, and wished some of the wiſe antients might be appoynted, as a maiſter of his yong yeares. But the Senate laughed at *Ciceros* ambition, and the kinſmen of the killers were againſt it, fearing that *Cæsar* would accuſe them when he should be

The ambition of *Cicero*.

Cicero is laughed at.

be Consull, and for diuerse lawfull causes made delay in the election.

Antonie in this tyme passed the mountaines. Hauing persuaded *Culeo* a Capitaine of *Lepidus*, and keper of the passage, to credite hym, he drewe nighe the foude where *Lepidus* was, and lay without trenche or ditche, bicause he would shew he was friend to him. Diuerse messages were sent betwene them. *Antony* recording diuers friendshippes and pleasures, affirmed, that if he woulde not agree, all they of *Cæsars* smitie, shoulde be broughte to the like calamitie.

Culeo suffereth *Antony* to passe the mountaines.

Pact se betweene *Antony* & *Lepidus*.

Lepidus being afraide of the Senate, that hadde commaunded hym to make warre vppon *Antonie*, affyrmed yet that he didde it againste his will. Now *Lepidus* his armye reuerencing the dignitie of *Antonie*, and perceiuing the messengers betwene them, and delighting in the quietnesse of his souldiours, secretly firste mingled among thē, & after openly, as with their fellow citizens and souldiours: and when they were forbidden by the Captains, they making no accompte of their commaundemente, made a bridge of boats ouer the riuer, that they might the better come togither: and the legion called the tenth, sometime wont to bee led of *Antonie*, prepared for him in their tents.

The tenth legiō beganne to reuolte from *Lepidus*.

Laterensis, one of the noble Senatoures perceiuing thys, opened the matter to *Lepidus*, who giuing no credite to hym, willed the armye to bee deuided into diuerse partes, as to be sent to diuers vses to trie their treason or faith. *Lepidus* deuided them into three, and commaunded them in the nighte that they shoulde conduct a Treasourer of the armye that was comming at hand. They passing the last watch, and arming themselues as to a iorney, went to the strongest parte of the campe, and opened the gates to *Antony*, who ranne into *Lepidus* Tentes, all the armye bringing hym and praying *Lepidus* of mercie and peace for the afflicted Citizens. *Lepidus* leapte oute of hys bed without his clothes, and prompted so to doe, and embracing *Antony*, excused the necessitie. Some saye he dydde knéle to *Antonie*, as one that was a cowarde and of small experience, the whyche all writers doe not allowe, nor I

Laterensis.

Lepidus souldiours lets in *Antony*.

Antony and *Lepidus* agree.

Antony hathe greate powver againe.

thinke it to be probable, for hée hadde done no parte of an enmitye againste *Antony*, whereby he should bée afrayde of hym.

Thus *Antony* was risen agayne to greate power, and bécame moste fearefull vnto his enmityes, for hée hadde the Armye that hée ledde from *Modena*: hée hadde receyued thrée legions by the waye, of *Ventidius*, and newe hadde the fellowshippe of *Lepidus*, wyth seauen legions, armed wyth all kynde of furniture, and preparation requisite.

Lepidus bare the name among them, but *Antonie* had the direction of all.

When this was shewed at Rome, a marueilous and suddayne mutation of mindes followed: some, from greate boldenesse fell to feare: some from great feare were lifted vppe to courage.

Alteration in *Rome.*

The decrées of the tenne men were broken wyth spighte, and the creation of Consulles was instantelye called for.

The Senate stoode in doubte what to doe, and feared that *Cæsar* and *Antonie* woulde agrée.

The Senate sendeth *Lucius* and *Pansa* to *Brutus* and *Cassius.*

They sente secreatelye *Lucius* and *Pansa*, to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, as to viewe publique playes, that they sette forthe in *Grecia*, and secreatlye required them, that as sone as might bée, they woulde come to helpe them.

From *Libya* they called twoo of the thrée legions vnder *Sextius*, and the thirde, they commaunded to be gyuen to *Cornificius*, that was ruler of the other *Libya* that obeyed the Senate.

The feare of the Senate.

They were afrayde of these, when they remembred they hadde serued vnder *Iulius Cæsar*, and were enclined to hys doings.

Newe *Cæsar* chosen lieutenãt to *Decimus.*

This doubtefulnesse droue them to this poynte, that by reuise they feared newe *Cæsar* woulde consente wyth *Antonie*, they chose hym agayne verye vnfitlye lieutenaunte vnder *Decimus*, but *Cæsar* for anger, as continuallye vsed with dispight,

stirred

stirred his armye, that they shoulde be sente to a nédye iorney before they were paide the fyue thousande drammes, promised them for the fyrste, and counselled them to sende to the Senate for it, and they sent the Captaines of the bandes.

Cæsar stirreth his souldioures against the Senate.

The Senate knowing wherefore they were taughte to come, aunswered they woulde sende their Ambassadoures vnto them, whome they thus instructed.

That they shoulde priuately speake to the two legions that wente from *Antonie*, and teache them not to putte their truste in one, but in the Senate onelye, whose power was eternall, and that they shoulde goe to *Decimus*, whither they woulde sende them theyr money, and pretended they hadde readye to gyue them the one halfe, and that tenne men shoulde be appointed for the payment, not namyng *Cæsar* for the eleuenth.

Senate sendeth to the souldiors

The Messengers, bycause the legions would not be spoken to, without *Cæsar* returned in vaine.

Cæsar woulde no more haue other to speake to the Souldioures, nor tarrye anye longer, but himselfe wente to the armye béyng assembled, and shewed what despight the Senate had done him, and that they ment to destroy euerye one of *Caius Cæsars* friendes.

He badde them beware of them, that woulde haue them tourne to a Capitayne, by sentence of gods iudged an ennimy, and so from one ennimye to another, eyther to bée vtterlye destroyed, or to be at debate among themselues, for the feate at *Mutina* being common, rewarde is onelye appointed to two legions, to worke strife and discorde among them.

Octauius stirreth his souldioures against the Senate.

You knowe (quoth hée) why *Antonie* is persecuted, and what the *Pompeyans* haue propounded in *Rome*, agaynste them that haue receyued giftes by *Cæsars* appointement. What truste can you haue, eyther of the lande, or the money that hée gaue you, or of my safetye, so long as the kyllers kinsemen doe beare rule in the Senate? As for my selfe, I am readye to take suche ende as shall happen vnto me,

'me, and it shall be myne honoure to suffer for my fathers de-
'fence: but for you, so manye, and so worthye men, my whole
'care is, beyng in perill for my fathers sake and mine. You
'know that I am cleare from al ambition, since I refused the au-
'thoritie that you woulde haue giuen me, with the ceremonies
'of a Magistrate. Nowe I see that boothe oure safeties doeth
'consist, if I be of you declared Consull, for so shall the things
'be made sure vnto you, that my father hathe giuen you: the
'landes and habitations that be due vnto you, you shall obtaine,
'and all youre giftes to the vttermoste: and I seking the pu-
'nishment of the strikers, will, wyth you, dispatche our other e-
'nimies,

Octauius desireth to be declared Consull by the souldioures.

When he hadde thus saide, the armye chearefully made a noise, and sent the Capitaines againe to *Rome* to require the Consulshippe for *Cæsar*. When the Senate obiected against hys age, the Captaines, as they were instructed, saide that in olde tyme *Coruinus* was Consull before hys tyme, and after hym *Scipio*, bath the firste and the seconde, and by their youth, the Comm'rey was aduaunced. Comming to later tyme, they broughte forth *Pompey* and *Dolobella*, and *Cæsar* himselfe, to whom it was graunted to be Consull tenne yeares before hys tyme.

Consulls vnder age. Coruinus. Scipio.

The Capitaines speaking thus with much boldenesse, some of the Senatoures coulde not abide, that they beyng but bandleaders, should vse suche free speech before the Senate, and rebuked them, as menne more insolent than became Souldioures duety.

The Senate rebuketh the souldioures.

When the whole armye heard this, they were more angry, and desired they might straighte be led to the Cittie, that they might make *Cæsars* sonne a Consull by a famous election, whose father they extolled with immortall praise.

Octauius goeth against the citie.

When *Octauius* sawe this vehemencie, by and by from that assemblye, he marched forward with eight legions of footemē, and a sufficient number of horsemen, and all prouision accordingly, and when he was passe the floude *Rubicone*, from *Celtica* into *Italy*, as his father did afore, whē he moued ciuil war, he deuided his army into .ij. parts, ỹ one he commaūded to follow at leysure,

leysure, the other and ỹ better, he take with him, & made much spéede, minding to take them vnprouided. He met with part of the money that the Senate had sent the souldiours for a reward, and being afrayde of the bringers of this gifte, he sente secretlye some afore to afraye them, whereby they with their money fledde awaye. When the report of his comming was at *Rome*, great was the trouble and tumulte, running hyther and thyther to sende their wiues and children, and to carye their chiefe substaunce, eyther into the countrey or to the strongest parts of the Citie. For it was not throughly knowen, whyther he came onlye to aske the Consulshippe. But when they heard that he came as an enimy with an angry armye, they were afrayde of al hands. The feare at *Rome*.

The Senate was greatly stroken that they had no power sufficient, and as in suche feare happeneth, one of them accused an other: some, bycause they toke awaye the army from *Antony* with suche dispight: some, bycause they had suspition of the Triumphe, whiche was but right: some for hatred and diuision of the money: some, bycause he was not appointed the eleuenth manne in the distribution: some, bycause the rewards were not giuẽ, neither some ynough, nor ful ynough, sayd the army was become their enimy: & blamed this contention so much out of season, *Brutus* and *Cassius* being so farre off, and *Antonius* and *Lepidus* their enimies so nygh, whome perceyuing to be redy to agrée with *Cæsar*, made the feare to growe the greater. Alteration in *Rome*.

Cicero, that before was the great styrrer, did nowe no where appeare. In euerie manne was maruellous mutation in euerye matter: and for the two thousande and fiue hundred drams that shoulde be giuen to two legions, to giue fiue thousande drammes to eight legions, and in stéede of tenne men, to make *Cæsar* the distributour alone, and to graunte hym to aske the Consulshippe in his absence. Ambassadours went in haste to make thys message with diligence, who were not out of the towne before the Senate repented them, as they that ought not so cowardly to be troubled, nor to receiue an other Tyran *Cicero* not seene. Inconstancie of the Senate.

without bloudshed, and that it was not the vse to aske the Consulship by force, nor that Captaynes shoulde rule the Countrey at their pleasure, and that they in the Citie shoulde arme themselues, and alleage the lawes againste them that came to inuade the Countrey: and if they woulde nedes proceede, rather to suffer the seege till *Decimus* and *Plancus* myghte come: and better to defend themselues to death, than willingly to receyue seruitude without redresse.

They recyted the olde examples of the *Romanes* in sufferance and Counsell for their libertie, whiche they woulde in no wise giue ouer. And when the two legions called from *Lsbya*, dyd that day arriue at the porte, they thoughte that the Gods did exhort them to mainteyne their libertie: and repenting now themselues, they woulde reuoke all that they had done, (*Cicero* now appearing among them.) Therefore all men that were of age, were appoynted to serue.

Cicero seene agayne.

The two Legions that came from *Libya*, and wyth them a thousande Horse, and one Legion that *Pansa* lefte them, were putte togither, all the whiche was deuided. One parte kepte the hyll *Ianiculo*, where all theyr money lay. Another kepte the passage of the floud, by the officers of the Citie deuiding themselues: and some hadde broughte their moneys to the porte in Shippes and boates, that if they were ouercome, they myght escape by Sea.

Two Legions arriue agayne.

Thus they dyd with greate boldnesse and spéede, trustyng thereby to affray *Cæsar*, or to moue hym without his armye to aske the Consulshippe of them, or manfully to defende themselues, and that the state myghte change to contrarie fortune, whyles they did fyght for their libertie.

Cæsars mother and his sister they coulde not fynde, neyther by priuie nor open search, wherefore they made a greate stirre, beeyng spoyled of so great pledges, and thoughte that the *Cæsarians* did not encline to them, bycause they had so surely hid them from them.

Cæsars mother and sister sought for.

Some of the messengers remaynyng yet wyth *Cæsar*, the contrarye determination was tolde him: wherefore they departed

parted from him with shame: he with the armye beeyng the rather styrred, came forwarde wyth greate hast, fearing the women myghte take hurte. And to the people that was in tumulte, he sente hys Horsemen afore, willing them no more to bee afrayde: whereat euery man reioysing, he take the places aboue Mount *Quirinale*, no man daryng to encounter or resiste hym.

Mount *Quirinale*, one of the seuen hilles of *Rome*.

Wherefore an other maruelous mutation was seene of the sodayne. So many noble menne that wente vnto hym and receyued hym, the common people folowyng and vsing the Souldiours in battayle raye, as men quiet in peace, hee leauyng hys armye in that place, the nexte daye came into the Cittie with a sufficient Garde aboute hym: they of the Cittie mette wyth hym all the waye on euery side, and saluted hym, omittyng no parte of humanitie nor humble seruice. His Mother and hys Sister from the Temple of *Vesta* wyth the holy Nunnes, ranne out to embrace hym. The three legions dispising theyr Capitaynes, sente Embassadours vnto him to yelde themselfe. *Cornutus* one of theyr chiefe Capitaynes, killed hymselfe, the other trusted to hys promisse and fayth.

Mutation in *Rome*.

Honour gyuen to *Octauian*.

Legions of the Senate goe to *Cæsar Octauius*.

Cornutus himself.

Cicero hearyng of these promyses, practysed to come before hym by hys friendes, whiche beyng done, he excused hymselfe, and extolled the perswasion that hee had vsed to the Senate for hys Consulshippe: he answeared onely with a taunt, that he was the laste of hys friendes that came vnto him.

Cicero taunted.

In the nyghte a sodayne rumour was raysed, that two legions of *Cæsars*, the Martiall and the fourth, were reuolted to the Cittie, as grieued they should be brought to betraye their countrey. The officers and the Senate gaue fayth vnto the rumour very lightly, and though the other army was at hand, they thought with these menne so valiant, they might resist the reste of *Cæsars* hoste, till more power mighte come to them from other place. And in the nyghte, to be sure, they sente *Acilius Crassus* into *Picena* to gather an armye, and they commaun-

Light credite to a vayne rumor.

Ancona.

commaunded one *Apuleius* a Tribune to runne to the people wyth thys ioyful tydings: and the Senate that night, came to the Counsell, *Cicero* standing at the doze and receyuing them with greate ioye and gladnesse: and when it was knowne it was but a false rumoz, he fledde his waye in a waggon.

Caesar laughing at them, brought his armye nygher the Citie, to the place called the fielde of *Mars*. He hurt none of the officers, not so much as *Crassus*, by was posting into *Picene*, al- *Acilius Crassus.* thoughe hee was brought vnto hym in a seruile habite, but spared all, to the opinion of hys humanitie, albeit, not long after, he put them to death.

Hanius dealing in the Cities. The common treasure founde in *Ianiculo* oz in any other place, he commaunded to be brought togither: and al that was afoze appointed by *Cicero*, he distributed to his army, two thou- sande and fiue hundzed dzammes to euery man, the residue he pzomised to giue them. When he had done this, he retyzed from the Citie, till the election of the Consuls, when, he was *Hanius* and *Q. Pedius* Consuls. chosen, and with him, *Q. Pedius*, as he desired, who had left a poz- tion of *Caesars* inheritaunce vnto hym.

When he came into the Cittie as Consul, and sacrifised. A token of xii. *Vultures.* And there appeared to him twelue Gripes, as did to *Romulus* when he builded the Cittie. The sacrifices being ended, hée gaue himselfe in adoption, to his father, accozding to the lawe *Curiate*, that is, to be confirmed in adoption by the people.

Curiæ. Phratria. Foz the *Romaines* call *Curias*, companies oz wardes of the peo- ple deuided, as the *Grecians*, do call *Phratria*, fellowshippes and *Fraternities*. This vse among the *Romaines*, was most effectuall in the lawe foz them that be without fathers: and they may as well as *Legitimate* childzen commaunde the kinsefolke and fréemade men of them that doe adopte them. And it was one of *Caius Caesars* glozies, that he had manye riche fréemade men: and chiefly foz this cause peraduenture, thys *Caesar*, in his first adoption by testament, had néede of this also.

He dissolued by a newe lawe that *Dolobella* shoulde not be iudged a rebell, and that the lawe might pzocéede foz *Caesars* killing.

Wherfoze

wherefore accusations were written agaynste them by *Cæsars* friends, to them as strikers, to the other, as priuie only: for thys was obiected againste some of them, and to some, bycause they woulde not be seene when *Cæsar* was kylled. And to all these, a day certayne was assigned by Proclamation, when they shoulde appeare to make their answere, all the whiche saying at the day, *Cæsar* himselfe markyng the iudgementes, none was pardoned of the faulte, but one noble man, who then had no hurte, but shortly after was condemned to deathe wyth the other. And at thys tyme *Q. Gallius*, brother to *Marius Gallius*, *Antonyes* friende, beeyng a Prætor in the Citie, dyd desire of *Cæsar* the Lieutenantshippe of *Libya*, whyche when he hadde obteyned, he wroughte wyles agaynste *Cæsar*: The other Prætors depriued him of hys office, and the people and the Senate condemned him to deathe. *Cæsar* commaunded hym to goe to hys brother that was wyth *Antony*, and when he had taken Shyppe to goe, he was neuer seene after.

Acquital of all saue the murderers of *Cæsar*.

Many condemned for *Cæsars* death.

Q. Gallius condemned.

When *Cæsar* had done these greate things, he enclined to pacification with *Antony*. When he had heard that *Brutus* hadde twenty Legiõs, against ỹ which he would haue *Antonyes* help, he wente out of the Citie towarde the *Ionian* Sea, and makyng small iourneys, he tarried to see what the Senate would do. *Pedius* when *Cæsar* was gone, perswaded, that before grudge should growe to extremitie, they woulde agree *Antony* and *Lepidus*. And although they perceyued that this agreement was not for theyr sake, nor for their Countrey, but onely to helpe *Cæsar* againste *Brutus* and *Cassius*, yet did they by necessitie determine it, and reuoked the sharp decrees made against *Antonie* and *Lepidus*, and all the Souldioures vnder them, and to sende them other more fauourable, for the whyche *Cæsar* wrote his letters of congratulation vnto them, and promised to helpe *Antonie* againste *Decimus*, if neede were. The Senate vsed lyke friendly manner toward him, and gaue him their harty thãkes, and *Antonie* wrote that he would plague *Decimus* for *Cæsar*, and *Plancus* for himselfe, and ioyne with *Cæsar*. Thus they wrote one to another.

Pedius counsell.

Precisenesse of *Cæsar* & *Antony*.

Whilest *Antonie* pursued *Decimus*, *Asinius Pollio* came vnto

Plancus reconcyled vvith *Antony*.

him with two Legions, and practised to haue him pacifyed wyth *Plancus*, and *Plancus* with three Legions agréed with *Antony*, in so muche as nowe *Antony* hadde a moste myghtie power.

Decimus hadde tenne Legions, whereof foure moste warlike being féebled with hunger, were yet vexed with sickenesse.

Decimus is driuē to flee, and hys army forsaketh him.

Of newe taken, there was syxe Legions, but vnexperte and fearefull. Wherefore *Decimus* doubting to fyghte, determined to flée to *Brutus* into *Macedonia*, and not to passe by the Mountaynes, but by *Rauenna* and *Aquileia*. And bycause *Cæsar* was comming that waye, hée toke a longer and an harder iourney to passe by *Rene*, and goe to the wilde places of barbarous people, where the newe Souldioures, oppressed with wante and heate, forsoke hym, and wente to *Cæsar*, and after them the foure Legions of older Souldioures wente to *Antony*. Then to the other multitude (the Frenche Horsemen men, beeyng the garde of hys person only except) he gaue leaue (if they woulde) to goe euery man to hys owne, and gaue them suche golde as he hadde, so as when he came to the *Rene*, he had but thrée hundred, where, bycause the passage was hard, they all forsoke hym saue a fewe, whyche fewe also shortly dyd leaue hym, and wyth tenne onely, changing hys garmente lyke a French man, whose language he coulde speake, he wente forthe as one of that nation, not with hasty iourneys, but easlie to *Aquileia*, thynking with so fewe he myghte wel escape: but beeyng taken of Théeues and bounde, he asked what Prince was Lorde of that parte, they sayde *Camillus*. He muche esteémyng the name of *Camillus*, desired he myght be broughte to hym, who when he sawe hym in apparance, spake fayre to hym, and rebuked the takers, that without regard, hadde so euill entreated so noble a man, but priuily he sent vnto *Antony*, and *Antony* moued with the mutation, coulde not abyde to sée him, but willed *Camillus* to kyll hym, and sende hym hys head, whyche when he sawe, he commaunded it to be buryed.

Rauenna.

Aquileia.

Reno is a floud in *Italy*, that runneth not farre from *Bononia*.

Decimus forsaketh.

Decimus is taken vvyth theeues.

Camillus.

Barbarous treason.

Decimus is killed of one *Camillus*, by the commaundemente of *Antony*.

Thys ende hadde *Decimus*, a Captayne of *Cæsars* Horsemen,

and

dna by hym made Ruler of olde *France*, and for the yeare to-
come elected Consull, and Gouernoure of the other *Fraunce*,
and was the seconde of the kyllers that nexte *Trebonius* was pu-
nished, a yeare and a halfe after *Cæsars* deathe. And this verye
tyme *Minutius Basilles* one of *Cæsars* quellers also was kil-
led of hys owne seruauntes, bycause he had made
some of them Eunuches for pu-
nishmente.

Minutius Basilius killed of his owne men.

(·.·)

The ende of the thirde Booke of Ciuill dissentions.

¶ The fourth Booke of *Appiane* of Alexandria, of the Ciuill dissentions of Rome.



Thus two of *Cæsars* killers, being ouerthrowen in their prouinces, had their punishment, *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and *Decimus* in *Celtica*. Nowe, how *Cassius* and *Brutus*, chiefe of the conspiracie against *Cæsar* were plagued, being Lordes of all the lande betweene *Syria*, and *Macedonia*, hauing mighty power both by Sea and land, with twenty armed legions, beside Horsemen and Shyppes, and money at will, thys fourth Booke of Ciuill discorde shal declare. And with the same, the inquisitions, and the searchers of them that were appoynted to dye by proscription, and the lamentable afflictions on euery syde, suche as neyther among the *Greeke* seditions or tumultes, nor among the *Romaines* themselues hadde bin done by any remembrance, sauing onely of *Sylla*, who was the fyrste that by Proclamation condemned hys foes to dye: for *Marius* did onely seeke to punishe them whome he founde: but *Sylla* with greate rewardes and lyke punishmentes of them that did conceale, proscribed menne to be killed, as they were taught. What *Marius* and *Sylla* dyd, it is shewed before in that matter, nowe the rest shall follow in order.

Proscription, is a condemnation without lawe, to kill men wheresoeuer they be founde.

The agreement of *Octauius, Antony* and *Lepidus. Iulius.*

Cæsar and *Antonie*, of enimies, were made friendes, aboute the Citie of *Modena*, in a little playne Ilande of the floude *Labinio*, eache of them hauyng fyue armed Legions, whiche beyng placed one ouer against another, eyther of them wyth three hundred, came to the bridges of the Riuer. *Lepidus* beeing come afore to searche the Ile, made a token wyth hys cloke to them both to come. They lefte theyr companyes wyth theyr

friendes

friendes at the Bridges, and came into the myddeſt, to a place that myghte bee ſeene, and ſate all three downe, *Cæſar* in the myddeſt, bycauſe of his office. Two dayes from morning tyll nyghte they conferred, and made thys determination.

1 That *Cæſar* ſhould gyue ouer hys Conſulſhippe, and *Ventidius* receyue it for the reſt of the yeare.

That a newe office ſhoulde be inſtituted by lawe, for redreſſe of ciuill troubles: and that *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Cæſar*, ſhoulde haue that authoritie for fyue yeares, wyth the ſame power that Conſulles haue: ſo it was thought beſt to name it, peraduenture bycauſe of *Antonyes* decree, forbiddyng anye man to bee Dictator.

That they ſhoulde by and by appoynte the offices of the Citie from yeare to yeare, duryng the fyue yeares, and diuide the Prouinces.

That *Antony* ſhoulde haue all *Fraunce* on thys ſyde the *Pirenei* Mountaynes, excepte that whiche they call olde *Celtica*. Novv Narbona.

That *Lepidus* ſhoulde rule that and *Spayne*.

That *Cæſar* ſhoulde gouerne *Lybia*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicelie*, and any other Ilande there.

Thus did theſe three diuide the *Romaine* Empire, leauing the prouinces beyonde the Sea, bycauſe of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* that were Gouernoures there.

That *Antony* and *Cæſar* ſhould make warre vpon *Brutus* and *Caſſius*.

That *Lepidus* ſhoulde be Conſull for the time to come, and remayne in the Citie for all occaſions, and gouerne *Spayne* by Deputies.

That *Lepidus* ſhoulde reteyne three Legions of his owne army for the defence of *Rome*.

That the other ſeauen ſhoulde be diuided betweene *Cæſar* and *Antony*, that *Cæſar* ſhoulde haue three, and *Antony* foure, that eyther of them myghte leade twentye Legions to the warre.

That they ſhoulde encourage their armyes as well with rewardes of victorie, as other giftes, as by the promiſe of eyghteene Cities of *Italie*, excelling in ſubſtance, ſoyle, and fayre buyldings, and that both landes and houſes of the ſame ſhoulde be deuided vnto them, as though they had bin taken by warre. Amongſt the reſt theſe were the chiefe, *Capua*, *Reggio*, *Venuſia*, *Beneuento*, *Nuceria*, *Arimeno*, and *Vibona*. Thus were the fayreſt partes of *Italie* aſſigned to the Souldioures.

Cities of Italy deuided to ſpoyle.

It was alſo agréed, that euery of them ſhoulde diſpatche hys priuate enimies, that no trouble myghte come by them, after that they, vppon theſe determinations, ſhoulde bée gone farre off, to make a long warre out of their Countrey. All theſe thynges were ſigned wyth their handes. *Ceſar*, as Conſull dyd declare them to the armye, ſauyng onely theyr names that were appoynted to dye. When the Souldioures hearde it, they were glad, and embraced togither for ioy.

Tokens in *Rome*.

Theſe béeyng done, many Monſters and terrible tokens were ſéene in *Rome*. Dogges yélled like Wolues, a fearefull warning. Wolues ranne about the common place, a beaſt, not wonte to be ſéene at *Rome*. An Oxe ſounded a mans voyce: and a childe ſpake as ſone as it was borne. Some of the Images ſweate, Some dyd ſweate bloud. Greate voyces of men, noyſe of harneſſe, and running of Horſes, were heard, and nothyng ſéene.

Aboute the Sunne, there were manye vnpleaſante ſightes. Stormes alſo of ſtones. Continuall lightnings fell vppon the Temples and the pictures.

For thys cauſe, the Senate ſente for Southſayers and Prophetes out of *Toſcane*, the moſt auntiente, of the whyche, affirmyng that the olde Kynges ſhoulde returne, and euery man be in bondage but himſelfe alone, he ſhutte his mouth, and ſtopped hys breath tyll he dyed.

A rare example of a Southſayer.

Theſe three men beyng thus alone by themſelues, dyd appoynte them that ſhoulde dye. They ſuſpected ſome for their power.

wer. Some they registred as theyr priuate enimies, and some theyr owne familiars and friendes they gaue to dye, to serue eache others turne, both then, and afterwarde. And so were men condemned one after another, some for enemitie: some onely for a little offence, as for louing hys enimies, or hatyng hys friendes, or for beeyng to riche, because they wanted much money to mayntayne the warre. *Brutus* and *Cassius* receyuing the rentes and Tributes of *Asia*, and beeyng also holpen by the Kynges and Princes there, and for asmuche as they were in wante, because *Europe*, and chiefely *Italie* was walked wyth warres and paymentes, they dyd put a greeuous imposition vpon the common sorte of menne and women, and made the artificers and workemen to pay them tribute, and some was proscribed for the goodnesse of hys lands & houses. And thus all these were condemned to dye, and to bee confiscate, whereof there were three hundred Senators, and two thousande of them that bee called Gentlemen, among the whyche were the brethren and vncles of these that hadde condemned them, and some that ruled armies vnder them, and as many as hadde displeased them or other that were leaders vnder them. And intendyng to condemne the multitude after this conference, at theyr beeyng in *Rome*, they appoynted twelue of the suddayne (or as some say) seauentéene of the chiefest to bee kylled, whereof *Cicero* was one. And by and by they sente aboute it, and foure were straight kylled at theyr tables, or where they were mette, the other were soughte in houses and Temples, so as there was a sudden trouble al that night among them, with cries, running, and yelling, as in a Citie taken. For when it was knowen that menne shoulde bee apprehended, and no certenty vppon whome the proscription woulde fall, euery man thoughte himselfe to bee sought of them that made enquirie. Wherefore in this confusion some hadde determined to burne their owne thynges, and some to sette publike places all on fyre, intending by good reason to doo some notable feate, before they woulde suffer. And they hadde done it out of hande, hadde not *Pedius* the Consull gone aboute with Proclamation, and comforted them

Equites.

Miserie of Rome

them to tarrie, till the truth were throughly knowen. When morning was come, *Pedius* according to the sentence of the three men, did condemne seauentéene, as only supposed chiefe authors of ciuill euils, and onely condemned: whereof he gaue his faith publikely to the rest, not knowing what was done, and he for the labour he toke in the nighte, dyed. The three men, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Cæsar*, entred *Rome*, each one by himselfe in three seuerall dayes, with the gardes of their persons, and one Legion a peece, in order of battell.

Pedius Consull dyeth.

When they were come, the Citie was full of Souldioures, and ensignes placed, where was fytte, and by and by there was an assemblie, in the whyche, *Publius Titius* Tribune of the people, dyd by lawe confyrme the newe rule, by the appoynteminte of them presente, for fyue yeares of three men, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Cæsar*, with equall power as Consuls (whyche a man myghte call reformers, after the *Greeke* manner, and that name the *Lacedemonians* gaue to them that directed their state, neyther any respite being gyuen for the approbation, nor a speciall daye appoynted for voyces to be vsed. Out of hande the lawe toke place, and that myghte condemnations of thirtis, beside the seauentéene, and of one hundred more, were sette vp in many places of the Citie, and shortlye after, another hundred and fiftie, and euer some were added more in the booke, to them that were firste condemned, or [illegible], as by ignorance, that it myghte bée thoughte they were worthy to dye. It was ordered, that all theyr heads shoulde be brought to the three men, and a rewarde appoynted. A frée mans rewarde was syluer, a Seruantes, libertie and syluer, and who receyued a condemned man, or concealed, or hindred the search, should bée punished with lyke payne, and euery man myghte declare agaynste whome hée woulde for the same rewarde. The Proclamation was after thys sorte.

Publius Titius propoundeth the newe rule of the three men.

Ἀριστοκαὶ vvas the name among the *Lacedemonians*, vvhich vvere rulers of Cities and Castels.

Encrease of condemned mē.

Revvards.

And that all men should suffer their priuate places to be searched. *Marcus Lepidus*, *Marcus Antonius*, and *Octauius Cæsar*, chosen reformers and directoures of the Common wealthe, saye thus: If the vnfaythfull, euill disposed menne, hadde

The Proclamation of the three men.

not

not bene pitied when they néded, and being so, had not be-
come enimies of their benefactours, and after cõspired against
them, they had not slayne *Cæsar*, whome he toke by warre, and
saued by mercy: accompted them friends, and plentifully ad-
uaunced them, with offices, honours and giftes: nor we should
haue ben compelled thus violently to vse them, that haue with
suche despite, made proclamations of treason against vs: but
now by their euill meanings towarde vs, & their worse wor-
king toward *Cæsar*, perceyuing that by humanitie, their malice
is made obstinate, we haue chosen rather to preuent them than
to be taken tardy of them. Let no man thinke our act vniust,
cruell or to sore, considering what *Cæsar*, what we haue suffe-
red at their handes. *Cæsar* being chief ruler, and prince of holy
things, Conquerour and ouerthrower of nations, most terri-
ble to the *Romaines*, and the first man that beyond *Hercules* pil-
lers did proue the sea not sayled before, and founde lande vn-
knowen to the *Romanes*, in the middest of the sacred place, cal-
led the Senate house, in the sight of the goddes, they haue en-
uiously killed with xxiij. woundes, whom he toke prisoners in
warre, and not onely saued their liues, but made some of them
heyres of his liuing. The reste of them through the same wic-
ked purpose haue sente these detestable offendours, in stéde of
punishment, to the rule of Prouinces and armies, whiche they
abuse in spoyling of common treasure, in gatheryng one army
against vs of them, and requiring an other of the *Barbarians*
alwayes enimies to this state. Certaine Citties belongyng to
the *Romanes*, refusing to obey them, they haue burned, spoyled or
rased: others oppressed with their terrible threatnings, they
sore agaynst their countrey and vs. Wée haue already puni-
shed some of them, and by the helpe of God, ye shall sone sée the
rest haue their iuste deserte. The greatest matters touchyng
Spayne, *Fraunce*, and here at home, we haue at our commaunde-
ment well dispatched. Neuertheless wée haue an harde and
sharpe worke in hande, to make warre agaynst the murderers
of *Cæsar* that be beyonde the seas: and bicause wée shall make
this warre abrode, we do not thinke it sure, neyther for vs nor

for you, to leaue enimies at home, that mighte disturbe vs in our absence, and wayte theyr times as the warre shoulde haue successe, neyther to make any delay in this hasty expedition, but rather to ridde them at ones, they hauyng begonne the warre agaynst vs, and iudged vs and our armies, traytours to our Countrie, not regardyng neyther the enuy of manne, nor the reuengment of God, in destroying so many millions of their Citizens.

We are not offended agaynst the multitude nor will take them all as enimies, that haue bene so to vs, nor altogither weigh riches, substaunce or dignities, nor kill so many as an other chiefe ruler haue done before vs, who redressed the Citie in lyke Ciuill dissentions, whome, for his lucky doings you did call *Happie*, (although there muste nedes be more enimies to thē than one) but onely the worste and moste wicked sorte, as well for you as for our selues, we entende to correct otherwise by our contentions, you all, betweene vs, muste nedes be vtterly destroyed, and of necessitie, our armie that hath bene so iniuried and despighted, as they haue bene proclaimed publique enimies, must nedes some way be comforted at our hande.

Syll.

And where as we mighte lay handes vppon the condemned, where we woulde, yet we thought it better to pronounce them, than at all aduentures to oppresse them, and that for your sake, least the rage of the Soudiours mighte exceede vppon them that are not touched, and that their names beyng comprehended in a certayne number, they might leaue the rest by the decree.

Then that good Fortune may come by them that be conteyned in this writyng: Lette no manne receyue any manne, nor hyde, nor sende away, nor be wonne for money. For if any doe saue, helpe, or be founde prysaye: him, will we, without all excuse and pardone, put among the condemned sorte.

Penaltie.

Of them that shall bryng the heades of suche as they

shall

shall kyll, before vs, a free manne shall haue xxv. thousand drammes of *Athens* for euery heade, a seruaunt shall haue, hys lybertie and tenne thousande, and hys Maysters place, in the Cittie, and the same shall they haue that shall enforme, and none of theyr names that receyue these rewardes, shall bee noted in our bookes, that they may not be knowen. Rewardes.

This was the proclamation of the three men, as I coulde translate it out of Latine into Greeke.

Lepidus was the firste that dyd condemne, and the firste of the condemned was *Paulus* his brother. *Lepidus* condemneth his brother

The second that did condemne, was *Antony*: and the second that was condemned, was his vncle *Lucius*, for they firste condemned these as enimies. *Antony* condemneth his vncle.

The thirde and the fourth was of them, whiche in an other booke, were appoynted to be Consuls in tyme to come. *Plotius*, brother to *Plancus*, and *Quintus*, Father in lawe to *Asinius*: and these were not the rather putte before other bycause of theyr dignitie onely, but as muche for terroure and desperation, that none shoulde hope to be saued.

Thoranius was among the condemned men, who, as some say, was Tutor to *Cesar*. *Thoranius* tutor to *Cesar* condemned.

By and by after these condemnations, the gates were kept, and all other passages and portes of the Cittie, Fennes also and Moores, and any other place suspected to bee fitte to flee vnto, or for them that fledde, to be hydden in.

The Capitaynes of the bandes were commaunded to raunge the fieldes abroade, and to searche diligently, and all this was done at once.

Forthwith, bothe in the countrie and the Cittie, as menne were taken, there was greate suddayne slaughter, and diuerse kyndes of murders, & cuttings off of heads to be shewed for rewardes sake.

Then was there hasty fleyng, and vnseemely sight of them,

that before were goodly to be seene: some leapte into puddles, some into ditches and sinckes most vncleane: some got vppe to the smoky rouffes and chimnies, or sat close with deepe silence vnder heapes of tyles: some were as muche afrayde of their wiues or children that bare them no good will, as they were of the killers: some of their free made men: some, of their bondmen: some creditours, of their debtours: some of their neyghbours, coueting their grounds: what soeuer had bin kept in before, the it burst forth a cruell and confused mutation of Senatours, of Consuls, of Pretours, of Tribunes, of newe elect to those offices, or of them that had borne office. It was to see them fal at a slaues feete with teares, nampng him sauiour and good maister: and more pitifull it was, that when they hadde done all this, they could get no grace, there was all shapes of miserie: not as in sedition or sacking of a Cittie, where men myghte feare their foes and enimies, and trust their families, but here they were more afrayde of them, than of the killers: The whiche beyng voyde of feare, otherwise than in tumulte and warre, they sodainelye of frendes were made enimies, eyther for hydden hate, or for the proclaymed rewards, or for the gold and siluer in their houses: for by thys occasion, euerye man ware extremely vnfaythful to his maister, and their reward did ouerwhelme naturall dewty towarde the same, and he that was faythfull and wel willing, was afrayde to help, to hyde, or conceale, for the crueltie of the punishment.

The former feare of the seuenténe men did amaze them againe, for then none being named, but many sodaynly taken, all were afrayde of the like, and therefore sought togither for defence. For vpon these proscriptions, some were by and by giuen in pray to euery man, and some being sure of themselues and desirous of the gaine, hunted out the other, to haue reward of the killers. The reste of the common sorte, some spoyled the houses of them that were killed, which profit drew their minds from common feeling of present mischief: some more temperate and mylde, were astonished and amazed. It seemed wonderful

to

to them to consider, that other Cities being vndone by sedition, haue bin preserued againe by agreement. This Citie, the deuision of the rulers hadde consumed, and their agreement brought it to desolation: some dyed resisting the killers, some withoute reuenge, as not knowing by whome they were maimed. There were some that killed themselues with voluntarie hunger, some vsed halters, some drowned their bodies, some threwe themselues downe from the house toppe, some leapt into the fyre, some offered themselues to the strykers, some tarryed when they were called, some hid and disgraced themselues vnseemelye, some resisted the euill, and thoughte to haue boughte it out: some beside the sentence of the three men, of ignorante or deceit, were dispatched (as it did appeare) by one that was slaine and not condemned, when the head was shewen.

Contrarie effects to former ciuill mitie.

The condemned persons heads were brought before the seats in the common place, that they that had brought them, might receiue their goods.

On the other syde, there was as much care and vertue, bothe of women, children, brethren and seruauntes, saueing and shifting for many, and dying with them, if they could not bring to passe what they ment, and some killed that came to kill them.

Of them that fledde, some were drowned in the Sea, For time being in all againste them: some beyonde all hope, retourned to offices in the Citie, to be Capitaines in warre and triumphes. Suche demonstration made that season of things to be wondred at. And these were done, not in a priuate Citie, nor in a weake and little kingdome, but in the masse mightye, and the Ladye of so manye nations, bothe by lande and sea. God himselfe did stirre it, to bring it to that good order, that nowe it is in.

God vvould haue it so.

There were suche thinges done of *Sylla*, and before him, of *Marius*, the chiefe of the which, I haue shewed in their liues, and then men laye vnburyed. But these doings for the worthynesse of these three men, especially for the vertue and fortune of one of them whiche brought the Empire to a sure seate, and left a stocke and name to them that nowe remaine after him, a man

Sylla. Marius.

may worthily think to be far of more importance, which, as they were more or lesse notable, and be more fresh in memorie, and lately done, I wil declare, yet not al (for they be not worthy the telling that touche the simple death & fleeing, of them that were pardoned of the three men, whiche after they returned, liued a life vnknowne) but the meste marueilous, that may make a man afrayd, and cause credite to that is spoken before. They be many, and many of the Romaines haue in many bookes, written these of themselues, of the which I wil shew briefely a fewe of the greatest in euerye sorte, for the reliefe of the same, and for the happynesse of the tyme that now is.

The euil began at the firste brunte, of them that were yet in office. And *Saluius* the Tribune was the firste that was kylled, whose power was sacred and sure by lawe, exceeding the reste, so as the Tribunes haue committed some Consuls to prison.

Saluius. Authoritie of Tribunes.

This was the Tribune that fyrste forbadde that *Antony* shoulde be declared an ennimye, after the whiche tyme he stucke altogither to *Cicero*.

Vnderstanding the intelligence of the three men, and they approche to the Cittie, hee made a feaste to his friendes, as one that shoulde not ofte so doe againe. The Souldioures running into the house, they arose with feare and trouble. The Captaine of the bande commaunded them to be quiet and still, but *Saluius*, as he sate, he toke by the beare, till he mighte dispatch hym, and vppon the table cutte off hys heade, and commaunded them within to make no businesse, leaste if anye trouble were rayse, they shoulde suffer the lyke, and they beeyng astonished, remained after the Captaine was gone, til midnight, with the Tribunes Corpse.

Saluius the Tribune kylled.

The seconde that was kylled, was *Minutius* a Pretor, setting in iudgement in the common place.

Minutius killed, that was a Pretor.

Vnderstandyng that the Souldioures were commyng, hee leapte downe, and thinking where he mighte hide hymselfe, hee chaunged hys garment, and ranne into a shoppe, sending awaye hys seruauntes and hys shewes of office.

They for reuerence and pitie, tarying stil, agaynst their wil, made

made the killers the eaſier to finde their maiſter.

Reuerence out of tyme.

Annalis an other Prætor (goyng about with his Sonne that labored to be a treaſurer, to ſew to them that gaue voyces) hys friendes that were with hym, and they that bare the maces of his office, vnderſtandyng he was condemned, forſoke hym. He fledde vnto a tenaunt of hys, whiche had a ſtraight and a homely houſe in the Suburbs, for all purpoſes very fitte, and was his ſafe, till hys Sonne, that thought he was fled thyther, brought the ſtrykers to the houſe, and was rewarded of the thræ menne with his Fathers goods, and choſen a Chamberlayne of the Citie, who, beyng after very dronke, and troubling the Souldiors, the ſame killed hym, that diſpatched his Father.

Annalis kylled.

A vvicked ſon kylled.

Choranius not now a Prætor, but one that had bene, and father of a young man that was vnthriftie, and myght doe much with *Antonie*, prayed the ſtrykers to ſpare his kyllyng a whyple till he might ſende hys ſonne to ſpeake to *Antony*, they laughed and ſayd, his ſonne had ſpoken, but it was to the contrarye. When the olde man heard that, he deſired them to tarrie till he had ſæne his daughter, whome when hæ ſawe, hæ commaunded to abſteine from hys goodes, leaſte hir brother ſhoulde ſeeke for hir death alſo to *Antony*. But he, hauyng conſumed all his ſubſtaunce in euil life, was attached of felony, and ſaued himſelfe by flyeng away.

Choranius kylled by the ſute of hys ſonne.

Cicero (who after *Caius Cæſar*, did direct all like a ruler alone in a popular ſtate, was proſcribed, with his ſonne, his brother, his nephew, his friends, familiars and adherents. Fleeyng by bote, he could not abyde ỹ ſickneſſe of the ſea, but returned to a place of his owne: whiche I for the remembraunce of hys miſfortune, did ſee aboute *Capua* a Cittie of *Italy*. When they that came to ſeeke hym were at hande (for, of all other, *Antonie* was moſte deſirous to haue hym, and all aboute *Antonie*, were ready to gette him) the Crowes came vnto hys houſe, and made ſuche a noyſe, as they waked him out of his ſlæpe, and drew out his garment frõ his body, that lay vpon him, til his ſeruants perceyuing the thyng, and taking it to bee a token from God, put *Cicero* in a litter, and ledde him toward the Sea, through a thicke wood,

Cicero kylled.

Cicero cannot abide the ſea ſickneſſe and returneth.

The Author goeth to ſee *Cicero* his houſe in the countrey.

Cicero vvarned by Crovves.

and

rode secreatly, and where as many did run on euery side, asking if they sawe *Cicero*, some for good will and pittie saide, he was gone and sailed ouer sea, but a shomaker tenaunt to *Clodie*, the sharpest enimie of *Cicero*, tolde *Læna* the Captayn where he went with a fewe. He ranne, and seing his seruants to be manye moe than he had broughte with him, and readye to defende him, hee cried very loude for a pollicie, make haste you bandeleaders that be behinde. Then *Ciceroes* seruaunts thinking they should haue bin ouerlaide, forsoke their maister.

A Shomaker betrayeth *Cicero*

Læna, whiche by *Ciceroes* helpe had bin before saued, pulled hys heade out of the Litter, and cut it off, hauing three strokes, and making three woundes for lacke of cunning. He cut off also his hande, with the whiche he wrote the orations againste *Antonie* as a Tyraune, in the whiche, he followed *Demosthenes*, that did the like againste *Philippe*. Some rode, some sailed to carry *Antony* the newes, and *Læna*, as he sate in the common place, toke the heade and the hande, and shewed it a farre off. He was maruellous ioyful, and crowned the Capitaine, and gaue him honoure with great gifts, that is to say, two hundred and fiftie thousand drammes of *Athens*, bycause he had dispatched his greatest and busiest enimy.

Læna, one famed by *Cicero*, kylleth hym.

The orations of *Cicero* called *Philippica*.

Post haste made to carrye *Antonyes* the newes of *Ciceroes* deathe.

Honors done to *Læna* for kyllyng of *Cicero*.

Cicero his head and his hande was sette vppe for a tyme in the common place before the Tribunall, where he was wonte to make orations, and more came to see it, than before to heare him.

After that *Augustus* had the rule of all, & founde one of hys Nephewes, vvyth a booke in hys hande vvhyche vvas of *Ciceroes* making the child vvas afraide to shevve it, but he vvould needes see it & reade it, and sayd: Child, this manne vvas learned, and a louer of hys countrey. And not long after hee tooke *Cicero* hys sonne to be hys fellowe in the Consulshippe, in vvhose tyme *Antonies* Images vvere throvvne dovvne, and a decree made that never anye of hys house should bee called *Marcus*. So in the ende, the reuengement of *Antonies* cruelte vvas appoynted by God, to the house of *Cicero*.

Ciceroes brother and his sonne kylled.

* *Quintus, Ciceroes* brother, and his sonne hæing taken, praised the

* *Cicero* his sonne is sent to *Brutus*.

strikers

ſtrikers, to kill him before his ſonne: but hys ſonne deſired the contrary. Wherefore, the ſouldiours promiſed bothe they? requeſtes, and takyng them aſunder, by a token killed them both at one inſtante. *Ignatius* the father and the ſonne, fightyng together, dyed of one wounde, and when their heades were ſtriken off, their bodies dio yet embrace. *Ignatius* father and the ſonne.

Balbus ſent his ſonne to the ſea, that they ſhoulde not be eſpied going together, and ſhortely after he followed alone, and when one tolde him, either of malice, or of ignorance, that his ſonne was taken, he went backe and ſent for his killers, and it chaunced that his ſon was drowned in the ſea. Such like calamitie can fortune giue. *Balbus* and hys ſonne.

Arruntius coulde hardelye perſwade his ſonne that would not lie without him, to ſaue himſelfe, bycauſe he was but yong. His mother ſent him afore to the gates, and then returned to burye hir husbande being killed, and when ſhe hearde ſhortely after, that hir ſonne was deade on the ſea, with hunger ſhe killed hirſelfe. *Arruntius* and his ſonne. His wyfe.

These be examples of good and euill children.

There were .ij. brethren condemned, called *Ligarij*, which beeing hidde, fell aſleepe, til one of them being found of hys ſeruants, was killed, and the other making eſcape, and hearing of hys brothers death, threwe himſelfe from the bridge into the riuer, whom e, when fyſhermen had ſaued, as one that fell by chance and not of purpoſe, he ſtroue a great while with them, that they ſhoulde not ſaue him, and threwe himſelfe vnder the water: but they being ſtronger than he, bringing him vppe ſafe, he ſaide, you haue not ſaued me, but put your ſelues in daunger of death with me, that am a condemned man: yet they hauing pittie of him, ſaued hym, til the ſouldiors that kepte the bridge ſaw it, and ran doiyn to cut off his heade. *Ligarij* two brethren.

Of two other brethren, one threw himſelfe into the riuer, his ſeruaunt ſeekyng his body fiue dayes after, whiche when he had founde, and knewe it was he, he cut off his head for the reward: The other brother being hid in a lakes, an other ſeruaunte did bewraye him. Two brethren.

The Souldioures refused to goe in, but with their weapons and Speares, pulled vp his body, and cutte off his head in suche case as it was.

Two brethren. Another vnderstanding that his brother was proscribed, and not knowing that hymselfe was so to, came and cryed, kyll me before hym. The Captayne knowyng the truth of the condemnation, thou makest a resonable requeste (quoth he) for thou wast condemned before hym, and so in order kylled them both.

And these be examples of brethren.

A good vvife hath euill lucke. *Ligarius* beyng hydde of hys wyfe, made one onely mayde priuie to it, and beyng betrayed of hir, she followed him that bare away hir husbandes head, crying, I must haue the like punishmente, because I haue hydde hym: and when none of the Souldyoures would kyll hyr, nor accuse hir, she went to bewray hir selfe to the Princes, and because they did not regarde hyr for pitie, she destroyed hir selfe with hunger. And hyr haue I thoughte good to note in thys place, because being willing to saue hir husbande and coulde not, she kylled hyr selfe with hunger: but they that had good lucke for their good loue to theyr husbandes, I wyll wyghte among them that saued theyr husbandes.

An euill vvife. Other there were that wickedly dyd betray theyr husbandes, and of them one that was married to *Septimius*, whyche was corrupted in loue of a friende of *Antonyes*, who being desirous, of hys harlot, to be made his wife, caused hym to speake to *Antony* to haue hir, and forthwith was *Septimius* condemned, which thing he learning of his wife, and ignorant of his euill at home, fledde to hir, and she seeming to be carefull to keepe him, shutte the dores, and hydde hym tyll the strikers came, and in one daye he was kylled, and she married.

Salassius. *Salassius* fledde, and beyng wythout hope, in the myghte returned to the Citie, to abyde tyll the sharpenelle of the time myghte ceasse. He came to his house that was solde, and onely his housekeeper, (who was sold with the house) knew him, who broughte hym to hys lodge, and promised to keepe hym, and hidde him to his power. He badde him call his wife from the other part of the house,

house, she answering, she durst not come, fearing his mayde myghte suspect somewhat by myghte, sayde, she woulde be wyth hym in the morning. When day was come, she called ỳ strikers. The Porter ranne to the house to call his mistresse, bycause he thought she tarried to long.

Salassus beyng afrayde of his Porters long absence, was in doubte of deceyte, and wente vp to the toppe of the house, from the whyche, when he sawe, not hys Porter, but hys wyfe bynging the strikers, he cast hymselfe to the grounde. Built vvise.

Fulvius fledde to a woman seruaunte, whome fyrste he kepte, after made hir free, and gaue a dowrie to marrie hir: she hauing receyued these benefytes, for iealousie of another woman whome he had married, betrayed hym. *Fulvius* betrayd.

These examples may be for euill wiues.

Statius the *Samnite*, that in the fellowes warre had done many thinges for the *Samnites*, and for the excellencie of his feates, blond, and riches, beyng chosen into the Romaine Senate, and nowe foure score yeares of age, was condemned for his riches: he opened his house to the people, and suffered his seruauntes to take what they would, and something he threwe out, till it was noyde, then he set it on fyre, and shut it, and burned in it, and the fire did consume many other places of the Citie. *Statius.*

Capio for the most part keeping his doores open, killed al them that forced to come in, one after another, at length oppressed with the multitude, he alone, hauing killed many, dyed. Part of the Kingdome of *Naples* called *Abruzzo.* *Capio.*

Vitulinus gathered a greate number of men aboute *Reggio*, of such as were condemned, and other fledde with them, and from the eyghteene Cities that were giuen in pray to the Souldioures, which were greuously offended. *Vitulinus* hauing these, killed ỳ ordinarie bands that were sent to take them, till a greater army was sent, and then he gaue not ouer, but went into *Sicelie* to *Pompey*, who held that Iland, and receyued such as fledde vnto hym, where he did serue very valiantly, til after many fightes he was ouercome: yet hauing sent his sonne, and all the condemned men with him to *Messina*: when hee sawe the shippes to be arriued, he fell on his enimies, and was cut in peeces. *Vitulinus*: *Reggio* in the ende of *Italy*, next *Sicelie*. *Messina*, the chiefe porte Towne of *Sicelie*, next *Italy*.

Naso. *Naso*, being betrayed of a seruant, whome he loued and hadde made free, toke a sworde from one of the souldiours, and onely killing the traytour, offered himselfe to the strikers. A seruante that loued hys Maister, kepte him safe in an hill, and went to the sea, to hyre him a boate. After his returne, perceiuing hys Maister to be killed, he cried aboue vnto him, hauing yet a little life, staye a while, O Maister (quoth he) and sodainlye stroke the Capitayne and killed hym: then commyng agayne to his Maister, killed himselfe, saying: O Maister thou haste receiued comfort.

Lucius. *Lucius* gaue his golde to two of his moste faithfull seruantes, whome he had made free, and went to the sea, where they seeing from him, hee returned, and not caring for hys lyfe, offered hymselfe to the quellers.

Labienus. *Labienus*, who in *Syllas* tyme had taken and killed manye that were then proscribed, might well be reproued, if he had not suffered the like valiantly. He went out of his house, tare vp one in his chaire, and tarried for the killers.

Cestius. *Cestius* in the Countrey was hidde of hys good seruauntes, the Souldiours euer running about in seruices vayne, mouing heades: he coulde not abide the continuaunce of the feare, but badde his seruauntes make a fyre, and (like mad men) slaye them, saye *Cestius* was killed and there buried. When they hadde made the fyre readye, hee leapte into it.

Apponius. *Apponius* hiding hymselfe farely, coulde not abide the emilliet, but offered himselfe to the sworde.

Another willinglye offered himselfe openlye, and because the strikers tarryed, hee chaunged hymselfe in the middest of them.

Lucius. *Lucius* father in lawe to *Asinius*, then Consull, fledde vnto the Sea, the tediousnesse whereof not able to abide, he leapte into the water.

Sisinius. *Sisinius* fleeing awaye, and crying that hee was not condemned, but followed of them, to be betrayed for hys money, they brought him to the doore, and badde hym reade hys own name, whyche when they hadde done, they dispatched him.

Aemilius. *Aemilius* not knowing he was condemned, seeing the follow one

gue-

another, asked ỳ Captayne who was condemned: the Captaine lokyng him in the face, sayde, Thou and he, and so killed them bothe.

Cilo and *Decius* comming out of the Senate house, and knowing they were condemned, and their names in the booke, no man folowyng them, they fledde vnsemely to the gates, and their runnyng, bewrayed themselues to the Captaynes. *Icilius* that fauoured *Brutus* & *Cassius*, and *Octauius Cæsar* being present with his armie at the assemblie, and other giuyng voyce secretely to their condemnation, onely he openly gaue to the absolution, and hidde himselfe with great minde and trust of libertie, and when he saw a dead body caried forth, he wente among them that bare the bere. The warders at the gate perceyuing there were more men than were wonte to beare a corpse, hauing no regarde of the bearers, searched the bere, thinking there had bene no dead mã in it: wherfore the bearers being angry with *Icilius*, bicause he was none of their cõpany, the strikers knew him and killed him. *Cilo* and *Decius*. *Icilius*.

Varus beyng betrayde of his frẽ made man, fledde, and went from hill to hill till he came to the fenne of *Minturne*, in the whiche he toke his rest. The *Minturnians* searching ỳ fenne for a thefe, the toppes of the reedes wauering bewrayed *Varus*, who being taken, he cõfessed he was a felon, vpon the whiche he was condemned and ledde away, and when he should haue bene racked with the other offendors, abhorring that vile maner, he sayde: *Varus*. *Minturne* where *Marius* was hidde.

You of *Minturne*, I warne you, neither to racke me nor kill me, hauing bene a Consull of *Rome*, and condemned now of the Princes, whiche is more to my honour: for if I can not flee, it shal be better for me to suffer with mine equals. They not beleeuing him, and distrustyng hys tale, the Captayne came, and cut of his head, leauing his bodie with them.

Certen that toke *Largus* in the countrie, not seekyng him but an other, hauing pitie to kill him whom they sought not, gaue him leaue to flee into the woodde, and he beyng folowed of other, came backe agayne to the first, to whom he sayde: kyll *Largus*.

you me, who may haue the reward, deseruyng it for hauing pitie of me. So dyyng, he requited them with lyke humanitie.

Rufus. An house.

Rufus hauyng a very fayre house nighe to *Fuluia Antonies* wife, which she wouldde euer haue bought, and he then denied hyr, nowe offryng it in gifte, was yet condemned, whose head when it was brought to *Antonie*, he sayde it appertayned not to hym, but sente it to hys wyfe: she commaunded it to be hanged vp at the house, in stæde of the common place.

A Vineyarde.

An other had a fayre shadowed Vineyarde, and a goodly caue in it, deepe and large, for the whiche peraduenture he was condemned. It was hys chaunce to refreshe himselfe in the Caue. When the quellers came yet a farre of, his seruant put hym in the secrete place of the denne, and put on hys maisters garment, sayeng to be he, and in feare, and hap lyke inough to haue bene killed, if one of hys felowes had not bewrayed hys craft. The Mayster beyng killed, the people toke it grieuously before the Princes, and ceased not till the bewrayer was hanged, and he that would haue saued his Mayster, made free.

A good seruant rewarded, and an euill punished.

Arterius.

Arterius beyng hid, hys seruaunt betrayed, and being made free, had all the substaunce from his maysters children, and vsed them with despite. They with silence folowed hym in euery place weeping. The people detesting this iniurie, caused that the three men made him that was now so rich, to be bonde againe to the children of the condemned father.

An euill seruant well serued.

And thus much touching men.

Orphanes.

The poore Orphanes also had diuerse fortune at this time: of the whiche, one goyng to his schoolemaster, was killed, with his leader that embraced the childe and would not let him go.

Atilius.

Atilius, hauyng on nowe his robe of perfect yeares, went (as the maner was) with a company of his friends to the temples to sacrifice: Sodenly, being knowen to be condemned, his friends and his seruants forsoke him. He being alone, and left, of all the company, went to his mother, who durst not receyue him for feare: and he not entending to proue any other after his mother, fledde into an hill, where being driuen with hunger to

go

go into the playne, mette with a theefe, that vsed to robbe in the wayes, & of him by force was made to folow that worke: The childe brought vp in dayntinesse, and not able to abide that payne, ranne into the high way in his purple robe to the Souldiours, to bewray himselfe, of whom he was killed.

A childe bewrayeth himselfe.

After these were done, *Lepidus* triumphed of *Iberia*, and propounded a decree after this maner:

The triumph of *Lepidus*. *Iberia*, *Spayne*.

For good fortune be it imputed to all men and women, that this present day do make holy and feastfull: He that shall not serue so to do, be he among the condemned men.

Decree of *Lepidus* at his triumphe.

He made his triumphe to the Temples, all sortes folowing him with pleasant shewe and grieued minde.

The goodes of the attaynted men were set to sale to their neighbours, but there were fewe that would buy any of them. Some were ashamed to encrease their euill fortune, & thought it woulde not alwayes so continue, nor sure for them to lette their golde and siluer be seene, nor their possessions, now without daunger, by hauing more to put all in peril. Onely some of a boldnesse came forth, and because they onely bought, they had it for little: but where the three menne hoped this woulde haue suffised, and had yet nede of much more, they declared it openly, and condemned a thousand. iiij. C. women, which were thought most riche, & these muste nedes be punished to beare the charge of their warre, euery one as muche as shoulde please the three men. A paine was appointed to them that hid any thing, or did vnder value themselues: and to the declarers of the same, a reward propounded, both for free and bonde. The women sought to sue to the Princes by such women as were in moste estimation with them. Of *Cæsars* sister, nor of *Antonies* mother, they were not refed. But *Fuluia*, *Antonies* wife, shut hir doores vpon them, which despight taking grieuously, they came into the common place, and aproching to the seate of the Princes, the people and the Souldiours standing about them, *Hortensia* beyng appoynted, spake thus: As it was seemely for vs silly women, we haue sued to your wiues, and hauyng suffered of *Fuluia*, that was vnsemely, we be come from hir into the common place.

Goodes set to sale.

VVomen of *Rome* condēned.

Fuluia reiecteth the vvomē that sued to hir. She vvas *Antonies* vvyfe and cause of muche stryfe, and vvith sorovv ended hir lyfe.

Oration of *Hortensia*.

You,

You haue taken from vs our Fathers, our Husbandes, our Brethren and children, pretending that they haue done you iniurie, and after you haue spoyled them of all togither, you doe oppresse vs, to the rebuke and disgrace of the kinde and condition of womens nature. If we haue done you iniurie, as you say our husbandes haue done, then proscribe vs as you did thē. But if we women, haue made none of you enimie, nor taken none of your houses, nor corrupted none of your armies, nor ledde against you any other, nor letted you to take what office & honour you would, why be we partakers of the punishment, that were no workers of the iniurie? why are wee enforced, that haue not dealt at all, neyther with office, honour, armie, nor common wealth, whiche by you, is nowe brought to suche calamitie? If you say, bycause of the warre: when had we no warre? or when did women cause the warre, whome, nature among al men hath released from the same? Our Mothers once beyonde their nature, did further it, when the Citie and the whole state was in extreme daunger by the violence of them of *Carthage*. And then willingly they did contribute, not of their lande, their houses, their dowries or possessions, without the whiche the free can not liue, but only of their Iewels and Ornamentes, not for any punishment, neither by information nor accusation, nor of force nor violence, but what they themselues would. What feare haue any of you now, eyther of your rule, of your countrie. If the warre of the *French*, or of the *Parthians*, be at hande, you shall finde vs no worse, than our Mothers, for the safetie of our countrie. As for Ciuill war, neyther haue we moued, neyther haue conferred with you, one agaynst an other. We haue not dealt, neyther with *Cæsar* nor *Pompey*: *Marius* nor *Cinna* did neuer compell vs, no not *Sylla* that was a tyranne to his countrie. You say you will reforme the common wealth.

The Matrones of *Rome* did giue their Iewels to help the Citie.

When *Hortensia* had sayde thus muche, the three men were grieued, that women (men beyng silent) shoulde be so bolde to make open Orations, and examine the doings of Princes, and that they should not giue their monie, bicause men wente to warre,

warre. Wherefore they commaunded the Sergeantes to putte them from the barre, till a greate noyse being made without of the people, the Sergeants ceassed: and the Princes sayde, they would deferre the matter till the morning. *Heresie put to silence.*

The nexte day they condemned foure hundred women, in stead of a thousande foure hundred, in the valuation of their goodes. Then it was decréed, that euery man that had more than tenne Milions, as well Citizen, straunger, fréemade man, religious, as all sortes, sparing none, and that with the like feare of punishment, and the like penalties, they should giue the fiftith parte of their goodes, as an interest to them, and pay a yearely tribute for the warre. And as these by commaundement were put vpon the *Romaines*, so the armye with contempt did worse: for where the Princes in these doings had their only trust in them, they craued of them house, land, possession, and whole substance of the confiscated persons. Some required to be adopted children to those men. Some deuised other shiftes: for they killed them that were not condemned, and chalenged their houses that were not accused: in so muche, as the Princes commaunded one of the Consuls to make correction of things done, otherwise than was commaunded. But he being afrayde to touch the Souldioures, leaste he should prouoke them againste him, put to deathe a fewe Seruantes, that wente abroade in Souldioures manner. And these were the chiefe (to the ende) of the calamities of the condemned men. Nowe, what (contrary to all hope,) hapned to some, to theyr safetie of the suddayne, and to honor at length, it shall delighte me to wright, and be a pleasure for other to heare, that for no aduersitie they should giue ouer hope. *A Milion is heere tenne thousand. The Italian, and P. Candidus text, is not true heere. A decree touching men. Rage of Souldioures. Hope not to be giuen ouer.*

They that could escape, fledde to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and to *Cornificius* in *Libya*, who toke the peoples part. *Brutus. Cassius. Cornificius.*

Many wente into *Sicelie*, an Ile nigh *Italie*, where *Pompey* receyued them very gladly, for he shewed moste notable care for the afflicted sorte, sending cryers abroade to call all sortes to him, and to them that coulde saue any, whyther they were frée or bonde, he propounded rewards double, so muche as the killers had. Boates and Shippes of burthen did méete them that *Pompey.* Nobleneste of yong *Pompey.*

sayled, and Galleys beeyng full at euery shore, shewed tokens to them that went amisse, and saued all that they mette. He receyuing them that came, gaue them raymente and liuing forthwyth. The worthy sorte he vsed in hys army or his nauie: and when the three men and he shoulde make a truce, he woulde neuer graunte to it, tyll they that were come to hym, shoulde be comprised in it. So was he moste profitable to hys afflicted Countrey, and wanne greate glory to hymselfe, not inferioure to that hee hadde of hys father. Others, beeyng otherwise fledde or hydden tyll the truce, some in fieldes, some in graues, and some in the Citie, lyued with sharpe paynes. There were loues incredible shewed of Women to theyr Husbandes due, and of chyldren towarde theyr fathers, and of Seruauntes, against nature, to their maisters: the which as they be moste notable, I will declare.

Paulus saued.

Paulus, brother to *Lepidus*, (the Captaynes hauyng reuerence vnto hym, as a brother of a Prince) with theyr leaue sayled to *Brutus*, and after to *Milete*, at the whiche place, peace not yet beeyng made, hee obteyned returne, and was called home, but woulde not.

Milete a citie in the endes of Ionia and Caria.

Lucius.

Lucius, Uncle to *Antonie*, *Antonyes* mother kepte hym not hydde, beeyng hyr brother, the Captaynes for the moste parte honouryng hyr as the mother of a chiefe ruler, but after, they vsing violence, she came forthe into the common place, and to *Antony* that sate wyth the other Princes, she sayde:

A good sister.

I confesse (O Prince) that I haue receyued *Lucius*, that I haue hym yet, and will keepe hym, till thou kill vs both together, for the lyke payne is appoynted to the receyuers.

Antonies words to his mother.

She reproued hir, as a good sister, but as an vnkynde mother, for that shee ought not to saue *Lucius*, but shoulde haue stopped hym, when he iudged hyr Sonne an enimie, neuertheleſſe, he caused *Plancus* the Consull, to decree hys reuocation.

Messala.

Messala a noble yong man, fledde to *Brutus*. The three men fearing his wisedome, wrote thus:

Since

Since the frienᵈes of *Meſſala* ᵭothe affyrme vnto vs, that hée was not a medler when *Caius Cæſar* was killed, we put hym out of the proſcribed number. But he ᵭyd not accepte the pardon, but when *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were killed aboute *Thrace*, the armye whyche remaynyed greate, hauing Shyppes, money, and good hope, wouldc haue hadde *Meſſala* to bée theyr Captayne, who refuſed it, and perſuaded them to gyue place to aduerſe fortune, and to ioyne wyth *Antony*. Wherefore hée was in greate credite with *Antonie*, and agréed wyth hym, tyll hée reproued hym for hys wanton dealing wyth *Cleopatra*, and then he wente to *Cæſar*, who made hym Conſull in *Antonyes* place, when hée was agayne declared an enimie, after hée ᵭydde fyghte agaynſte *Antonie* in the battell by Sea at *Actio*.

A letter of the three men.

Meſſala.

Actio, a forclād of *Epirus*.

Cæſar ſente hym agaynſte the Frenche that reuolted, and graunted hym to triumph for the victorie.

Cæſar ſent.

Bibulus alſo was accepted to *Antony*, with *Meſſala*, and was an Admirall for *Antony*, and wente agaynſte *Cæſar* when they warred togyther, and beyng Preſidente of *Syria* vnder *Antony*, there he ᵭyed.

Bibulus.

Acilius fledde from the Citie ſecretely, and béeyng betrayed of hys Seruaunte to the Souldyoures, hée perſuaded them in hope of muche money, to ſende ſome of them to his wyfe, wyth a token whyche he toke them. She brought vnto them all hyr ſtore, ſaying, ſhe ᵭyd delyuer all vnto them, as though they would performe theyr promiſe: but yet ſhée knewe not whether they would or no, but ſhe was not decepued of thys good liking, for they hyred a ſhippe for *Acilius*, and ſente him into *Sicelie*.

Acilius and his good wyfe.

Lentulus, béeyng deſired of hys wyfe to flée wyth hym, and diligentlye attendyng on hym, he, for that hée would not putte hyr to the daunger, fledde ſecretely into *Sicelie*, where béeyng made a Lieutenaunte of *Pompey*, hée ſente hyr worde howe hée was eſcaped, and in office. She hearyng where hyr huſbande was, ſecretely lefte hyr mother, who had good eye

Lentulus and his good wyfe.

vpon hir, and wyth two Seruauntes wyth greate payne and wante, she as a slaue went, till she came to *Messina* from *Reggio* aboute nyghte, and easilie learning where the Lieutenantes Tente was, she founde *Lentulus*, not as a Lieutenant, but with a poore bedde layde vppon the grounde, and simple dyet, for desire of hir.

Apuleius and his good vvife.

Apuleius wife threatned she woulde bewray hym, if he fledde alone, wherefore againste his will he toke hir with him, and it was his happe in that fleeing, not to be suspect, going openly wyth his wife, his men, and his maides.

Antius and his good vvife.

Antius his wife, wrapped hir husbande in a couering, and by that meane sent him with the Carriers to the Sea, from whence he fledde into *Sicelie*.

Reginus and his good vvife.

Reginus wife, put hir husband in the night into a filthy sincke, into the which the Souldioures would not go in the day, for the sauoure.

The next night she cladde him like a Colyer, and gaue him an Asse to carie his coles, and she folowed a little after in a litter: which when the warders sawe, suspecting some man to be in the litter, searched it: whereof *Reginus* being afraide, ranne backe, and as a straunger, prayed a souldioure to be good to the women. He angerly answering him as a Colier, knew him notwithstanding, (for he hadde serued vnder him once in *Syria*,) and sayde, goe boldly (O Captayne) for so it becommeth me yet to call thee.

Scoponius.

Scoponius wife obteyned him of *Antony*, and beeyng till that time of good fame, did now heale one euill fortune with another.

Geta a good sonne.

Geta his sonne made a fire in the open parte of his house, to burie his father that seemed to be dead, whome he had hidde in a house in the Countrey newe made, where the olde man disguising hym selfe, layde a parchment before hys eyes, and after the agreement was made, he toke away the parchment, but founde his eye out for lacke of vse.

Eye lost for lacke of vse.

Oppius a good sonne.

Oppius sonne, minding to tarrie with his olde feeble father, bare him on his backe, till he was past the gates, and the rest of the way, partly leading him, and partly bearing him, he broughte hym safe to *Sicelie*, no man suspecting, or troubling the manner of it:

it: As they wright that *Aeneas* was reuerenced of his enimies, when he bare his Father *Anchises*. The people of *Rome* commendyng the young manne, caused that afterwarde he was made Chamberlayne of the Citie. And bycause hée coulde not beare the charges of his office, for that hys goodes were confiscate, the artificers freely gaue hym to supply the same. And the people that behelde hys shewes, did euery man caste so muche money into the game place, as they made him riche. *Aeneas. Anchises.* Kindnesse of Commons.

Arianus caused to be grauen on his Sepulchre by hys Testament thus: Him, that lieth here, his sonne (that was not proscribed) did hide, being condemned, and steyng with him, saued his life. *Arianus* his good Sonne. An Epitaph.

Metellus the Father and the Sonne, the Father was a Captayne vnder *Antonie* at *Actio*, where he was taken prysoner, and vnknowen: his Sonne serued *Cæsar*, and was a Capitaine at the same fielde. When *Cæsar* did gyue sentence vppon the captiues at *Samo*, the yong man was presente: The olde manne being brought forth all forlorne with long heare, miserie and wante, and all transformed by the same, when in order of the captiues, he was called of the crier, hys Sonne lepte from hys seate, and embraced his Father, (whome he scarsly knew) with teares, and when he had ceased from sorowe, hée sayde to *Cæsar*: This hath bene thine enimie O *Cæsar*, and I thy friende, him thou muste punishe, and me rewarde: I desire thée to saue my Father for mée, or lette me die for hym. Euery man takyng pittie, *Cæsar* commaunded *Metellus* to be saued, though he were hys very enimie, and afore despysing many gyftes, to be drawne from *Antonie*. *Metellus* father and sonne. *Samo* an Ile ouer agaynst *Actio*. A good Sonne.

The seruauntes of *Marcius* with good loue and Fortune, all the tyme of the proscription, dyd kéepe hym within hys house, till feare set aside, *Marcius* came out of his house, as from banishment. *Marcius* and his good seruaunts.

Hirtius wyth hys menne fléeyng the Cittie, wente aboute *Italie*, deliuered prysoners, and gathered them togither that fledde, and toke townes, a few at the firste, after moe in num-

 Hirtius.

ber till he had a sufficient armie, and ouercame a parte of the
Brutians in Calabria. *Brutians*, from whence sendyng his army, he sayled with them al to *Pompey*.

Restio and a good seruaunt.

Restio, that thoughte he fledde alone, a Seruaunte followed hym secretelye, beeyng broughte vppe of hym, and aforetyme well vsed, but after, for euill conditions, brāded.

When *Restio* rested in a Fenne, and did see this Seruaunte so nighe hym, he was afrayde: to whome the Seruaunte sayde, that hee did not so much remember his present brandes, as hee dyd his former benefites: and so caused hym to repose in a caue, and prouided meate for hym, as well as hee couldee: and after that the Caue was suspected, and Souldyours drewe nighe to *Restio* where hee was, the Seruaunte perceyuyng the matter, followed and killed an olde man that passed by, and cutte off hys heade: the Souldiours beyng angrye, and commyng aboute to take the killer, hee sayde, I haue kylled my Mayster *Restio*, that gaue mee these brandes. They toke the heade, to haue the reward, and caryed it in vayne into the Citie. The Seruaunt comforted hys Mayster and sayled with hym into *Sicelie*.

Appion and a good seruant.

Appion resting in a stable, the Souldiours sought hym: his seruaunt put on his garment, and lay vppon his bedde and willingly receyued death for hys Mayster, he sittyng by him in the forme of a seruaunt,

Memmius and a good seruaunt.

Memmius house was soughte of the Souldiours, one of whose Seruauntes wente into a litter, hys fellowes bearyng hym as he hadde bene theyr Maister, and beeyng taken, he was contente to die for his Maister, who fledde into *Sicelie*.

Iunius and a good seruaunt.

Iunius hadde a free made manne, *Philemon*, who hadde a fayre house, where hee kepte hys Mayster in a vaughte, in whiche they are wonte to laye Harnesse, Money, or Wrytinges, and fedde hym in the nyghte, tyll the Peace was made.

Ano-

An other frée made man, kéepyng the Sepulchre of hys Maſter, did alſo preſerue his Maiſters Sonne in the ſame graue, together with his Father.

Lucretius wandering with two faythfull ſeruauntes, for lacke of meate, returned to hys wyfe, beyng borne in a litter of hys ſeruauntes, into the Citie, as a ſicke man: when it happened that one of the ſeruaunts had broken hys legge, hée wente on with the other, tyll hée came to the gates, where hys Father afore beyng proſcrybed of *Sylla*, was taken. The Souldiours commyng aboute hym, hée was muche afrayde for the lucke of the place, wherefore hée ſledde with a ſeruaunte, and was hydde of hym in a graue, and chaunſing that robbers of Sepulchers dyd ſearche graues, the ſeruaunt offered hymſelfe to bée ſpoyled of the robbers, whyles the maiſter ſledde to the gates, and tarried tyll hys ſeruaunt came to hym, whoſe garmentes hée put on, and wente to hys wyfe, vnder whoſe care beyng kepte, hée was hidde betwene two beames, till hée was pardoned, by meanes made for him of ſome, to the thrée menne. And after peace was made, he had the office of a Conſull. *Lucretius.*

Sergius was hydde of *Antonie* hymſelfe, tyll hée hadde perſwaded *Plancus* the Conſull to proclayme hys reuocation agayne. In the diſſention of *Cæſar* and *Antonie*, when *Antonie* was declared enimye of the Senate, hée onely openly gaue voyce for hys acquitall. *Sergius.*

And thus theſe were ſaued.

Pomponius decked hymſelfe lyke a Prætor, and hys ſeruants, lyke the Sergeaunts, and ſo went thorough the Citties wyth his maces and Officers rounde aboute hym, that hée ſhould not bée knowne: and at the gates hée toke publyque coaches, and wente thorough *Italie*, euery manne receyuyng hym, and ſendyng to hym as a Prætor appoynted of the thrée menne, to make truce wyth *Pompey*, to whome alſo hée came in a publike Galley. *Pomponius.*

Apuleius and *Aruntius* counterfaiting themſelues to be Capitaynes, *Apuleius. Aruntius.*

pitaynes, and their seruauntes Souldiours, ranne to the gates as Capitaynes, and pursued others, and by the way, they deliuered prysoners, and receyued suche as came to them: so as eyther of them had a sufficient bande, with Ensignes and armour, and shoe of an army. And chancing that by diuerse wayes they went toward the Sea, they bothe camped in one hil, with great feare lokyng one to another.

In the morwyng, not hauyng clére sight, and thinkyng that eyther of them had bene sente to destroy the other, they fought it out very fiercely, tyll they knewe the truthe. Then repenting that déede, they threw away their weapõs, and wayled that fortune shoulde be so contrarie to them, and toke shippe, the one saylyng to *Brutus*, the other to *Pompey*. And he went on with *Pompey*: and the other, vnder *Brutus* was president of *Bythinia*, and when *Brutus* was dead, deliuered it to *Antonie*, and was saued.

Ventidius good seruauntes.

A seruaunt of *Ventidius*, when he was firste condemned, put him in fetters, as though he woulde haue deliuered hym to the killers: in the night he perswaded hys felowes, and cladde them lyke Souldiours, and his mayster lyke a Capitaine, and wente out lyke a bande appoynted, and brought his mayster out of the Citie, passing through *Italy* into *Sicelie*, many tymes méeting other Capitaynes that sought *Ventidius*.

Another hidde hys mayster in a Sepulchre, and when hée coulde not abyde the fearfulnesse of fansie in the Sepulchre, hée hidde him in an homely house, nyghe the whiche a Souldiour dwellyng, he coulde not abyde that feare neyther: Wherefore turnyng from feare to extréme boldenesse, he shaued hys head, and played the schoolemayster in *Rome* till the truce.

Volutius. The priestes of *Isis* were clad with a garment that had a dogs head.

Volutius being *Aedile*, was condemned. He hauyng friendshyp with a Priest of *Isis*, borowed a stole and a vesture downe to the foote, and put on a dogges heade, and in that maner of furious seruice, passed safe to *Pompey*.

Caleni. in *Campania*. *Sittius*.

The *Calenians* dyd kéepe *Sittius* the Citizen, that had liberally spent of his substance vpon them, & with weapons warded him, rebuking his seruants, & kéeping the soldiours frõ the walles, till

the

the furye beeyng paſte, they ſent to the three men for him, and obtayned that *Sittius* excluded from the reſt of *Italy*, ſhould remaine in his countrey. So *Sittius* is the firſte and onelye man, that as a ſtraunger, was an outlawe in his owne countrey. A banished man in his countrey.

Varro a Philoſopher, and a writer of Hiſtories, hauing done good ſeruice in the warres, and in place of a Lieutenaunt, and therefore peraduenture as an enimie to the Monarchie, was condemned. His frends beeyng deſirous to receiue him, and contending for hym, *Calenus* obtayned hym, and kept him at his Vineyarde, whither *Antony* came ſometyme to walke, and yet neuer a one within, did bewraye *Varro*, neyther of hys owne ſeruaunts, or of *Calenus*. *Varro*. It is ſaide, that *Antony* pardoned *Varro* with theſe wordes, *Viuat Varro vir doctiſſimus*.

Virginius an eloquent man, taughte his ſeruauntes, that if they kylled him for a little money, and that with danger, they ſhoulde get hate, and at lengthe be in great feare: but if they ſaued him, they ſhould win ſure glory, good hope, and hereafter money muche more abundant and certaine. Wherefore they fled with him, as with their fellowe ſeruaunte, and in the way beeing knowne, they fought with the ſouldiours: and he being taken of them, tolde them alſo, that they woulde not kill hym for anye malice, but for onelye hope of money, which they ſhoulde haue more iuſtlye and plentifullye, if they would go with hym to the ſea, where (quoth he) my wife hathe a ſhippe with mony. They being perſuaded, brought hym to the ſea: his wife, as ſhee was appointed, came to the ſea, and becauſe hir huſbande tarryed, thinking he had bin gone to *Pompey*, ſhe went hir way, leauing a ſeruãt on ſhore to ſhewhim ſo. Whẽ *Virginius* was come, the ſeruant ranne vnto him, and ſhewed him where his ſhippe ſayled, what his Maiſtreſſe ſaid of the money, and that he was left behinde to tell him. The ſouldiours perceiuing al to be true, *Virginius* deſired them to ſtaye, til he might call his wife backe, or goe with him to hir for their mony. They toke a boate, and with great labour rowed him into *Sicelie*, where receyuing their promiſe, they woulde not goe from him, but tarryed with him till the ende. *Virginius*.

A certaine Sparriner receyued *Rebulus* into a ſhippe, to goe *Rebulus*.

into *Sicelie*, and required his mony, which if he had not, he would accuse him, that he didde, as *Themistocles* did, when he fledde, that is, threatned he would accuse him, for receyuing him for mony: wherefore, the Mariner was afrayde, and broughte him vnto *Pompey*.

Themistocles.

Murcus.

Murcus being a Lieutenante vnder *Brutus*, was condemned, and when *Brutus* was ouercome, he was taken, and made himselfe as a seruant, whome *Barbula* bought, and perceyuing him to be apte, made him chiefe of his fellowes, and gaue him money to beskowe: and when he sawe him still more wise and diligent than the common nature of seruantes, he put him in hope, that if he were one of the proscribed men, he woulde saue him, if he woulde confesse it. He denying it earnestly, and declaring his stocke, his name, and former maysters, he caried him to *Rome*, thinking, if he had bene a condemned man, he woulde haue refused to goe. But he followed chearefully, and being at the gates of the Consuls house, a friend of *Barbulas* that sawe *Murcus* in seruile maner wayting vpon him, did secretly tell him in his eare. He (by *Agrippa*) obteined of *Cæsar*, that *Murcus* was pardoned, and remained friende to *Cæsar*. Not long after, it happened that he was a Captaine in the warre againste *Antonie*, at *Actio*, and *Barbula* was a Capitayne of *Antonies*, where fortune came about to bothe alike. For, when *Antonie* was ouerthrowen, he was taken, and counterfeyted to be a seruant, whome *Murcus* bought as ignorant. But shewing all to *Cæsar*, he obteyned hys pardon, and so requited his former benefit. So these fortune was like on both sides, and so continued: for they were officers togither in one dignitie at *Rome*.

Barbula.

Equali fortune.

Balbinus fleeing, and retourning with *Pompey*, and being made Consull, it hapned that *Lepidus* of so great a Prince being made a priuate man by *Cæsar*, came to this necessitie, þ when *Mæcenas* did accuse *Lepidus* his sonne of conspiracie againste *Cæsar*, and also accused the mother, as consenting to hir sonne, and *Lepidus* himselfe, as a weake man, he despised: the sonne he sent to *Cæsar*, to *Actio*: for the mother, bicause she was a woman, and not to be caryed, he required suretie to be putte before the Consull. But

Balbinus.

Lepidus deposed.

Mæcenas.

when

when no man would be hir suretie, *Lepidus* wayted many times at *Balbinus* dores, and comming where he sate in Iudgemente, and being ofte repulsed of the officers, at length (with much ado) he spake thus:

The accusers do confesse mine innocencie, affirming, that I am neyther consenting to my wife nor my sonne. I diode not proscribe thée, when I was one of the Proscribers. Haue respect vnto the chaunces of the worlde: and to me, that attende vpon thée, giue this grace, that eyther my wife may goe to *Cæsar* vpon my suretie, or I be bounde to goe with hyr. *Lepidus* sute for his wife.

Whiles *Lepidus* spake this, *Balbinus* considering the mutation, deliuered the wife of hir bonde.

Yong *Cicero* was sent of his father into *Grecia*, foreseing what would come. From *Greece* he went to *Brutus*, & after *Brutus* death, to *Pompey*, & with both was honoured with the place of a Lieutenaunt. And after them, *Cæsar*, to clére himself of *Ciceros* iniurie, made him straight the Bishop, and not long after, Consul, and President of *Syria*. And whē *Cæsar* ouercame *Antony* at *Actio*, he was yet Consul, and *Cæsar* wrote to him of it, which Letters he readde to the people of *Rome*, and sate in that seate of Iustice, where his fathers head was put. *Cicero* the son. The Bishops of old Rome were Magistrates & Iudges of religion.

Appius diuided his substance among his seruants, and sayled with them into *Sicelie*. They watching for his mony, a storm rysing, put him into a boate, that they might saple with the more saketie: but it chaunced, that he in the boate was saued beyonde all hope, and they drowned with theyr shippe. *Appius.*

Publius, a treasurer of *Brutus*, and of the familie of *Antony*, was requested to forsake *Brutus*, which bicause he would not do, he was proscribed: yet he returned, and was a friende to *Cæsar*, and when *Cæsar* came to him, he woulde shewe him *Brutus* picture, for the which he was praysed of *Cæsar*. *Publius.*

These things, beyonde hope, happening to the proscribed men, both in daunger and saketie, many moe being omitted, I thought chiefe to be declared.

When matters had thus passed in *Rome*, all the places about, for these troubles, were ful of enimies, & great warres fell out:

In *Libya* of *Cornificius* againſt *Sextius*: in *Syria* of *Caßius* againſt *Dolabella*: in *Sicilia* of *Pompey*, where great affliction was among the Citties for this captiuitie. I will ouerpaſſe the leſſe: the greateſt, that appeared more worthie than the reſt, in *Laodicea*, *Tharſus*, *Rhodes*, *Patareans*, and *Xantheans*, and euery of them, which from the beginning in order I haue gathered to write, were theſe. The Romaines call that parte yet olde *Libya*, which they wanne of the *Carthaginenſes*: that, whiche King *Iuba* helde, and was after gotten by *Cæſar*, they call Newe *Libya*, and may bee of *Numidia*.

Olde *Libya*.

Newe *Libya*.
Sextius.
Cornificius.

Sextius being preſident of New *Libya* vnder *Cæſar*, commaunded *Cornificius* to giue place in the olde, as thoughe all *Libya* was *Cæſars* by lot.

When the three men made their diuiſion, he ſayd, he knew no ſuche diuiſion made of the three men among themſelues, nor woulde deliuer the Prouince, which he had receiued of the Senate, but onelye to them againe. And for this cauſe they made warr one againſt another.

Cornificius had an armye well appointed and great in number: *Sextius* had lighte harneſſed, and fewer, by the whiche comming abroade, hee cauſed men to reuolte from *Cornificius*, and gaue repulſe to *Ventidius*, a Captaine of *Cornificius*, comming vpon him luſkily, and beſieged him.

Cirta a Cittie of Numidia, vvhere *Iugurth* kylled *Adherbal*.

Lælius an other Captayne of *Cornificius*, went abroade, and wan *Cirta* and other places from *Sextius*, and they al ſent to *Arabion* the king, and to them that were called *Sittians*, to take part with them in the warre, which were ſo called for thys cauſe. *Sittius* in *Rome*, not abiding ſentence in his own quarrell, fled, and gathering an army, came frō *Italy* and *Spaine*, into *Libya*, and toke a part among the *Libyan* Kings that warred togither, and with whom he ioyned and gotte the victorie, he was called a *Sittian*, bycauſe his army did very valiantly.

Arabion.
Sittius.

Sittians.

When *Caius Cæſar* did perſecute *Pompeys* friends, he did fyghte for him in *Libya*, and ouerthrewe *Sabura*, *Iubas* Lieutenant, a famous man: For whiche cauſe *Sittius* was rewarded of *Cæſar*, with king *Manaſſes* land, not al, but the beſt part of it. *Manaſſes*

Manaſſa.
Manaſſes.

was

was this *Arabions* father, and confederate with *Iuba*. His lande *Cæsar* gaue to *Sittius* and to *Bocchus* king of the *Maruſians*, one part whereof *Sittius* diuided for the people vnder him.

Arabion fledde into *Iberia* to *Pompeis* children, and when *Caius Cæsar* was killed, he retourned againe to *Libya*, and euer ſending ſome of his *Libyans* to the yonger *Pompey* into *Iberia*, and receyuing expert ſouldiours from thence, he toke hys lande from *Bocchus*, and diſpatched *Sittius* by craft: and being ſtill friend to the *Pompeyans*, and perceyuing their fortune to be full of infelicitie without hope, he agréede with *Sittius*, and ſone by hym was reconciled to *Cæſar*. The *Sittians* alſo for his fathers beneuolence wyth *Cæſar*, ioyned wyth hym.

Seſtius being nowe emboldned, came from the ſiege to the fight, where *Ventidius* was ſlayne, and the army fledde without a guyde, whome he chaſed and killed, and toke many of them.

Lælius hearing of this, leuied the ſiege at *Cirta*, and wente to *Cornificius*.

Seſtius being hauty with this feat, went to *Cornificius* at *Vtica*, and encamped againſt him, hauing much people. And *Cornificius* ſending *Lælius* with horſmen to take a view, *Seſtius* ſent *Arabion* with his horſe againſt *Lælius*, at the face: & he with horſe better appointed, came vpon him on the ſide, and diſordred hym, ſo that *Lælius*, thoughe not inferior, yet fearing his retire ſhoulde haue bene ſhutte, toke an hill that was betwéene both, where *Arabion*, as hée was directed, kylled manye, and compaſſed the reſte.

Cornificius ſéeing this, came forthe wyth hys whole power, to helpe *Lælius*. *Seſtius* ſette vpon him on the back, with ſodayne charge, whome *Cornificius* endeuoured to repell with great trauaile. *Arabion* in the meane time créeping with his mẽ through the ſtony places, came ſecretly ouer mountaines vpon *Cornificius* campe.

Roſcius, that was kéeper of the campe, being diſtreſſed, offered hys throate to be cutte of a Page. *Roſcius* kylled

Cornificius wearie of the fyght, went to *Lælius* to the mountaine, not knowing what was done at his Campe, when *Arabion* *Cornificius* killed

rabions horſemen came vpon him, and killed him. *Lælius* ſéeing al this vpon the hill, kylled himſelfe. When the Captaines were deade, the armies fled ſeuerally, and ſuche of the proſcribed men as were with *Cornificius*, ſome fledde into *Sicelie*, and ſome whither they could. *Seſtius* rewarded *Arabion* and the *Sittians* with gwdly gifts, and the Citties he pardoned, to obey *Cæſar*.

Lelius kylleth hymſelfe.

This was the ende of the warre in *Libya*, betwixte *Cornificius* and *Lælius*, very ſhorte, if a man conſider the feates done wyth ſo great ſpéede.

With *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, in comparíſon to theſe, little was done, and that was this: when *Caius Cæſar* was killed, the murderers toke the Capitoll, and when obliuion of al thinges was decréed, they came down.

Brutus & Caſſius.

The people at the funerall of *Cæſar*, being moued wyth pitie, ranne aboute to ſéeke the quellers, and they driuing them backe from the toppes of the houſes, went to the prouinces that *Cæſar* had appointed. *Caſſius* and *Brutus* beyng yet Prætors in the Citie, were aſſigned alſo of *Cæſar* to prouinces, *Caſſius* to *Siria*, and *Brutus* to *Macedonia*. And bycauſe they coulde not goe to their prouinces before their time, nor abide the hate of the Citie, they wente away, being yet in office: and the Senate, in conſideration of them, appointed them Purueiours for prouiſion, that in that meane time, they ſhoulde not be thought to flée away.

Brutus & Caſſius.

They beyng gone, *Syria* & *Macedonia* were apointed by decrée to *Antony* and *Dolobella*, being then Conſuls. The Senate, béeing very muche grieued, gaue them in ſteade thereof *Creta* & *Cirene*, whiche they not regarding, in ſhorte tyme gathered much money and men, and entred *Syria* and *Macedonia*. And thus they wrought.

When *Dolobella* hadde kylled *Trebonius* in *Aſia*, and *Antonie* hadde ouercome *Decimus* in *Celtica*, the Senate being offended, did decrée *Antonie* and *Dolobella* to be enimies, and reſtored *Brutus* and *Caſſius* to their former prouinces, and added to *Brutus Illyria*, commaunding al other that were rulers of the Romaine dominion, as well of prouinces as armies, to obey *Brutus* and

Illyria added to *Brutus*.

Caſſius.

Cassius. After this, *Cassius* preuented *Dolobella* entring into *Syria*, & vsed the tokens of that office, and gathered twelue legions, that for the moste parte, hadde serued, and bin trained vnder *Caius Cæsar*, one of the whiche, *Cæsar* hadde lefte in *Syria*, to goe to the warre against the *Parthians*. The charge of this, had *Secilius Bassus*, but the dignitie, *Sextus Iulius* hadde, a yong man and *Cæsars* kinsman, who being lasciuious, and suffering the legion to fall to riot, *Bassus* reproued him: wherefore he fell out with *Bassus*, and called hym rascall, and after waxing more disobedient, *Bassius* commaunded hym to be broughte of the Sergeants, whereof a tumulte growing, and *Bassus* beyng in daunger to be killed: the armye, not abiding that disorder, killed *Iulius*: of the whiche repenting them by and by, and fearing *Cæsars* displeasure, they agréed togither, that vnlesse they had forgiuenesse, they woulde fyght til death, and to this they compelled *Bassus*: & getting an other legion, they trained them, with the which they valiãtly ouercame *Sextius Murcus*, sente againste them with three legions from *Cæsar*. To *Murcus*, came in aide *Minutius Crispus* from *Bythinia*, with three other legions, and besieged *Bassus* with fiue legions. *Cassius* comming in relefe of *Bassus*, receiued hys armye frely by and by, and after, *Minutius* and *Murcus*, deliuering to hym their legions for goodwill, they obeyed him in all thinges as ỳ Senate cõmaũded. *Albinus* being sent of *Dolobella*, brought oute of *Aegipt* foure legions of the remnaunt of *Pompeius* and *Crassus* discomfiture, which of *Cæsar* were left vñ *Cleopatra*. *Cassius* set vpon him in *Palestina* (knowing nothing of these chaunces) so sodainely, that he compelled him to deliuer his armye, being afraide with foure legions to fyght againste eight. Thus *Cassius* (beyond al expectation) was Lord of twelue legions, and manye of the *Parthian* archers on horsebacke came to serue *Cassius*, hée being known among them, when he was an officer in *Crassus* campe. *Dolobella* remaines aboute *Ionia*, dispatchiug *Trebonius*, and putting tributes vpon the Cities, and by *Lucius Figulus* hyring nauies of the *Rhodes*, the *Lycians*, *Pamphagonians*, and *Celicians*, which, whẽ they were ready, he determined to go into *Syria* himselfe by land with two legions, & *Figulus* by sea. And hearing

Bassus. *Sextus Iulius*.

Murcus.

Minutius.

Trebonius.

L. Figulus.

ring of *Cassius* army, he tourned hys iorney to *Laodicea*, a Cittie friendly to hym, ioyning to *Cherronesus*, and fitte for al furniture, as well for passage by Sea, as defence by lande. In the which place, he mighte prouide all thinges plentifullye from the Sea, and when he would, without feare saile from the lande.

Cherronesus, Morea.

Which *Cassius* seeing, and fearing that *Dolobella* should escape him, hauing gotten a place called *Isthmus*, almoste an Iland, not two furlongs ouer, he tok all the stones and tymber of the cotages, boroughs and sepulchres, to make a pere for ships. He sent to *Phœnitia*, *Lycia* and the *Rhodes*, and being reiected of all, but the *Sidonians*, yet he went againste *Dolobella*, and bothe of them hauing losse numbers of shyps, *Dolobella* toke fiue, with al the men. *Cassius* sent againe to them that had despised hym, and to *Cleopatra* Quéene of *Aegipt*, and to *Serapion* Generall in *Cypres* for hir. The *Tyrians*, the *Aradians*, and *Serapion*, without any intelligence from *Cleopatra*, sent him as many ships as they hadde. The Quéene made excuse to *Cassius*, by hunger & pestilẽce, wherwith *Aegipt* was oppressed: and for the familiarity with the former *Cæsar*, shée fauoured *Dolobella*, and with this determination, she sente hym four legions by *Albinus*, and an other sufficient company, by sea (because of the winde) staied.

Isthmus a narrowe land betweene twoo seas.

Aradini be of the Ile of *Aradus*, & it is one of the Cities of *Phanitia* that maketh *Tripolis*, *Tyrus* and *Sidon* be the other.

Excuses of *Cleopatra.*

The *Rhodians* and the *Lycians* sais, they woulde helpe neither *Brutus* nor *Cassius* in ciuill warres, and that they had giuen ships of passage to *Dolobella*, but not entred with him into any societie of warre. *Cassius* being prepared againe, with such as he had presently, encountred with *Dolobella* twice, and at the firste, they fought it oute with like force: but after *Dolobella* was too weake by Sea. Then *Cassius*, with a rampire, so beat the walles of the Cittie, that they were lyke to fade, and when he coulde not corrupte *Marsus*, that was chiefe of the watch by night, he wanne the Captaines of the bands, that warded by the day. And *Marsus* resting by daye, the gates were opened, and he entred in diuers parts with his army.

Marsus.

Laodicea woon.

Dolobella killed.

The Citie being taken, *Dolobella* had one of his Guard cutte off his heade and carrie it to *Cassius*, to saue his owne, whiche he did, and after killed himselfe. *Marsus* also did ridde his own life.

Cassius

Cassius hauyng gotten the Citie, sware the armie of *Dolabella* to himselfe. All the *Laodiceans* sacred and publyke things he spoyled, the chief of the Citie he punished, the other he oppressed with grieuous payments, and brought the Citie to extreme miserie. From *Laodicea* hée wente towarde *Aegypt*, vnderstandyng that *Cleopatra* dyd saple with a greate nauie to *Cæsar* and *Antonie*, thynkyng hée myghte stoppe hir voyage, and be reuenged of hyr, vnderstandyng that *Aegipt* was in greate distresse for famine, hauyng no greate army of straungers, the Souldiours beyng gone with *Albinius*. Beyng in this hope and determination, *Brutus* in haste aduertised hym, that *Cæsar* & *Antonie* dyd passe the *Ionian* Sea. *Cassius* vnwillyngly, lefte the enterpryse of *Aegipt*, and sente away the *Parthian* Archers on horsebacke, wyth their rewardes, and messengers to theyr King for further ayde: whiche commyng when all was done, ranged *Syria*, and all the nighe nations to *Ionia*, and departed. *Cassius* lefte hys Nephewe in *Syria* with one legion: the horsemenne hée sente afore to *Cappadocia*. They suddenly sette vppon *Ariobarzanes* the kyng, as one that before meante to deceyue *Cassius*, and brought all his money and riches to *Cassius*. The *Tharsians* beyng at debate, the one parte honoured, *Cassius* comyng firste, the other *Dolobella* after him: and both of them did it, by the shew of the Cities authoritie: and embracing both, as the turne serued, either side (in such a chãgeable citie) vsed other extremely. When *Cassius* had ouercome *Dolobella*, he commaunded them to paye a thousand and fiue hundred Talentes: they not knowing what to doe, and beyng with despight requyred of the Souldiours thereunto, were compelled to sell all their pryuate Jewels, and holy things in common, and other whiche they had for their triumphes and sacrifices, whiche not suffising, the Magistrates solde their frée people. The firste was the Virgines and their men children, after their women and olde men pitifully, and then theyr yongmen, whereof many killed themselues. Beyng in this case, *Cassius* came from *Syria*, and stayed it for pities sake, & released them of the reste of the Tribute. Thus *Tharsus* and *Laodicea* were punished. *Cassius* and *Brutus* consultyng to-

Laodicea spoyled.

Ariobarzanes distressed.

Tharsus at diuisis A citie in *Cilicia* at the flondde *Cydno*.

The calamitie of *Tharsus*.

Cassius shewyeth some pitie.

Counsell be-twene Brutus and Cassius.

gither, it seemed best to *Brutus* to remoue the armie from thence into *Macedonia* for greater consideration. Bycause it was sayde, theyr enimies had fourty legions, and that eyght of them were past the *Ionian* sea. *Cassius* thought the multitude of the enimie not to be passed of, bycause in tyme their number shoulde be their destruction for wante: and therefore that they shoulde sette vpon the *Rodians* and *Licians*, friends to their enimies, and hauing nauies, least they should come vpon their backes, when they had agreed, they deuided their armies. *Brutus* went against the *Licians*, & *Cassius* agaynst the *Rodians*, for hee was brought vp there, & learned the Greeke tongue. And bicause they were very strong vpon the Sea, he prepared & exercised hys owne ships at *Guido*. The wise men of the *Rodes* were afrayd to come to fight with the *Romanes*, but the people was lusty recounting their former feats against other maner of men than these. Their shippes also they gathered of the beste, of the whiche were. xxxiy. when they had done so, they sente some to *Mindo* to *Cassius*, requesting him he woulde not reiect the *Rhodes*, a Citie that euer did reuenge such as contemned them, nor the cõuentions betwene the *Rhodians* and the *Romanes*, that one shoulde not beare armes against the other: and if he did alleage any thyng for societie of warre, that they woulde vnderstande of the Senate of *Rome*, and they commaunding it, they sayde they would do it. Thus much they sayde. He answeared, that for the rest, warre must iudge in steede of wordes, & where the league cõmaunded they should not leaue armes one against another, the *Rhodians* did conspire with *Dolobella*, and ayded him against *Cassius*. But where it cõmaundeth that one should help another, and now that *Cassius* requireth it, they vse a shifte by the *Romane* Senate, which is scatered, and at this present destroyed by the Tyrannes that be in the Citie, which should be punished, and so should the *Rhodians*, taking their partes, onlesse they did as he commaunded them. Thus sayde *Cassius*. Whē this was knowne at *Rhodes*, the auncient men were the more afrayd. The people were persuaded by one *Alexãder* & *Manasses*, remēbring vnto them that *Mithridates* came against thē wt many moe ships, & before him *Demetrius*. Therfore they made

Mindo, nowe Capo Cria.

The Rhodes, an Iland in the sea that is called Carpathio, the which in greatnesse, is next Lesbus and Cyprus.

Alexan-

Alexander their chiefe officer called Prytaneo, & Manassis their Admiral. Neuertheleſſe, they ſent Archelaus embaſſadour to Caſſius, who was his ſchoolemaſter in the Greke, to intreate him familiarly: and when he had taken him by the hande, he ſpake to him as to hys acquayntance:

Prytaneus vvas⁹ in Athens the chiefe Cite of Asmonie.

Thou that art a louer of the Greke language, do not diſturbe a Greke citie, nor the Rhodes (being a louer of libertie) nor defate the Dorian dignitie, neuer yet blemiſhed ſince it firſte began: nor forget ỹ godly hiſtorie, which thou diddeſt learne at Rhodes and Rome. At Rhodes, howe muche the Citizens of the ſame haue euer ſtode to their defence, againſt nations & kings, and ſuch as were thought inuincible, as Demetrius & Mithridates, for their libertie, for ỹ whiche thou ſayſt thou trauayleſt. In Rome what we haue done for you, as wel againſt other as Antiochus the great: there be pillers ſet vp of you as monumẽts of vs. And thus much may he ſayd to you, O Romanes, of our natiõ, of our worthineſſe, of our ſtate, neuer yet in ſeruitude, of our ſocietie & choyſe of you. But in thée now (Caſſius) a certaine great reuerẽce, I ſay, remayneth toward this citie, thy nurſe, thy ſcole, thy Philitian & houſe, wher thou diddſt dwell, & to my ſcole, & my ſelf, & to other things wherein I toke paynes. Now you well requite al this vpõ my rountrie, ỹ it be not forced to make warre with thée that was nouriſhed & brought vp in it, nor put vs to ỹ neceſſitie of one of two things, either that ỹ Rhodians ſhal all be deſtroyed, or Caſſius ouercome. I aduiſe thée further, beſide ỹ I haue prayed thée, that haſt takẽ in hand this feate, for ỹ cõmon welth of Rome, ỹ thou always make the Gods the guydes in ſo great a cauſe. You Romanes did call the Gods to witneſſe, when by Caius Cæſar, ye made ſolẽne league wõ vs, and by othe cõfirmed the ſame & gaue vs your right hands, which enimies performe, & ſhal not friẽds and felowes do it: Refraine now for Gods cauſe, & for the glory among men, ſeing nothing is more barbarous than breach of league, which make the offendours to ſéeme vnfaithfull both to friend & foe. Whẽ the old man had thus ſayd, he did not let Caſſius hand go, but he wept & wiped his eyes with it, that with that manner he might meue Caſſius, who for reuerẽce was abaſhed, & wõ ſome paſſiõ ſayd thus:

Archelaus ſcholemaſter to Caſſius.

Cassius to Archelous.

'If thou diddest not persuade the *Rodians* to doe me any iniu-
'rie, then thy selfe hast done it: but if thou didest exhort and ad-
'uise them, & couldest not persuade them, then I do reuenge thée.
'I haue bene iniured cuidently: firste, bycause I asking helpe of
'them, that nourished and taught me, am contemned and despi-
'sed: then, bycause they preferred *Dolobella*, (whome they ney-
'ther taught nor brought vp) before me: and that that is the more
'hayneous, not onely before me, but *Brutus* and other noble men,
'whome you knowe well to be fledde from Tirannie, and to be
'ready to fight for libertie of our countrie. You the *Rodianes* lo-
'uers of libertie, preferred *Dolobella* before vs, he séeking to take
'the same from other: and vs (whome now you ought to fauour,)
'you pretend, you will not deale with ciuill warre. It were ciuill,
'if we did couet vnlawfull power: but now opē warre is made of
'peoples rule, against Tirannes state: and you that haue popular
'gouernment, do forsake the same: and of them that do labour for
'their lawes, and beare good will to the *Romanes*, and be condem-
'ned to death without iudgement, that be proscribed & confiscate,
'you haue no pitie at all. But you answeare, you will vnderstand
'the Senates minde, which is now destroyed and can not helpe it
'self. For ye knew the Senate had decréed to *Brutus* and me, that
'al the inhabitants betwéene *Ionia* and the East, should obey our
'cōmaundements. Thou makest a rehearsal what you haue done
'for vs at our wāts, for with good will you haue receyued reward
'againe. But you forget, that you denie help to vs, that suffer in-
'iurie, for the sauing of our liberty, whom you ought, if there had
'bene no friendship betwixt vs, but would now haue begon it, to
'haue ayded the cōmon cause of *Rome*, few beyng of the *Dorean* li-
'bertie. Ye bring forth also leagues (lacking other matter) that
'*Caius Cæsar* the first author of Tirannie did make with you, and
'say, that the *Romanes* and *Rodians* should help one an other in their
'necessities. Helpe you then nowe the *Romanes* that in greatest
'cause be in moste perill. *Cassius* a *Romane* borne, and a president
of the *Romanes*, dothe chalenge that league, accordyng to the
decrée of the Senate in the whiche it did commaunde, that
all the dwellers beyonde *Ionia*, shoulde obey vs. *Brutus* dothe

require

require the same, and *Pompey*, kéeping the Sea for the Senates safetie. To decrées, wée toyne prayers, for all them that be fleede from the Senate to me, to *Brutus* and to *Pompey*. It is the peoples publike decrée, that the *Rhodianes* shoulde helpe the *Romanes*, euery one as they haue néede. If we be neyther officers nor *Romanes*, but you take vs to be fugitiues, straungers, and condemned (as they name vs that haue proscribed vs) and that you haue nothing to do with vs, but with *Romanes* (& *Rhodianes*) and their leagues, then may we make warre with you as straungers, and free from confederacie, excepte you obey vs in all that we require. Thus *Cassius*, as it were dallying with *Archelaus*, sent him away. *Alexander* and *Manasses*, Captaynes of the *Rhodianes*, with their three and thirtie Shippes, sayled against *Cassius* to *Myndo*, to preuent him in the sea, hauing hope, lightly to ouercome him, bycause they made that voyage into *Guido* agaynste *Mithridates*, when they had happy ende of the warre: and vsing rowing for a shew, they sayled the first day to *Guido*, and the next, set vppon the *Cassianes*, whereat they marueiling, did encounter with them, shewing noble strength on both sydes. The *Rhodian* shippes were light, and gaue a suddayne onset on their enimies, and retired againe, and fetched what course they woulde. The *Romanes* were heauie, and abode by it, and when they ioyned with them, ouerlayde them like a fight on foote. *Cassius* with the multitude of his shippes did so beset the enimie, that they could not compasse, nor retire at their pleasure, but onely aforehande giue a charge, and retire againe: and that commoditie was taken away by the streightnesse of the place. For their commyng vpon the *Romanes* great shippes with their sharpe stemmes, dyd no good, bicause the *Romanes* stode vnmouable against their light vessels. In the ende, three of the *Rhodianes*, with all the men in them, were taken, two were broken and sonke, the rest sore beaten, fledde to the *Rhodes*.

Guido a Citie like an Ilande in *Caria*.

Battayle by Sea betweene the *Romanes* & the *Rhodianes*.

The *Romanes* resorted to *Myndo*, and repaired their vessels that were brused.

Myndus, a sea coast towne of *Caria*.

This was the ende of the fight by Sea, betwéene the *Romanes* and the *Rhodianes*, which *Cassius* beheld from a Mountayne.

Lorenna is in Caria.

When he had repayred his Nauye, he sayled to *Lorenna*, a Castell of the *Rhodians*, and his footemen he committed to *Phanius* and *Lentulus*, to bee transported in greate Shippes. He sayled with fourescore vessels, whyche was a terrible sighte to the *Rhodians*. Being arriued at *Rhodes*, he stirred not, neyther with hys Nauye nor hys footemen, thinking they woulde haue yéelded: but they came fiercely forthe to the fyghte, and hauing lost two Shyppes, they shutte themselues within the Porte of the Citie, and toke armoure, and resisted the footemen that *Phanius* hadde sette a shore, and also *Cassius* that approched the walles nert the Sea, not vnlyke for that fight: which he foresecyng, had brought Turrets with him, which he set vp, and assayled the Citie both by sea and land, which being vnprouided for so suddayne a matter, must néedes eyther by force or famine be ouerthrowen. The wise men of the Citie, to auoide that daunger, hadde some talke with *Phanius* and *Lentulus*. In the meane time, *Cassius* was gote into the Citie with the choyce of his army, vsing no force at hys entrie, whiche some thought to be by them that pitied the famishing of their Citie.

Rhodes taken.

Cassius, hauing the Citie in captiuitie, sate downe in ỳ Iudgemente seate, and pitched his speare in it, in token it was thrall, and badde them not to feare. He commaunded his armye vppon payne of death, not to make any spoyle. He called 50. *Rhodians* by name, whome he punished with death. Fiue and twenty ỳ would not appeare, he banished. He toke all the money that was golde or siluer, holy or publike, and appoynted a daye to euery man to bring in his priuate substance. He proclaymed deathe to them that hidde any thing. To the accuser he proclaimed a third part, and to the bonde, libertie. Many at the beginning hidde their things, hoping the spoyle woulde haue no suche ende: but when they sawe men were bewrayed, they brought forth all for feare. Some was hidden in the ground, some in filthy pittes, and some in graues, out of the which more was brought, than at the first.

The hard dealing of *Cassius* with the *Rhodians*.

Spoyle of the *Rhodes*.

Thys was ỳ captiuitie of the *Rhodes*, to the rule of the which, *Lucius Varus* was left.

Cassius being encouraged with the spédy taking of this Citie,

and

and abundance of money, commaunded the other nations of *Asia* to pay the tenne yeares tribute, whiche they did accordingly.

Cleopatra.

It was then reported, that *Cleopatra*, with great preparation of army and Naupe, would sayle to *Octauian* and *Antony*, both for the friendship of the former *Cæsar*, and for feare of *Cassius*, who sente *Murcus* with his best Legionarie men and archers, with fourescore armed Shippes, to *Pelloponesus*, and staying at *Tenaro*, meant by preuention, to get the spoyle of all *Pellponeso*.

Morea.
Tenarum, a promontorie of *Laconica*, vvhere *Hercules* tooke his vvay to Hell.

The things that *Brutus* did in *Licia*, were not great: but thus they beganne.

Brutus.
Lycia a Countrey of little *Asia*, betvvceene *Pamphilia* and *Caria*.

When he had the army of *Apuleius*, and gathered of the tributes of *Asia* fiue tēne thousand talentes, he sayled into *Boetia*, where he did receyue a decree from the Senate, that he shoulde vse the same, and goueme *Macedonia*: whyche beeyng knowen, he toke to hym three Legions from *Illyria*, the whyche *Vatinius*, then Lieutenante of *Illyria*, deliuered vnto hym. Another Legion he had of *Antonyes* brother in *Macedonia*, to the whyche, ioyning foure more, he was Lorde of eyghte Legions, the greater parte of the whyche, hadde serued vnder *Caius Cæsar*. Hee hadde also greate numbers of horsemen, & archers, and other shotte. The *Macedonians* hee armed after the Italian manner. In gatheryng thus hys army and treasure, he had this good lucke from *Thracia*.

To ea a region in the ende of *Greece*.
Illyria is a great Region of *Europe*, nowe called *Slauonia*.

Treasure, and a Princes childe deliuered to *Brutus*.

Polemocratia, a Princes wife, and slayne of his foes, came to *Brutus* for the care of hyr sonne, and committed hym to *Brutus* handes whth hyr Husbandes treasure. He deliuered the chylde to be trayned of the *Ciricenians*, tyll he shoulde be sette in his fathers Kingdome. He founde in the Treasure greate massies of golde and syluer, whyche he caused to be coyned, to make money.

Ciricus, an Ile in *Propontis*, vvith a Citie of that name.

The seege of *Zanthus* a Citie in *Lycia*, vvhiche shevved greate manlineſſe before agaynſte *Harpagus* Lieutenant to *Cyrus*.

When *Cassius* was come vnto *Brutus*, they consulted vppon theyr businesse, and determined to beginne the warre vppon the *Licians* and *Xanthians*.

And to beginne with the *Zanthians*, they of the Citie cutte off their suburbes, that *Brutus* should not vse thē, nor haue cōmodity

of

of any thing there, they compaſſed their Citie with a ditche, and vpon it made their defence. The ditche was fiftie foote deepe, and the breadth proportionate accordingly. Vpon it they ſtoode, and threw their dartes & arrowes vpō the *Romanes*, diuided as with a ſtoud impaſſable. *Brutus* gote many Pioners, & couered thē with leather, to ouerthrow the ditche. He parted the army for ỹ night and the dayes labour, neuer ceaſſing, but as in a matter of great ſpeede, vſed the ſouldioures, to cōtend who ſhould do faireſt. And though at the beginning it ſeemed he went about a tedious and fruteleſſe worke, yet in the end, he brought it to paſſe very quickly, contrary to the *Zanthians* opinion, whiche thaughte it woulde haue bin many monethes in doing, or not done at all. But nowe they are ſhutte vp, and driuen within their gates, with a greate change. He gaue dayly aſſaultes at the gates, euer changing his men. They reſiſted, and put freſhe and ſounde men in the place of the weery and wounded, ſo long as their fortes helde: but when they were beaten downe, and all broken, *Brutus* thinking what woulde follow, commaunded his ſouldioures to retire from the gates.

Brutus beateth downe the Trench.

The *Zanthians* thinking that to bee done by negligence, iſſued out in the nighte with lightes to burne the *Romanes* engines, who being encountred of the *Romanes* that laye for them, retired to the gates, the keepers whereof, fearing the enimie ſhould enter alſo, ſhutte them out, whereof did followe a greate ſlaughter before the gates. Not long after, the *Romanes* goyng backe againe, the Citizens came out, and fired the engines: and becauſe of the former loſſe, the gates were opened to them, at whoſe goyng in, two thouſand *Romanes* thruſt in with them, and more followed: at the which entrie, the gates fell downe, eyther ſuddaynely, or of purpoſe, the matter failing that held them vp. The *Romanes* were eyther killed, or ſhut in. The gates could not be opened, nor without ſome engine be remoued. The *Zanthians* threw vpon them in the ſtreetes from aboue. They hauing neyther bowe nor arrowes, gote into a ſtraight place, called *Sarpedono*, that they ſhould not vtterly be beſette aboute. The *Romanes* that were without, were carefull for them within,

The *Zanthians* killed at theyr gates.

The *Romanes* in danger.

within, and *Brutus* ranne among them, to see that all help might be assayed. At the gates barred with yron, they could not get in, their scales and Towers being burned. Wherefore some made scalyng ladders presently, and wente vp vppon timber, as vpon ladders: some tyed corkes to ropes, and threwe them to fasten on the wall, and climbed vp by coardes. The *Oxandians* their neyghboures, and enimies, and confederate with *Brutus*, gate vp ouer the rocky places, whiche when the *Romanes* saw, they followed with great laboure, whereby many fell, and some that gote ouer, went to opē the gates, and layd timber so thicke, that they might come ouer: whiche they did. And being now many, they brake the gate, not being very strōg, both they within and without helping to it: and the Souldioures entred in verye boldly, both at the broken gate, and ouer the wall, vpon the way made with timber, so as there was thrusting in on euery side. The *Zanthians* with greate shoutes set vpon the *Romanes* that were in *Sarpedono*. The *Romanes* at the gates, carefull for them both within and without, vsed all violence to make way, and as caried with a furie, they bare all downe afore them, making suche hast and noyse, as they might know within it, God working a change for them. And this was at the setting of the Sunne.

Oxandia is a Citie of *Caldea*, a little region of *Asia*.

The *Romaines* saued in *Serpedono* a holy place closed in the Citie.

The Citie being thus taken, the *Zanthians* wente into their houses, and burned their most precious things, and wilfully offered their throtes to be cutte. The lamentation was so greate, that *Brutus* fearing the people, called his Souldiours backe by a Trumpet: and when he knewe what was done, he pitied the state of them for their liberties sake, and sent a truce vnto them. They repelling them that brought it, and bringing all they had, to stackes that they hadde made in their houses, set the same on fire, and burned themselues therewith.

The taking of *Zanthus*.

Brutus saued all the sacred things, and only toke the Seruants of the *Xanthians*, and an hundred and fifty women free and without husband. Thus three times the *Zanthians* perished for their libertie, being beseeged of *Arpalus*, Lieutenant of *Cyrus* the great. They killed themselues rather thā they would be slaues, and the Citie was by him lefte to be their graue. And they say,

The ofte sacking of *Zanthus*.

they suffered the like of *Alexander*, *Philips* sonne, and coulde not abyde to obey *Alexander*, though he were a Lord of so many landes.

Patarea a Citie in *Licia*, where *Apollo* gaue answeres the sixth Monethes of Winter.

Brutus wente from *Xantho* to *Patarea*, a Citie (for asswayes of the Sea) like vnto it: and bringing his army about the citie, he commaunded them to be obediente, vnlesse they woulde suffer as the *Xanthians* had done. Some of the *Xanthians* were come vnto them, bewayling theyr misfortune, and counselling them to see better to themselues. The *Patareanes* aunswering nothing to the *Xanthians*, spent the rest of the day in consultation. Daye beyng come, and *Brutus* approchyng, they cryed frō the walles, that they woulde obey hym in anye thyng he would, and opened theyr gates. He entred, neyther killing nor spoyling any man: only theyr golde and siluer that was the Cities, he gathered together, commaundyng euery mā to bryng in hys priuate goodes, vpon those paynes that *Cassius* had sette vpon the *Rhodians*. And they dyd so.

Patarea yeelded.

A Seruaunt dyd accuse hys maister for hydyng of money, and shewed a Capitayne that was sente, where the golde was. All beyng carryed away, the maister held his peace, but hys mother (wyllyng to saue hyr sonne) cryed, that she hadde hydde the money. The Seruaunte (not required to speake,) affirmed she sayde not true, and that he hadde hidde it: whereat *Brutus* pitying the yong man in silence, and the mother in passion, sente them away vnhurte, with the money they brought, and hanged the Seruante, that woulde haue betrayed hys maister.

Iustice of *Brutus*.

Andriaca the name of a Towne in diuers regions heere of *Licia*. *Myra*, a Citie of *Lycia*.

Lentulus at this time being sent to *Andriaca*, a notable porte for the Nauies of the *Myreans*, brake the cheyne of the Port, and went into the Citie. They obeyed hys commaundementes, and deliuered him their money, whych he carryed to *Brutus*. The *Lycians* sente to *Brutus*, that they woulde obey hym, and ayde hym to theyr power. He putte a tribute vpon them, and gaue the free men of the *Xanthians* to that Citie. He commaunded the Nauie of *Lycia*, to sayle wyth the rest to *Abido*, from whence he led his footemen, & abode *Cassius* cōming frō *Ionia*, to goe togither

Abydus is in *Asia*.

to

to *Sestius*.

Sestus in *Europa*, diuided by the narrow Sea called *Hellespont*.

Murcus saiyng aboute *Peloponeso*, vnderstoode that *Cleopatra* had a wracke by tempest aboute *Libya*, and that hir scattered Nauye was blowen to *Laconica*, and that she was so sicke, as vnneth she coulde gette home agayne. And that he shoulde not seeme to byyng out so greate a companye in vayne, he sayled towarde *Brunduse*, and toke the Ile nexte the Port, and kepte the rest of the enimyes army, and theyr victuals, from *Macedonia*.

Laconia, a region of *Peloponesus*, sometime called *Hecatompolis*, of the C. cities that vvere conteyned in it.

Antonie came agaynste hym with those fewe long Shippes that he hadde, and at the nygh places annoyed hym wyth the Towers he hadde made. He sente hys armye by partes in greate Shyppes, obseruyng the wynde from the lande, that they shoulde not bee intercepte of *Murcus*: and beeyng in some doubte, he called for *Cæsar*, that was in the coast of *Sicelie*, to matche with *Sextus Pompey*. Whyche matters wente after this sorte:

Antony against *Murcus*.

Pompey was the yonger sonne of *Pompey* the greate, beeyng not attempted of *Cæsar* for hys youth like to atchieue any matter, and remayned in *Spayne*. He, in companye wyth a fewe theeues, roued on the Sea, and was not knowen to be *Pompeys* sonne.

Pompey the yonger.

The number of the Rouers increasing, and hauing a good bande, he confessed he was *Pompeys* chylde. Wherefore all the remnant of hys fathers and brothers armye resorted to him, as to a familiar Captayne.

Arabion beeyng dispeopled in *Libya*, came vnto hym (as wee haue sayde) and he hauyng thys multitude, hys aches were esteemed greater than as of a Pyrate, and *Pompeys* name sounded ouer all *Spayne*, full of people, so as the officers of *Cæsar* durst not meddle wyth hym: whyche when *Cæsar* hearde, he sente *Carina* wyth a greater armye to ouerthrowe *Pompey*. But he beeyng armed for the lyghte attemptes, suddaynely sette vppon hym, and troubled hym, and toke Cities both small and greate, for the whyche cause *Cæsar* sente *Asinius Pollio* to succeede *Carina*, and to warre with *Pompey*, whyche at the

Arabion ioyneth vvith *Pompey*.

time that *Cæſar* was killed, did trie their power: after the which *Pompey* was reuoked of the Senate, and then he went to *Maſſilia*, to heare what was done, who being choſen Admirall as his father, he gathered all the Shippes he could get togither, and kept the Seas, but would not come to *Rome*. And when the three mens power began, he ſayled into *Sicelie*, and beſæged the Captayne *Byblinicus*, that would not receyue him, till *Hirtius* and *Fannius* (condemned by proſcription, and fledde from *Rome*,) cauſed that place to be giuen to *Pompey*. Thus *Pompey* was Lord of *Sicelie*, hauing a Nauie and Iland nigh to *Italy*, and a great army, both of them he had before, and alſo of them that fledde from *Rome*, both bond and free, and ſuch as the Cities of *Italie* ſent him, that were giuen in pray to the Souldioures: for theſe did deteſt in their hearts, the conqueſt of the three men, and as much as they could, ſecretly wrote againſt them. And as many as might get out of the Countrey, being nowe no more of their Countrey, fledde to *Pompey*, being at hande, and moſt accepted to the *Romaines* of that time. There came alſo to him Seamen from *Libya* and *Iberia*, ſkylfull in the water: in ſo muche, as *Pompey* was full of Captaynes, Shippes, Souldioures and money. Of the whyche when *Cæſar* vnderſtode, he ſente *Saluidienus* with a Nauy, thinking it to be an eaſie matter to put *Pompey* from the Sea: and he paſſed through *Italy* to help *Saluidienus* from *Reggio*.

Saluidienus.

Oſtauius paſſeth to helpe *Saluidienus.*

Scyla is yet a Towne in the end of *Calabria*, *Scylla* and *Carybdis.*

Pompey came againſte *Saluidienus* with a greate nauie, and making the fyghte hard at the ſhallowes of the Ile aboute *Scyleon*, *Pompeys* Shippes were lighter, and exceeded in the promptneſſe and experience of the ſkilfull Seamen. The *Romanes* were heauyer and greater, and the more vnlike, as the manner of the ſhallow Sea is to whirle aboute, that the billowes breake on eyther ſide the water. *Pompeys* were the leſſe troubled, for cuſtome to the ſurgies, but *Saluidienus* Shippes could neyther ſtand firme for lacke of that experience, nor able to vſe their oares, nor hauing fitte ſternes for to turne at will, were ſore troubled. Wherfore towarde the Sunne ſette, *Saluidienus* firſt withdrew, and *Pompey* alſo did the like. The loſſe of Shippes was equall. The other that were bruſed and broken,

The fight by Sea, betweene *Saluidienus* and *Pompey.*

Saluidi-

Saluidienus repayred, lying at the port of that narow sea *Balaron*. *Balaron.*

Cæsar came and gaue greate fayth to the *Reggians* and *Ipponeans*, that they should be exempt from them that were gyuen in victorie, for he feared them most, bycause they were so nigh that narow cut. But when *Antony* sente for hym in haste, he sayled to him to *Brunduse*, hauyng on his lefte hand *Sicelie*, entendyng then not to matche with *Pompey*. *Marcus* (when *Cæsar* came,) that hée shoulde not be inclosed of *Antony* and him, wente a little from *Brunduse*, waytyng by the way the great shippes that carried the armie to *Macedonia*, whiche were wayted of the Galleys, the winde being great, euen as they coulde wish. They sayled away chéerefully without any néede of any Galleys, whereat *Marcus* was grieued, and wayted for their returne empty. But they (bothe then and after) caried ouer the army with full sayle, till all the army with *Cæsar* and *Antony* were passed. *Marcus* being thus hindred by fortune (as he thought,) taried for other passages, and preparations of new Souldiours from *Italy*, to hinder (as much as he coulde) the prouisions and the army leste: and to him *Domitius Oenobarbus*, one of *Cassius* Capitaynes, came, as to a seruice of great moment, with fifty shippes, one other legion, and Archers, that *Cæsars* army, not hable to be victualed otherwise sufficiently, but from *Italie*, it might as (he thought) be stopped from thence. Thus they with one hundreth and twentie galleys, and more shippes of burden, with a great army did scoure those seas.

Reggio is the furdest Citie in *Italy* nexte *Sicelie*. *Ippona* was a citie somtime called *Vibona*, and *Vibon Valentia*, nowe there is but a little towne called *Bibone*.

The army passeth.

Ceditius and *Norbanus*, whome *Cæsar* and *Antony* sente with fiftie legions into *Macedonia*, and from thence to *Thracia*, went aboue the hilles a hundred and. xl. miles, till they came beyonde *Philip*, and toke the strayghts of *Torpido* and *Salapian*, the begynning of *Rascopolinus* lande, and the onely knowen way betwene *Europe* and *Asia*, and that was a let to *Cassius* army goyng from *Ceston* to *Abydus*.

Antony & Cæsar.

Philippi first called *Dathes*.

Torpido and *Salapia*, straights in *Thracia*.

Rascopolis and *Rascus* were brethren, of the bloud of the *Thracian* kings, and being Princes of one region, they differed in opinion, *Rascus* fauoryng *Antony*, and *Rascopolis Cassius*, eyther of them hauyng three thousand horse. *Cassius* Capitaynes, askyng of the

Rascopolis and *Rascus* brethren diuided.

way *Cassepolis* sayde. The shorte and playne way goeth from hence to *Maronæa*, and leadeth to the streights of *Salamina*, beyng possessed by ỹ enimie, & is not to be passed. There is another way thyrse so muche aboute, and harde to passe, where the enimie can not goe for lacke of victuall, from whence they might goe to *Thracia* and *Macedonia*. When they hearde thys, they wente by *Aeno* and *Maronæa* to *Lysimachia* and *Cardia*, that receyue the straight of *Cherronesus* as twoo gates: and the nexte day, they came to the gulfe of *Mellana*, where they musstered their men. They had nineteene legions of armed mẽ. *Brutus* tenne, and *Cassius* nine, none full, but with twoo thousande at the moste to bee filled: so as they had about fourescore thousande. The horsemen of *Brutus* were foure thousand *Celtians* and *Lucitanians*, twoo thousande *Parthenians*, *Thessalians*, *Thracians* and *Illirians*: *Cassius*, of *Iberians* and *Celtians*, had twoo thousande, of *Arabians*, *Medians* and *Parthians*, Archers on horsebacke, foure thousande. The Kings and Princes of the *Galatians* in *Asia* were their confederates, and folowed them with a greate hoste of fotemen, and horsemen aboue fiue thousande. This great armie of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, was set in order at the gulfe of *Melane*, with the whiche they proceeded to the warre, appoyntyng other menne for other necessities. They purged the army by Sacrifice accordyng to the manner, and fulfilled promises made for money, giuyng liberally to winne mennes hartes, as they might well, hauyng suche plenty of richesse, because there were many that had serued vnder *Caius Cæsar*. And that none shoulde make any stirre at the sight or name of newe *Cæsar*. it was thought meete to speake to the army. There was a greate seate, in the which sate none but Senatours and Prætors. The rest, as wel *Romanes* as straungers, stoode about below: glad they were to see one another, as they that were stronger than they supposed. Boldnesse and great hope grew at the sight of the army, whiche thing increaseth the good wil of Souldiours to their Captaine, & hope that is cõmon, getteth benevolence. The noyse that hereof was made, did cease by the trumpets and criers: and *Cassius*, bicause he was elder thã *Brutus*, came a little forth, and thus sayde to the army:

Maronæa, citie of *Cicilians*.
Salamina, ouer agaynst *Attica*.
Aeno, where *Polidorus* was buried.
Maronæa, of Ciconia.
Lysimachia, Examili.
Cardia, Citie.
Melane, the cost.
Lucitanians.
The muster of *Brutus* and *Cassius* army.
Liberalitie of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

This

This contention, O Souldiour felowes, as it is common to vs all, and therfore causeth vs to truſt one an other: ſo is it conuenient, that we do performe to you, all that we haue promiſed, the whiche is the greateſt truſt, that wee will fulfill whatſoeuer we promiſe you hereafter. The hope conſiſteth in the vertue of you that be Souldiours, and in vs whom you ſee aboute this ſeate, ſo many, and ſo great men of the Senate: and alſo, in the plentyfull furniture of all thyngs whiche you ſee, of victuall, of armure, of money, and of Shippes, of confederates of Nations, and Kyngs, that of neceſſitie, they by reaſon muſte bee ready to be willyng and agree, whome the prouiſion and common cauſe hath ioyned togyther. Whereof the two men our enimies do calumniate vs, you know throughly, and for that do you ſerue with vs willyngly. Therefore nowe it is fitte to declare, the cauſe, whiche ſhall chiefly ſhew, that wee haue the beſte, and moſte iuſte pretence of this warre. We, that haue made *Cæſar* great, by folowyng hym and leading you in the warres, did conſerue his friendes to the ende, ſo as it ſhall not appeare, that he was entrapte of vs for any enimity. In maters of peace, he is to be blamed, not of vs his friendes, in the which we haue bene honored, but by lawes, and order of the commen wealth, whereof now no law, no rule of the beſt, nor peoples power remayneth: all the which our fathers framed, when they expelled the kings, and by othe confirmed, neuer after to receyue other: to the which othe, their poſteritie, of the ſame minde, conſenting, and puttyng from them the execrations thereof, they could not longer endure to ſee one man, though he were a friende and beneficiall, that did conuert to himſelfe the publique treaſure, the armies, the elections of officers frō the people, the gouernments of nations from the Senate. Yet he was a law in ſtede of lawes, and a Lord in ſtede of the people, and a Prince in all reſpectes in ſteade of the Senate. The whiche peraduenture you doe not perfitely know, but only conſider his valiantneſſe in the warre. But now you may eaſily learne it, by ỹ things only that touched your ſelues. You the people, in the warre, do obey your Generalles as your Lords. The ſame condition you receyue of vs agayne in peace,

The Oration of *Caſſius*.

the

the Senate prouidyng, that you be not deceyued, your selues be-
ing Iudges and lawmakers, accordyng to your companies and
societies, creatyng Consulles, Tribunes and Pretors, and by
your voyces iudging ỹ greatest things, punishing or preferring
them, as they thought you worthie punishment or preferment.
This retribution (O Citizens,) hath brought your authoritie to
The authority of the people. highe felicitie: for you haue preferred the worthy, and they be-
ing preferred, haue rendred like thanke to you. For this worthi-
Scipio made Consul before his time. nesse you made *Scipio* Consull, when you testified for him in the
matters of *Libya*, and made, whome you woulde, Tribunes of
euery age, of your selues, as was fitte for your causes. What
nede I to rehearse many things that you already knowe,
but that, since *Cæsar* bare rule, you coulde create, neyther Con-
sull, Pretor, Tribune or Officer, nor coulde testifie for any
mans vertue, nor receyue mutuall testification for your selues.
And to speake of the chief, no man gaue you thankes for any
office, for authoritie, for iustice or correction. And that that
was moste to be lamented of all other, you could not helpe your
Tribunes, when villanie was done them, that you shoulde not
retayne your power continual, and make it sure and inuiolable:
but your selfe sæ them, that ought to haue bene vntouched, and
their authoritie inuiolate, and their ornaments sacred, to be cõ-
demned without any iudgement, by the commaundement of one
onely, because they sæmed to be grieued with them that woulde
haue declared him a kyng, the whiche the Senate toke moste
grieuously for your sake. For, the Tribuneship is yours, not the
Senates. Yet yée could not plainly accuse that man, or bring him
to iudgement, because of hys mightie armies, whiche belonging
to the publique state, he chalenged for hys priuate pleasure: the
whiche entendyng to be reuenged of the reste of his Tyrannie,
conjured agaynst his body. The sentence did necessarily pro-
cæde from the beste, the feate was done of a fewe. So sone as
it was done, the Senate decreed it a common agrément, and
that openly, that the rewardes for killyng Tirannes might be
put in vre. *Antony* staying that, vnder a pretence of tumulte,
and we not thinkyng our selues worthy rewarde to the Citie,

rather

rather than by it, to helpe our countrey, this was stayed, because, they would not any contumely should be shewed to *Cæsar*, but only a releasement of his Tyrannie, euery man decreeing a forgetfulnesse, as a thing of moste suretie, that no matter shoulde bee made of the murder. *Antony* by litle and litle withdrawing the people from vs, the Senate gaue vs great offices of prouinces, and armies, commaunding all the lande betweene *Ionia* & *Syria* to obey vs: whether punishing as offendours, or honoring vs, with solemne purple, with maces and Sergeants: by the whiche reason, they called *Pompey* from banishment, beyng a yong man, and not acquaynted with the thing, but onely bicause he was Sonne to *Pompey* the great, who trauayled for the peoples rule: and bycause he was secretely in *Spaine* to auoyde tyrannie, they restored him to the value of his fathers goodes, by the common treasure, and made him ruler of the sea, that he might haue some authoritie, beyng of the peoples faction. What other acte or token of the Senate do yée require, than that all this was done by their sentence: onelesse it be not inough to confesse it by worde, but to do it & say it, and togither with their sayings to rewarde you with great gifts, bicause whē they say it, they can performe it. Now you know how men be hādled: they be proscribed without iudgement, & their goodes be publicate, they be killed without sentence in their houses, in theyr porches, in the Temples: of Souldiours, of seruants, of their enimies: drawen from their priuie houses, and pursued in euery place. Where ỹ law permitteth a man that will, to flée into the common place, where neuer no enimies head was brought, but only armour & shippe stems, now the heds of Consuls, of Prætors, of Tribunes, of Questors, and of Gentlemen be brought, and a rewarde appointed for the euill. This is an insurrection moste cruell that euer was against all sortes, a sodaine slaughter of men, and a straunge hate of women, children, frēmade men, and seruaunts: so farre and to suche a change is our citie turned. The authors of all this mischiefe, be the three men, whiche afore other haue proscribed their brethren, their vncles, answearyng one an other, our Citie (menne say) was taken of the wilde & barbarous. Yet the *Celtes* cut off no

heads, nor vsed villany vñ thē they toke, nor prohibited any man to hyde himselfe, or flée ẏ warre: neither did we euer vse any cittie so, which we haue takē by force, neither haue we persuaded other to do, ẏ now, not a priuate cittie, but the chiefe of al, doth suffer, of them that affirme they do reforme and direct the common wealth. What like thing did *Tarquinius*, whom, for ẏ iniurie done to one woman, & that proceeding of loue, & being a king they banished, and for this only act, could neuer abide a kingdome. And whiles these thrée (O citizens) do thus, they terme vs seditious, & say they wil reuēge *Cæsar*. They do proscribe thē ẏ were not present whē he was killed, of ẏ which, here be many whō you sée, being cōdēned for their riches or houses, or for fauoring ẏ peoples gouernmēt. By ẏ which reason, *Pōpey* also was proscribed vñ vs, beyng far of, in *Iberia*, when we did ẏ déede, because he is descēded of a father ẏ loued the peoples state, & for ẏ he was called home of ẏ Senate, & made admirall of ẏ sea, he is of these thrée men cōdēned to death. Did womē conspire against *Cæsar*, whome they haue condēned in a paymēt? What did an. 10000. of the people, whō they haue cōdemned to pay, vpō payne, & accusations, & proscribed thē onlesse they do it, whereof they ought to be frée? And they ẏ with al they haue done, cā not yet performe theyr promise to their Souldiours, we that haue done no wrong haue performed our promise to you, & reserue to do more, when time should serue. Thus God hath shewed his helpe to vs doing iustly, and with God, you haue now to consider men, whō you sée here your Citizens, whō you haue séene your Pretors, your Cōsuls many times with prayse, now you sée thē fleyng to you, as to well doers, & louers of the people, taking our part, & wishing wel to the rest ẏ we shal take in hand. More iust rewards be propounded of vs to ẏ preseruers of thē, than theirs ẏ would destroy thē. They care not for vs that killed *C. Cæsar*, ẏ would haue ruled alone, & others, that were with vs, which remain in despite of his tiranie, & take not the rule to thēselues, but leaue it to ẏ people according to the country lawes. This war is not takē of like cause. They make it for power & tirannie, whiche they haue shewed in their proclamatiō: we make it for no such matter, but only ẏ our cōtrey

trey being set frée: we may liue priuatly vnder ỹ lawes in order, al good men, & the Goddes chiefly do iudge our cause. The best hope to him ỹ maketh warre, is his iust cause. Let it not trouble vs, though we haue serued vnder *Cæsar*, for we serued not vnder him, but vnder our cõtrie. The gifts that were giuen, were not *Cæsars*, but ỹ cõtries & publique, neither is this ỹ armie of *Brutus* or *Cassius*, but ỹ *Romanes*, we being your felow soldiours & *Romane* captaynes. Whiche if they ỹ make warre against vs would vnderstãd, euery mã might safely lay downe his armure, & rẽder all the armies to ỹ citie, & make choyse of such as might be profitable to it, which we only desire. But seing they will not chose this, for ỹ wicked tyrãnie they haue shewed, let vs, (O warre felows) go to it with sure hope, to serue, as frée, the *Romane* Senate & people for their libertie. Then euery mã cried, let vs go, let vs go, & we desire to marche out of hande. *Cassius* being glad of this forwardnesse, caused silẽce to be made againe, & thus sayd: All the Gods ỹ be Lords of warre, requite (O war felows) your faith & promptnesse. Now then vnderstand what premissiõ we that be your Captaines haue made, as men ỹ be fauoured of the Gods, & how farre we excẽde our enimies in number & goodnesse. We haue armed legions equall with them: we haue fortified our places with good garde, as wel as they: in horsmen & nauies, we do passe them: in aliance of kings & princes, & nations from *Asia*, we surmount thẽ. They come vpõ vs only on ỹ face, we go vpon them on the backe also. For we haue *Pompey* in *Sicelie*, & *Murcus* in *Ionia*. *Norbanus* also lieth w̃ a great nauie & two legions, to stoppe their passage by sea: all places behinde vs be voyde of enimies both by land & sea. As for mony, whiche some call ỹ strength of warre, they want, neither can performe their promise to their old soldiours, nor exact so much of ỹ condẽned men as they supposed, because none of their frends is willing to buy ỹ places, which they haue put to sale: otherwise they can get nothing: for *Italy* is wasted with sedition, tributes & condẽnations. We with great care haue got present plẽty, wherewith we may gratifie you agayne, and muche more collected of the nations behynde vs, to bee broughte vnto vs. And victuall, the greatest wante to mighty

Money the strength of warre.

armies, they haue none, but onely from *Macedonia* a mountaine countrie, and *Theſſalia* a ſtraight region, whiche with great toyle, they muſte conuey by lande. For if any thyng be brought them from *Affrica*, *Lucania*, or *Iapigia*, *Pompeius*, *Marcus* and *Domitius* ſhall ſhutte them vp. We bothe haue and ſhall haue from the Sea, the Ilandes and all places of the continent, euery day without any difficultie, betweene *Thracia* and the ſtoudde *Euphrates*, and that without daunger, no enimy beyng at our backe: wherefore, it is in our power to doe our feate wyth ſpeede, or to doe at leyſure, to conſume our enimies with hunger. Thys haue you, (O felow Souldiours) by mans prouiſion, the reſte ſhall anſweare in order, thorough you and the Gods. We haue gyuen you for former matter, all that we promyſed you, requityng your fayth with multitude of gyfts, the greater labour we will worthily recompence accordyng to the determination of the Goddes. And nowe, to them that ſhall chéerefully goe to this feate, for thys aſſemblye exhortatiõs ſake, we will giue now euen from thys ſeate, to a Souldiour a thouſande fiue hundreth Drammes of *Italie*, to a Capitayne of a bande fiue tymes ſo muche, and to a Tribune, accordyng to the proportion. When hée had ſayde thus, and encamped his army, with worke, worde, and gyftes, hée diſmiſſed the multitude. They remayned prayſing *Brutus* and hym very muche, and promyſed to doe for them all that ſhoulde bée conuenient. They gaue then the gyftes out of hande, and other beſide theſe, to the beſte ſorte, for many conſiderations. And as they receyued, they ſente them forth in bandes, to *Doriſco*, and they folowed, not long after. At thys tyme two Eagles ſate vpon the two ſiuer Egles in the ſtanderde, beatyng at them, or as ſome ſay, coueryng them, and tarried ſtill, and were fedde with publique prouiſion appoynted from the Generalles, and the night before the day of the battell, they flewe away.

Lucania, parte of *Abruzzo*.
Iapigia, *Apulia*.
Doriſco, a playne in *Thracia*, by the which *Xerxes* did number his greate army.
A token of two Egles.

In two dayes cõming to the gulfe of *Melana*, they went to *Oeno*, and from *Oeno* to *Doriſco*, and other places, to the mounte *Serrio*, which ſtretchyng to the ſea, they kepte ſtil by lande. They commaunded *Tullius Cymbrus* with a naule and one legion, and certayne

Serrio hyll at the forelande.
Tullius Cymbrus.

certayne Archers, to goe by that chalk, which before had bin deserte, although the land was good, the *Thracians* neyther vsing the Sea, nor for feare receyuing them that came from the contrary coast. The *Grecians* and the *Calcidonians* keeping that shore, and vsing the Sea, flourished in Merchaundise and tyllage, the *Thracians* agreeyng with them for the receypt of their Mountaynes, till *Philip*, *Amyntas* sonne, did ouercome the *Chaldeans* and others. (*Calcidonians*) so as nothing is to be seene of the passengers, but onely a little Chappell.

This desert place *Tullius* quickly passed ouer, so as for *Brutus* company, he espyed a fitte place, and measured it for the Campe, keeping that same course with his Shippes, in so much as *Norbanus* lefte the streight of the *Saporians*, as vnprofitable to bee kept, which things happened as they desired: for at the sighte of these Shippes, *Norbanus* was troubled of *Saporia*, and called *Ceditius* from *Turpilio* to come to hym in hast, and he did so. The streightes of *Turpilio* being left, *Brutus* men wente on: the deceyte appearing, *Norbanus* and *Ceditius* toke *Sapeo* manfully, so as *Brutus* people could not passe: wherfore they were afrayde, least they must now goe aboute, as they shoulde haue done at the begynning, and to passe euery place besette, not hauing time conuenient for it, because of the Mountaines, and the season of the yeare.

Saporia, a citie at the floud *Nestus*.

Turpilio.

Sapeo.

Standing in this stay, *Rascopolis* sayde vnto them, there was a way by a compasse to the Mountayne of the *Sapeorums* of three dayes iourney, neuer gone of men before, for the sharp Rockes, want of water, and thicknesse of wodde: therefore if they would goe it, they must carrie water, and passe a streight way, yet passable: and this iourney for the solitarinesse, the very birdes could not discouer. The fourth day they should haue the floud *Arpessa*, running into the floud *Ermon*, from whence in one day going to *Philip*, they might sette on their enimies of the suddayne, whome they might so ouercome, because they had none other shift. The Souldioures being taughte thys way for lacke of other, and in hope to take their enimies at the aduantage, a part was sente with *Lucius Bibulus*, appoynting *Rascopolis* to guide the waye. With greate payne and laboure they wente on, and made it

Roscopolis.

Sapei, people at the floude *Nestus*.

Solitary vvay.

Arpessa, *Hebrus*, floude in *Thracia*.

yet with courage and good hearte the rather, bycause some that were sent afore, returned, and sayde, they sawe a floude a farre off.

The hard passage of the *Romanes*.

The fourth daye, being tyred wyth the sharpenesse of the iourney, and troubled wyth thyrst, their water beeing spente, whiche they broughte for three dayes, bycause it was sayde there was no water, they begamme to feare, least they were deceyued, not that they dyd not beleeue them that sayde they sawe the floude, but bycause they thoughte they were ledde a wrong way, and therefore begamme to exclayme and crye: and when *Rascopolis* came to them to encourage them, they reuiled him, and threw stones at hym. *Bibulus* humbly besought them, that they woulde patiently abyde the rest of the iourney.

The discourage of the *Romanes*. The rage of them.

A little before nyghte, the floude was seene of the formost, and streyght an eskrie was made as reason was, with greate gladnesse, whyche beeyng receyued of them that followed, it came to the hyndermost.

A ioyfull crye discouereth the enimie.

Brutus and *Cassius* vnderstandyng this, ledde the rest of theyr armie thys harde way, but the crie was so greate, as it was hearde of the enimies, whereby they coulde not preuente them, for *Rascus*, brother to *Rascopolis*, hearyng the crie, suspected it was the enimie, and maruelled so greate an armye coulde passe so harde a iourney, voyde of water, whyche scarcely was passable to the wylde beastes, for the hyghnesse of the woodes: and hee streyghte tolde *Norbanus* of it, who fledde from the streyghtes to *Amphipoli*.

Amphipolis a Citie, that is betweene *Thracia* and *Macedonia*.

Thus both these *Thracian* brethren holpe theyr armyes, the one in leadyng an vnknowen way, the other in descryng what was done. So *Brutus* Souldyours with maruellous boldnesse, came to *Philippi*, whyther also arriued *Tullius*, so as all the armye mette.

Tullius Cymber. *Philippi*. *Date*. *Crenida*. Χρηνιδα. King *Philip* builded, and named this Citie.

Thys Citie *Philippi* was called before *Date*, and syrste *Crenida*, bycause many fountaynes which in *Greeke* bee called *Crene*, do flowe from the Mountaynes.

This place very fytte for the *Thracians*, *Philip* walled aboute, and called it of hys name *Philippi*.

This

This Citie is builded vpō an hygh hyll, the greatnesse where' of compriſed the breadth of the ſame.

On the North ſide it hathe woodes and hylles, by the whyche *Raſcopolis* brought *Brutus* and *Caſſius* army.

On the South ſide is a Fenne, and beyonde that, a Sea, where from the Eaſt, the ſtreyghtes of *Sapeon* and *Torpilos* bee ſéene, from the Weaſt a large fielde, as farre as *Murcina* and *Drabiſco*, and the floud *Stramens*, three hundred and fifty furlongs about, very plentifull and fayre (where they faye) it chanced a mayde was rauiſhed as ſhe gathered floures. There is the floud *Zygaſtes*, in the whych (as they report) a God brake his Chariot as he paſſed ouer, whereof the floud had the name. The playne bendeth downeward, ſo as it is a receypte to them that marche from aboue from *Philippi*, againſte them that ſette from *Amphipolis*.

Sapeon, and *Torpilos*, ſtreightes *Murcino* and *Drabiſco*.
Strimonte a floud diuiding *Macedonia* from *Thracia*.
Proſerpina vvas the mayde.
Zygaſtes.
The God vvas *Pluto*.

There is another hyll at *Philippi*, not greate, whome they call *Dioniſio*, in the which be mynes of golde, called vntouchable. And goyng from *Philippi* a myle and more, there be two other hylles, ſtanding two mile from *Philippi*, and more aſunder. In theſe dyd they encampe, *Caſſius* towarde the South, and *Brutus* towarde the North, not mynding to followe *Norbanus*, becauſe they heard that *Antony* was at hand, *Ceſar* remaining at *Epidamnum* for ſickneſſe.

Dioniſio.
ἀσυλία, places holy and inuiolable.
The place of their Campes.
Epidamnum, *Durazzo*.
Ceſar ſicke.

The fielde was knowen to bée fayre for a battayle, and the hylles for a Campe, and aboute it on the one ſyde Fennes and waters to *Strymo*, and on the other ſide, ſtreightes, deſertes, and vnpaſſed pathes. In the middeſt of the hylles a myle ouer, was the way betweene *Aſia* and *Europe*, as a gate. Thys place they fortifyed with trenche to trenche, leauing a gate in the middeſt, that it ſéemed but one campe. There was a floude nygh, whyche ſome call *Ganga*, and ſome *Gangites*. And beyonde that, the Sea, by the whyche they hadde their prouiſion, with paſſage and entrie.

Gangites.
Thaſius, an Ile nigh *Thracia*.
Nea, an Iſlande and a Citie, vvhere they ſay *Philoctetus* vvas bitten of a Serpent, and dyed.

They had made *Thaſius* the warehouſe of their prouiſion, being vij. mile off, & wyth their Galyes had paſſage to *Nea*, a Citie ſyx

mile

myle from them, and they ioyning in this place, trayned they⁊ Army.

Antony. *Antony* came on with great hast, intending to get *Amphipolis* for the stay of the warre, which finding possessed of *Norbanus*, he was glad, and there he lefte the furniture for the warre, wyth one Legion, which *Pinarius* ledde. He wente on boldly, and Camped in the fielde, but a myle from his enimies, and streighte was sene the want and abundance of both armies. The one was aboue in frutefull ground, the other beneath in a bottome. They had wodde from the Mountaynes, these, from the Fenne. They had their water from the River, these from the pooles and pittes which they digged for the time. They hadde their victuals from *Thaso*, a fewe furlongs from them, these from *Amphipole*, aboue fiftie myles off. It seemed that *Antony* was driuen thus to do, bycause there was no more good grounde, and the playne being hollowe, in the whych, by reason of the ouerflowyng of the floud sometime, he found the water both sweete and sufficiente, by making welles and pittes.

Antonies Camp.

Thaso, an Ile and a Citie, ouer against the floud *Nessus*.

Antonies Camp.

Thys boldnesse, although it proceded of necessitie, yet it astonished his enimies, that so nygh and so some he was encamped with suche a contempte: wherefore they made manye Trenches, and fortifyed euery place with walles and rampyers.

Cassius seeyng *Antonyes* furie so greate, entrenched, that was left to the Fenne, being omitted for the streightenesse, so that no parte was vndefenced, but a syde of *Brutus*, whyche was hyllie.

Cassius hadde the Fenne and the Sea, all the rest beeyng taken in with Trenches, pitches, and gates. Thus they both were placed. Onely wyth their Horsemen sometime they skirmished.

When all things were prouided, and *Cæsar* some, yet not able to fyghte, for he came in a litter to hys armye, hys Captaynes sette themselues in order to fyghte, and *Brutus* dyd the lyke from the higher place easie to be sene, and yet intended not to come downe, but to waste they⁊ Enimie wyth wante,

eyther

either of them had nineteene legions of armed footemen. But they that were with *Brutus*, were the fewer in number, & they that were with *Cæsar* were the more. Of *Thracia* horse men, there were with *Cæsar* and *Antonie* aboue thirtene thousand: with *Brutus* and *Cassius* twenty thousand: so as for multitude of men, for boldenesse and vertue of Captaines, for armoure and furniture of Souldioures, there was most goodly shew on both sides. Yet they did nothing many daies, bycause *Brutus* would not strike the battell, but consume them with stopping of victuall from their enimies. They hadde al *Asia* to serue them, and the nighe places to bring them all thing by the sea: but the enimie hadde little, neither sufficient nor certain. For from *Aegipt* they could receiue nothing, bicause of the dearth that had wasted the countrey: nor frō *Spaine* nor *Affrica*, bycause of *Pompey*: nor frō *Italy*, bycause of *Murcus* & *Domitius*: and *Macedonia* & *Thessalia*, could not by a great deale, supplie their want, whiche places, they onely had for their succor. And that was the cause why *Brutus* refused battaile. *Antonie* fearing this, determined in any wise to giue the battel, & if it were possible, to make the Fen passable, that he might come vpon the backe of the enimy, and take their victuall that came from *Thase*.

The number of both armies.

VVante at *Antonies* and *Cæsars* campe.

Therfore on a tyme, bringing his men forth in order of battaile, with banner displayde, he appointed a parte of his armye bothe by night and daye, to make a straighte pathe in the same, cutting downe the rēdes, and laying tymber and stones of eyther side, so as they shoulde not shrinke. The foundation wherof he pyled and made strong with maruellous silence. The thicknesse of the rēds toke away the sight of the worke. And when they had wrought tenne dayes, he sent certaine bandes the direct way, and the space lefte betweene, he toke and made many Towers. *Cassius* maruelling at the deuise and pollicie, and intending to defeate the Castells made of *Antony*, entrenched all the residue of the Fenne, beginning from the campe to the sea, pauing and making bridges and ditches vpon the sure ground, taking in also the waye that *Antony* hadde made, that neyther they that were there could go abroad, nor he helpe them though

Antonies pollicy & painefulnesse.

Antony maketh a way in the Fenne.

he woulde. *Antony* perceyuing this about midde day, in a rage and furie, brought his whole army, being otherwise appointed, and turned them vppon the fortification of *Cassius*, betweene the Campe and the Fenne, bringing engins and scales, as though he woulde charge vppon his Campe. In doing this betweene both armies with great boldenesse, *Brutus* Souldioures were grieued, thinking it a shame for them to let them so escape, and wythoute commandement, sauing of one Capitaine, they sette vppon theyr flanke. *Brutus* menne hauyng thus begonne the matter, gaue a charge vppon *Cæsars* army, that was in a readinesse, and putte them from their place, and toke their Campe, whiche was common to *Cæsar* and *Antony*. *Cæsar* hymselfe was absent, shifting off that day, for a dreame he hadde, as hee writeth in his booke of Remembraunces. *Antony* seeing the fight to be begunne, was gladde he had brought the enimie to it, yet he thoughte not good to turne into the playne, leaste hee shoulde disturbe his battaile. Therefore to doe the rest wyth that fiercenesse he beganne, in running manner he marched and mounted vp, for all the resistaunce that was made, and by very behement force, beat backe the battaile of *Cassius*, keepyng the order that was appointed them, they being astonished at thys feate done beyonde all reason. When *Antony* hadde thus broken them, he brake downe the ouerthwart trench with violence, filling the ditche, and flinging downe the rampires, and all the rest to the gate, where he distressed the warders, and entred for all the weapons that were throwne vppon him. Some passed ouer the broken walles, some ouer the dead bodyes, and al was done so fiercelye and so sodainelye, as they that came oute of the Fenne to helpe them, were driuen backe againe, of them that had gotte the wall, wyth the lyke vehemencie: and they only that were with *Antony*, entred into *Cassius* Campe, the other stil fighting without. The campe was thought to be strõg, therefore fewe kept it, whiche was the cause why it was the more easily taken. The souldiors of *Cassius* being thus put to the worse, and knowing that their campe was taken, fled verye cõfusedly: the matter was equal on both sids: for *Brutus* ouercame

Cæsars

By what occasion the battell beganne.

flanke

Cæsar absent for a dreame.

The furie of Antony.

The fight at Philippi.

Antony taketh the Campe of Cassius.

Cæsars battell, and lodged in his campe. *Antony* ouerthrew *Cassius*, with a maruellous boldenesse and spoyled his campe. The slaughter was confused, for by the greatnesse of ỳ playne, & raysing of the duske, one knewe not another, till sometimes they asked, and then called them to their due places. Some retourned loaden with gere, like Cariers rather than soldiors, which some threw away & toke from them. There was no reioycing one with another, bicause it was not wel knowne what was done: so there was much confusion. On *Cassius* side, numbring slaues & al sorts, was slaine, viij. M. of *Cæsars*, twice so many. When *Cassius* was put from his campe, & could no more get to it, he wente to the hill of *Phillippi*, and beheld what was done. But hee neyther coulde well see nor heare, for the duske and noyse: onelye hee sawe hys owne Campe spoyled. Wherfore hee commaunded *Pindarus* hys page, to kyl hym with his owne sworde. *Pindarus* stayde at the matter, and in the meane tyme a messenger came and tolde, that *Brutus* had ouercome *Cæsar*, and possessed his Campe. To the whiche *Cassius* saide, tell him we are ouerthrowne, and all the victorye is his. Then he turned to *Pindare*, and sayde: why dost not thou ridde me of thys dishonor? and so offering hys throate, *Pindarus* cutte it.

Cassius campe taken by *Brutus*.

The slaughter.

Cassius commaded *Pindarus* to kyll hym.

Thus they saye *Cassius* died. Some tel after this sort, that a bande of *Brutus* horsemen, came to bring him the good newes. He thought they had bene his enemies, and sente *Titinius* to knowe the truth. The horsemen receiuing him with great ioy as a frend made a loude noyse. *Cassius* fearing he had fallen in his enimies hands, said thus: we haue suffered to see our friend taken of oure enimies, and wèt in with *Pindarus*, and that he was neuer sèn after, so as some thinke that *Pindarus* did it not. This was the ende of *Cassius* life, it chaunsing so, that the day of this foughten battel was the daye of his birth. *Titinius* killed him selfe for his long tariance.

Some thinke *Cassius* kylled himselfe wyth the dagger th[at] he killed *Cæsar*.

Cassius is kylled on his byrth day.

Brutus bewayling the death of *Cassius*, as a rare *Romaine*, & such a one as the like was not to be founde for vertue & valiantnesse, called him happye, that hee was ridde of cares and troubles, the whych would bring him to the like ende. He committed his bo-

Brutus lamenteth the death of *Cassius*.

by secretly to be buryed, that the army shoulde not be discouraged at the sighte of it, and withoute meate or sleepe, remayned all that night in setting *Cassius* men in frame. Day being come, the enimies were in order againe to fight, that they should not seeme to haue the worse. *Brutus* perceyued their intente, and sayde: Lette vs arme also and make a shewe likewise, that wee are not inferiour. Which when he had done, theenemie retired. Then he sayde pleasantly to his friendes: They seemed to prouoke vs, as the weaker, but they wil not putte the matter to tryall.

Cæsar and *Antony* haue a bolte by sea, the same daye that the Feilde was at *Philippi*.

The same day that the field was fought at *Philippi*, an other very great feate was done in *Ionio*. *Domitius Caluinus* did leade in gret ships, .ij. legiõs to *Cæsar*, that had ỹ name of Martial, being so called for the honor of their valiantnesse. He led also a bãd for his guarde, of two thousande men, and foure troupes of horse, & other numbers gathered together, with a fewe Galleyes.

A fight on the sea.

Martiall legats.

Murcus and *Ornobarbus* mette them, with one hundred and thirtie long Shippes. A fewe of the former Hulkes fledde by good sayling. The other, by the sodayne ceassing of the winde, in a sea calme and still, were caught, being by very fortune giuen to the enimies, who without feare, bowged and brake them, not hauing any helpe of their fewe Galleyes, being compassed of so many.

Greate and diuers was the trauaile of them that were in perill, linking themselues togither with their Cables, and with weapons & courage putting themselues in order, ỹ the enimie should not vse them, though they ouercame them. *Murcus* threw darts of fire, which did quickly burne the byndings, & the ships seuered asunder, to auoid the fyre. The galleys were ready to hinder them euery way, wherewith the souldiours beyng grieued, and especially the Martialls, that beyng better in valiantnesse, shoulde perishe for lacke of fyghting, some kylled themselues with the fire, some leapte into the enimies galleys, and kylled some, and were killed themselues: the shippes halfe burned, wēt their way, carying men, some consumed with fyre, some with wāt & thirst. Some with ỹ Cables or plancks were carried

Losse by sea to *Antony* & *Cæsar*.

to

to ỳ rockes, or defert ſhoars: & ſome were ſaued, beyond al reaſon: ſome continuing fiue dayes, by eating pitche off the cables and ſayles, helde out, till they were driuen to lande by the billows. There were many that gaue themſelues to their enimies being ouercome with calamitie. Viij. of their Galleyes yelded, whoſe ſouldiers *Murcus* toke to him. *Calurnius* the General came fiue dayes after to *Brundiſe*, with one ſhippe, being thoughte to haue bene loſt. *Calurnius.*

This happe was in *Ionio*, the ſame day that the fielde was at *Philippi*, whether you wil call it a ſhipwrack, or a ſhipfight. The which euils cõcurring together, being after knowen, cauſed the greater feare. *Brutus* called his army together, & ſayd thus: There is nothing (O fellowe ſouldiers) in yeſterdayes fight, but that maketh you ſuperiour to your enimies. You gaue the charge chearfully, when no warning was giuen you: the fourth legion, ſo renoumed to them, in whome their battaile had their confidence, you ouerthrew vtterly: their army you droue to their campe: their campe you firſt toke, and after ſpoyled, in ſo much as you haue farre ouercome the loſſe you had in the laſt batail. And where you might haue made an ende of all your trauaple, you chooſe rather to fall to ſpoyle, than to followe your enimies that were ouercome: for many of you running before them, ſet vppon their ſpoile. And in this one, they haue but the of oure campes, but we haue all that they had, ſo as the recompence of the loſſe is double. And hauing this aduantage in the fight, how much otherwiſe we do excede, you may learne of the captiues: for their want of victual: for the ſtriuing for it: for the difficult bringing of it: and for the euident getting of ſo little. For from *Sicelie*, *Sardinia*, *Libya*, and *Iberia*, they can haue none for *Pompeius*, *Murcus*, and *Oenobarbus*, they keping thoſe Seas with two hundreth and thre ſcore ſhippes. *Macedonia* they haue conſumed: now only they haue from *Theſſalia*, which how long can it ſerue them? Therefore when you ſe them offer to fight, then thinke they chiefely be forced by hunger, and doe chooſe death rather by their handes. Let vs contrarywiſe forſee, that hunger may fight for vs, that we may take them the feebler and more conſu- Oration of *Brutus*.

ned, when it shal be fit. Let not vs be carried with affection be-
fore due tyme: nor thinke slowneſſe, or quickneſſe to be experi-
ence: nor haue oure eie vppon the sea backewarde, which mini-
streth to vs suche foode and seruice, when we see that victorie is
ours without daunger, if you will abide, and not distruste: that
thoughe they come forth and prouoke vs, not stronger than we,
as the worke yesterday shewed, but for auoyding further feare,
that all the courage, which I desire you to keepe, you may shew
forth, when I shal require you at once, and the perfect rewards
of victorie, when the gods shall haue giuen their sentence of vs,
by our perfect deeds, I will giue vnto you. And now for yester-
dayes vertue, I giue to euery souldiour, a thousand drammes,
and to your Capitaines, as the proportion requireth,

Thus he said, & straight diuided the gifte to euery legion, &
some say, he promised to giue the *Macedonia* & *Theſſalia* in spoile.
Cæſar and *Antony* seeing that *Brutus* would vnwillingly come
to the fight, called their people, and *Antony* said thus: Yester-
daies worke, (O Men) I perceiue our enimies in words do di-
uide, as they that chased some of vs, and spoiled a campe, where
indeede they confesse al was yours: for I affirme vnto you, that
neither ỳ next day, nor yet, willingly wil they come to ỳ fight,
which is a most certain surety of yesterdaies fear & losse, as in ỳ
maner of contentions, of force, they that are the weaker, go out
of the place. They dyde not gather so greate an armye
that they mighte inhabite the Deserte of *Thracia*, by ma-
king of their walles, but they made all that defence, for feare
of your comming vppon them: and now minding to keepe in, for
yesterdaies ouerthrow, when the elder, and the more expert of
the Captaines for very desperation, kylled himselfe, whiche is
the greatest declaration of their miserie. Therefore when you
shall prouoke them, and they not answere, nor come from their
hilles, but truste in their holdes, in stede of their handes, then
you (O Romaine men) enforce them againe, as ye forced them
yesterday, thinking it shame to giue place as fearfull, and pro-
uoked to refraine, and to be holden the worse men for their kee-
ping in. For we come not hither to liue in the playne, nor if we

Antonies Oration.

tarried,

tarryed, it woulde suffise vs, but the spedy attemptes are to bee, giuen in warre of the wise, that we may the longer continue in, peace. The tymes and the trauaile we muste foresee, of whom, you cannot complayne, for yesterdayes assaulte and attempte., When you are required, then shewe your vertue to your capi-, taines, be not grieued with yesterdayes spoile, for riches is not, in that we haue, but in that we got by conquest, for that we lost, yesterday. For it remaineth safe with our enimie, the which and, their owne, they must yelde vs, when we ouercome them: & if we, will go forth to get that, then must we set forth to the fight. Ye-, sterday we toke again of theirs sufficiētly, & happily more suffi-, cient of our owne, for they haue brought togither all that they, haue by violence spoiled oute of *Asia*, and you comming as, from your Countrey, haue lefte at home the moste precious, things, and onelye broughte necessaries. And if you hadde a-, nye thyng of estimation, you compted it your Generalls, all, the whyche, we be ready to giue you, for thys victorye, and, for the recompence of this losse. For your sake we will giue re-, wards of victorie, to euerye Souldioure fyue thousand drams,, to a Capitaine of a bande fyue tymes so muche, and to a Tri-, bune double so muche as a Captaine.,

When *Antony* had thus sayde, he sette them in order to fight, but the ennimie woulde not come forwarde. *Antony* being grieued, stil set them in battaile ray.

Brutus hadde his army in good order, and néded not come to the fyght, for he had taken al the wayes for prouision of things nédefull.

There was an hill very nighe to *Cassius* Campe, harde for the enimie to take, bycause the nighnesse made it in danger of the archers. *Cassius* had entrenched it, that no man should from that place giue any bold attempt vnlooked for: which being abando-, ned of *Brutus*, *Cæsars* soldiors in the night vō. iiij. legions toke it, carying with them many burdles & hides to resist ꝑ shot. Whē they had the hil, they led other .x. legions halfe a myle and more towarde the sea, and to the firste foure, they added two legions more, to take by that deuise all things euen to the sea: & if there were

Cæsars men take an hill.

were any way beside the seas, as by the Fennes, or other mean, they might distresse it, and take the victual from their enimie. *Brutus* made deuises against them, setting vp other forts against their Camps. *Cæsars* souldiors also set vp a new worke. Nowe was ỳ famine emdēt, & increased euery day in greatnesse & fear, for they could no longer haue sufficient brought thē frō *Thessalie*, & frō ỳ sea there was no hope, ỳ enimies being lords of ỳ ships: and the late losse in *Ionio* beyng tolde to them bothe, they were the more afraide, the winter being at hande, and they lying in a Fenny plaine. Deliberation had for these thyngs, they sent a legion armed into *Achia*, to prouide them necessarye victualls, and to sende it them with all speede: but not able to auoide the present perill, nor make any other deuice, nor in the reste of the campe, to doe anye more to offend the enimie, they came forth with showts, and called *Brutus* to the fight, scoffing and raylng at him, and doubting whither this refraining from fight, were like a man besieged, rather than a man beraught his wit. This was knowne to him from the beginning, and he beleeued it the rather, because of their want, and their losse in *Ionio*, perceyuing his enimies had one mischiefe of another. And he determined, as a man besieged, or any other way to auoide the battell, rather than to come to hands with men driuen by hunger and desperation of all things, hauing their onely hope in their hands. But his army, for lacke of consideration, did not thinke so, but were grieued, that as women within, they were shut vp with pleneſse and feare. Their captains also were not content, and blamed *Brutus* opinion, thinking with that courage of the souldiors, the sooner to ouerthrowe their enimie. The cause hereof proceeded, that *Brutus* was so courteous and milde to al mē, and vnlyke to *Cassius*, that was seuere and imperious in al thynges, so as his commaundements were kept without any resistance of the souldiours, not asking questions, nor reasoning what he woulde haue done: but *Brutus* woulde doe nothing withoute the opinion of the Captaines, throwe his gentle nature. At length hys armye by companies and rowtes beganne openly to aske:

Famine in the campe of *Cæsar* and *Antonie*.

Achaia the north region of *Peloponeso*.

Antonie prouoketh *Brutus* to fight.

Curtelie in a Captaine is hinderance.

"What meaneth oure Generall: wherein haue we offended

of

of late when we did ouercome, when we did chace, when we di-
stressed our enimies, or when we toke their Campe.

Brutus suffered this of purpose, and dyd not call them to anye assemblie, least he shoulde be forced vnseemely of the rude multitude, chiefly of the hyred sorte, whose manner euer is lyke vnto vnstable seruauntes, to hope in the change of maisters, and to set their safetie in the contrary faction. The Captaynes also being angrie, and wishing him now not to doubt, the armye bee-ing in this forwardnesse, would do some notable feate, and if a-ny thing hapt amisse in the fight, they myght returne to their Campe, and defende themselues with their wall.

Brutus beareth of purpose.

Brutus was muche greeued with the Captaynes, and fearyng they woulde putte him to the daunger, by fyght dealyng with the armye, whereas he without doubte or sharpe fortune, was sure of victorie not daungerous, he consented to his and al their destruction, thus reprouing them:

Like *Pompey* the greate be we forced to fyght, not commaun-ding as a Captayne, but rather obeying as a Souldyoure.

Brutus ouerru-led like *Pompey*

And I thynke he spake no more, to hyde that he most feared, least the armye that sometyme serued *Cæsar*, woulde take occa-sion to reuolte, whyche at the beginning, both *Cassius* and he fea-red, so as they gaue none occasion to them of any offence.

Whis *Brutus* was brought vnwillingly to sette his men in or-der before the Trenche, willing them not to marche farre from the hyll, that they myght haue their retyre (if neede were) nigh, and bee the surer, and the more easie to marche agaynste their e-nimies agayne.

Of both sides there was greate preparation of all thinges, and a greate desire of the feate, with a boldnesse of necessitie, the one for feare of hunger, the other of iust reuerence, compelling the Captayne to come forthe, that they shoulde not be worse than their promise, nor weaker than their wordes, and bee thoughte rather guilty of payne for their rashnesse, than worthye of prayse for their good counsell. *Brutus* goyng among them on Horsebacke, shewed a seuere countenance, and exhorted them in fewe wordes as the tyme woulde serue.

The Oration of Brutus.

"You would nedes fight, you would nedes force me, otherwise hauyng the victory, do not deceyue, neyther me, nor your selues of thys hope. You haue an hyll to fyghte with you, and at youre backe all is youres. Youre enimies be in doubtfull case, beyng betweene you and famine.

Hauyng sayde thus, he rode aboute, and encouraged all the bandes, and with crye they receyuyng hym, to hys greate prayse.

Cæsar and *Antony* goyng aboute theyrs, offered theyr ryghte handes to them that were nexte, and seuerally exhorted them, and dyd not hyde theyr hunger, that they myghte stirre them to the more presente boldnesse.

Cæsar and Antony by their people.

"We haue founde (O men) our enimies. We haue them as we desired out of theyr Trenche. Lette none of you be afrayd to gyue the charge, nor gyue place when you be sette vpon, nor lette hym rather chose, famine and doloyous destruction, that can not be auoyded, than ourre enimies death and bodyes, whyche is youre boldnesse, weapons, and trauayle, they will easily gyue. The presente case requireth spedinesse. You maye deferre nothyng tyll to morrowe, but thys daye must determine all thynges, eyther with perfite victorie, or valiant deathe. If you haue victory, you shall winne in one daye victuall and money, Shyppes, and Campes, and rewardes of victory of vs. Thys we must remember, that when we gyue the charge vpon them, we doe fyxe purpose in the myddest of theyr force and forwardnesse, to shutte them from theyr Campe, and to driue them to the playne from the hylles, that the warre be not to be begunne agayne, nor that ourre enimies driue vs not to idlenesse agayne, whyche for theyr fayntenesse haue no hope in fyghte, but put all theyr trust in refrayning from battell.

Cæsar and *Antonius* after thys sorte exhorted theyr Souldyoures, and euery man hadde a respect to appeare worthye Souldyoures for suche Captaynes: and they were the more fyxed to auoyde the wante, for the suddayne losse in the *Ionian* Sea, and chose rather with payne and hope (if nede were) to abyde

the

the vttermoſt, than to be conſumed with an euill, that cannot be auoyded.

The matter ſtanding thus, and euery one moued againſte hym that was next, the anger of both ſides encreaſed very much, and they were filled with boldneſſe incredible. And nowe they dyd not remember that they were Citizens together, but as enimies by nature and bloude, they threatned one another: ſo ſuddainely hadde rage and furie in them quenched nature and reaſon. They propheceyed alyke of both ſydes, that that daye in that ſeate, ſhould iudge all the Romaine cauſes. And the iudgemente was geuen in deede. The day beeyng ſpente in preparation tyll the ninth houre, two Eagles falling betweene both Campes, foughte together, at the which was great ſilence; that Eagle flying that was toward *Brutus*, whereat a ſhrill crye was made of the enimies. Both broughte forthe theyr ſtanderdes. The marche was fierce and vehement. They little needed arrowes, ſtones, or dartes, after the manner of warre, for they vſed none other comming on, than the order of battell, wherein they were broughte vp: and they buckled with naked ſwordes, and layde on of eyther ſyde, to put one another from theyr ray, the one for theyr ſaftie, rather than for victorie, the other, for victory and comforte of theyr Captayne, whome they had prouoked to fighte.

Nature and Countrey forgotten.

Two Eagles. A token before the fight.

The vehemencie of Souldiours.

The ſlaughter and the fighte was great.

The bodyes were borne away, and other were put in theyr places to ſerue the former rankes.

The Captaynes riding aboute, and beholding euery where, encouraged them to be valiante. They comforted them that tooke paynes, to continue ſtill their labours. Where that ſhunke they changed, that their bolonefſe that were in the fronte, might be continued. At length the Souldyoures of *Cæſar*, eyther for feare of famine, or for *Cæſars* felicitie (for *Brutus* men were not to be blamed) ouertame the battell of their enimies, and putte them backe, as an heape of an heauie maſſe, yet they turned againe into theyr place ſlowly and with order:

but when their ray was broken, they went away faster, and the second and third bande turned wyth them, and disordredly thrusting one vpon another, were broken of themselues, and of their enimies, that without stay pursued them, tyll they fledde euidently. And *Cæsars* Souldyoures then remembryng their promise chiefly, fiercely followyng them, gaue an assaulte vpon their Campe very daungerously, and on euery side so set vp vpon them, that they compelled them to flee, whereof some wente towarde the Sea, and the bylles by the floude *Zygare*.

Brutus men distressed.

Thys alteration beyng made, the Generalles deuided the rest of the labour. *Cæsar* to keepe them that fledde from their Campe, and to holde the Campe hymselfe: *Antony*, to followe the fliers, and to ouerthrowe the remainers, to assaulte their other Campes, and wyth eminent violence, to putte all to ruyne. And fearing that the Captaynes myghte escape hym, and gather another armye, he sente hys horsemen to the wayes and issues of the holde, to stoppe them that fledde. Some wente from hyll to hyll (*Rufus* the Captayne beyng their guyde, because of hys experience in the way) and passed by the trenches and rocky places, chacing them that fledde, and keping other from flieyng. Some followed *Brutus* hymselfe. When *Lucilius* sawe them so fast running after hym, he stayde, and as though he had bin *Brutus*, prayed them he myghte be ledde to *Antonie*, and not to *Cæsar*, by the whiche he was the rather thoughte to be *Brutus*, in auoydyng hys vnplacable enimie.

Lucilius a Re for to saue *Brutus*.

Antony vnderstandyng he was broughte to hym, wente towarde hym in good order, consideryng the fortune, the worthynesse and vertue of the man, and howe he myght vse hym. Beyng at hande, *Lucilius* inceyng wyth hym verye boldly, sayde: *Brutus* is not taken, neyther shall vertue euer be taken of vice. I deceyuing these men, thus am before thee.

Boldnesse of *Lucilius*.

At the whiche worde the horsemen beyng ashamed, *Antony* to comfort them sayde:

'You haue hunted none euill game, but better than you 'thynke, so muche is a friende better than an Enimie,

and

and committed *Lucinus* to wayte vpon one of his friends, and after sled hym as hys allyred. *Brutus* fledde to the mountaynes with a conuenient multitude, that in the night he might returne to hys campe or take hys way by the sea. But when he hearde all passages were kepte, hee continued with all his people in armes. And they say hee lokep vp to the Starres, saying: O *Iupiter* thou knowest who is the cause of these euils, meaning *Antonie*, which (they say) *Antonie* after in his priuate perils did confesse, saying: That where he might haue ruled with *Brutus* & *Cassius*, he was now a slaue to *Octauio*. That night *Antonie* continued in armes, that he might haue *Brutus*, making a trench of dead bodies and of the baggage brought togither. *Cæsar* labouring till midnight, withdrew himselfe for sickenesse, committyng the charge of the army to *Norbanus*.

Brutus vvordes, meanyng by *Antonie*, vvhom he sayde should once be punished for it.

Antonies repentance.

A trenche of dead bodies.

Brutus perceiuing what wayte his enimies made for him, and hauing no more but foure legions, where with he was wel warded, desired the chiefe of his host, whiche now were ashamed and repented of their act, to sende to see, how they might make way to passe the raynes, and to recouer their owne that was kept in the abãdoned tentes. They being vnwilling, and now considering more than they did, and that God was agaynst them, tolde their Generall they had giuen him euill counsell, and they hauing tried fortune so oft, would not now put any more hope in their matter. Then *Brutus* sayde to his friendes: I am no longer profitable to my Countrey. Hee called one of his moste trusty friendes, named *Strato* of *Epiro*, and willed hym to kyll hym out of hande, who entreatyng hym to take better aduice, called one of hys seruauntes, and sayde: O *Brutus*, in thy lacke commaundement thou shalte not wante, neyther thy friende nor thy seruaunt. And hauyng thus sayde, hee thrust hys sworde into *Brutus* side, neyther resistyng nor helpyng.

Brutus men gyueth ouer.

Strato.

Brutus beyng persuaded to flee, sayde: yea, but vvith hands not vvith feete.

The death of *Brutus*, vvherin it vvas seene that vertue vvas ouercome of *Fortune*, he saying, O vertue vnhappy, in vvordes onely, vvise, &c.

One onely fault of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

Thus *Cassius* and *Brutus* died, moste noble and worthy *Romanes*, and but for one facte, euer followed vertue. Whome *Cæsar* offenimies taking *Pompeyus* part, had made frendes, and of frendes, vsed them as his chylderen; and the Senate had them euer in greate regarde, and pitied their chaunce, and for

The vvorthi-nesse of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

their two saties, decreed an acte of oblision of all thyngs: and when they diede, sente them to prouinces, that they shoulde not seeme to flee: Not omittyng yet the honour of *Cæsar*, nor forgettyng hys feates, of whose vertue and fortune they marueiled, beyng aliue, and when hee was dead, buryed him with publique expence, and proclaymed hys workes to bee immortal, & apoynted offices & prouinces for y most part by his assignement, not findyng any thyng better than *Cæsar* had determined.

The estimation of *Brutus* and *Cassius* brought calumniation.

But the care and regard for these men, brought them into a suspition of false accusation: they were so honored of al men. And of the best of the banyshed men they were thought most honorable, though *Pompey* were at hande, whose cause was not vnpardonable, and they farre off, and voyde of reconciliation, nedyng many things, scarsly hauing two legions. They gathered after twentie legions, and as many thousand horsemen, and about two hundred long shippes, with other sufficient furniture, and money moste plentifull, of the willyng and vnwillyng nations and Cities that they ouercame, and their enimies of the contrary faction. They hadde the rule of all the Realmes from *Macedonia* to *Euphrates*, and whome soeuer they ouercame, they brought them to their societie, and hadde them moste trusty: they vsed Kings and Princes, and the *Parthians*, although their enimies, in matters of small accompt: but when they came to greate thyngs, they coulde not abide them, because they wouldde not accustome a barbarous and hostile nation among the *Romanes*. And moste maruell of all it is, that their army beyng the moste parte of *Caius Cæsars*, and destroius of his felicitie, for good will and affection, they coulde turne to the contrary parte to him, being killers of him, and wente with them against *Cæsars* Sonne, and more faythfull to them than to *Antony*, fellow in rule and enterprise with *Octauian*. For none of them lefte *Brutus* or *Cassius* when they were ouercome. But *Antonie*, at *Brundusie* they forsoke before the triall. The pretence of paynes bothe vnder *Pompey* and nowe, was not for themselues, but for the name of the peoples gouernment, ouer glorious, but not commodious. For bothe of them when they

The power of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

The pardone in the vse of barbarous princes.

The Souldiours trayned vnder *Cæsar*, were trusty to *Brutus*.

The Souldiours more trusty to *Brutus* and *Cassius* than to *Antony*.

they saw they could bée no longer profitable to their countrey, dispatched themselues alike. In their seuerall considerations *Cassius* was immutable, as they that in the combattes will neuer gyue ouer, onely hauyng regarde to the daunger. But *Brutus* in euery place was full of affabilitie and gentlenesse, and not ignorant of Philosophy. Yet by these men, the acte agaynst *Cæsar* was done, contrary in all thyng, beyng no simple worke, nor in no small matter, for it was agaynst their frende, contrary to reason, and agaynst their well doer, vnthankfully, whome hée had saued in the warre, and agaynst the chiefe ruler, iniustly in the Senate house, and agaynst an holy man, hauyng on an holy vesture: and suche an officer, as neuer was the lyke, so profitable to all menne and to his countrie and Empire. The whiche God did punishe in them, and many times gaue tokens of it. For when *Cassius* was purgyng his hoste, the Sergeant put on the crowne the wrong way, and hys golden consecrate vesture of victory fell to the grounde, many greate byrdes sitting vpon the campe, made no noyse, and swarmes of Bées were continually aboute him.

Maners of *Cassius*.

Maners of *Brutus*.

Theyr fault agaynst *Cæsar*.

The vvorthynesse of *Cæsar*

God punished the death of *Cæsar* in *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

Tokens to *Cassius*.

Brutus (they say) celebratyng hys birthe day in *Samo* vpon the sea, beyng nothyng merry aboute it, without occasion did caste forth this verse.

Tokens to *Brutus*.

But me cruel destenie, and *Iuliones* sonne doth destroy.

Goyng with his army betwéene *Asia* and *Europa*, and watchyng in the night when lighte fayled, a fearefull shape appeared to hym. Whome hée boldly askyng what man or God hée was, the vision answeared: I am *Brutus*, thyne euill lucke, and at *Philippi* I will appeare agayne vnto thée. And they say he sawe hym there before the laste fight, and when the armie lyonte out of the campe, an *Ethiopian* mette them, whome as an euill token, they killed.

The vvordes of *Patroclus* vsed by *Brutus*.

The bad Angel of *Brutus*.

In these things also was a diuine worke. That *Cassius* in victorie yet indifferent, gaue ouer all hope without any cause: and *Brutus*, dryuen from hys good determination of refrayning fighte, fallyng into the handes of them that were forced by famine, hymselfe hauyng plentyfull foode, and shippes at commandement,

VVork of god.

Cassius despayreth to sone.

Brutus is ouerruled.

maundement, and was rather ouercome of hys kamsliers, than of hys enemies: and where they had fought many fieldes, they neuer had no hurte. Bothe of them were killers of themselues, as they were of *Cæsar*.

Thus *Cassius* and *Brutus* were punished. *Brutus* body beyng founde, *Antonie* cladde it with a purple pall, and when hee had vsed it with fire, hee sente the relikes to hys mother *Seruilia*, *Brutus* army when they hearde hee was dead, sente messengers to *Cæsar* and *Antony*, who were pardoned, and diuided into their armies, beyng aboute. xviij. M. They peeled also that kepte the fortes and Tentes, all the whiche were gyuen to *Cæsars* & *Antonies* Souldiours to be spoyled.

The body of *Brutus*.

Seruilia mother of *Brutus*.

Praise tentes & fortes gyuen to spoyle.

Of the noble men that were with *Brutus*, some were slayne in the battayle, some offered themselues freely to the Generals; some of purpose continued the fighte to be kylled: as *Lucius Cassius* a brothers Sonne of *Cassius*, and *Cato* his Sonne, who falling many times among their enimies, and being forsaken, toke of hys headpeece, that he mighte be knowne, or notably kylled, or bothe.

Cassius.

Cato his sonne.

Labeo knowne for his wisedome, father of that *Labeo* that now is renowned for his knowledge in the lawes, made a graue in his tente, bigge inough for his body, & takyng order for al things with his seruaunts, he signified to his wife and children what he would haue done, and toke the letters to his seruaunts to carry, and taking him by the right hande whom he loued best, and turnyng him as the *Romane* manner was, made him free, and beyng turned he toke him his swoorde & offred his throte, & so to him, his Tent was his graue. *Rascus* the *Thracian* that brought many through the mountaynes, desired a reward, and had it, to saue his brother *Rascopolis*: whereby it may be perceyued, that at the beginning these *Thracians* were not at variance. But because two great armies at debate shoulde passe their countries, they diuided the certentie of fortune, that he that wanne, might saue hym that lost. *Portia*, *Brutus* his wife, a sister to *Cato* the yonger, when she heard that they both were dead, being diligently kept of his seruants, toke the fire from the harth, and swalowed the coles.

Labeo,

A tente for a graue.

Policie of brethren.

Portia Brutus wyfe.

The

The other noble men fledde to *Thaso*: some sayled awaye, some gaue themselues with the rest of the army, to *Messil.*, *Cornificio*, and *Lucio Bibulo*, men of like authoritie, that they mighte take counsell for themselues to doe for all the rest. Many gaue themselues to *Antony* as he sayled towarde *Thaso*, and all the mony, armoure and plenty of victual, and any other preparation whi the was great. *Messil., Cornificio and Bibul's remnant of thys armye.*

Thus *Cæsar* and *Antony*, by singular boldenesse, gotte suche a tourney at two fight as fore, as none had done before themfor no suche, nor so great an army of Romaines, euer came to handes before: not gathered of common Citizens, but of the beste Gentlemen: not ignorant of fighting, but long practised of theselues, not of straunge or barbarous nation, but of all one language, and one arte of war, of one strength and exercise, hard to be matched therefore among themselues: none euer vsed more boldenesse or fiercenesse in fight, a token of that, the number of deade men, being equall in bothe fights, and no fewer of theirs that did ouercome. *Cæsars* and *Antonies* souldiours did fulfill their Captaines will, in one day and one worke, chaunging extreame danger of famine, and feare of death, into victuall abundant, into safety stable, & into victory notable. It followed of that fight, that the wise Romaines did prophesie. For the common wealth was chiefly iudged by that feate, and was lyke to haue come to the popular state agayne. And there was no acte of anye suche troubles among themselues, but in the variaunce betweene *Cæsar* and *Antony*, whiche was the laste among the Romains. The things that in the meane tyme were done vnder *Pompey*, after *Brutus*, by them that of *Cassius* and *Brutus* friends fledde hither and thither, reteining the remnaunt of so great preparation, neither were they done with such boldnesse, nor with such forces of men, of Cities, or of Captaynes in their prouinces, for they had no nobilitie, no Senate, nor no glory, as *Brutus* and *Cassius* had. The mightinesse of the armies. The fight shewed vvhat vvould become of *Rome*.

The ende of the fourth booke of Ciuill Dissentions.

¶ The fift Booke of *Appian* of *Alexandria*, of the Ciuill Dissentions of the Romaines.



After the deathe of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Octauian* went into *Italy*, and *Antonie* into *Aegipt*, where *Cleopatra* meetyng with him, ouercame him at the firste sight. The which loue, brought them to destruction, and *Aegipt* to vtter ruine. Wherof *Egipt* also shal be a part of this volume, but not so great, as it can giue it ỹ title, bicause many of the ciuill battailes are intermedled with it. For after *Cassius* and *Brutus*, there were lyke Ciuill Dissentions, but wythoute a Generall, that commaunded all as they did, but some leading armies here, and some there, till *Sextus Pompey*, the seconde son of *Pompey* the Greate, being lefte of that faction, was lefte vp of *Brutus* friends. *Lepidus* being nowe putte from his dignitie, al the authoritie rested in *Antony* and *Octauian*, the whiche things fell out after this sorte.

Antony in loue with *Cleopatra*.

Sextus Pompey.

Lepidus depriued

Cassius of *Parma*.

Cassius surnamed of *Parma*, when *Brutus* and *Cassius* wente to battaile, was lefte of them in *Asia*, with an army and a nauy, to gather mony. When *Cassius* was deade, he hauing no such hope in *Brutus*, toke thirtie of the *Rhodian* shipps, which he thought to be sufficient, and burned the rest (the holy ones only excepted) that they should not rebel: and with these and his own shippes he departed.

Clodius.

Clodius being sent thither of *Brutus* with thirtene shippes, and fynding the *Rhodians* reuolted (for now *Brutus* was also deade) toke away the garrison of three thousande souldiors, and sayled to this *Cassius*.

Torulus.

Torulus did ioyne with them, hauing many other shippes and mony, which he had gathered at *Rhodes* before they reuolted. To this nauy, as to a thing of power, resorted, all they that had offices in *Asia*, and made legions and souldiours

for

the sea, as wel as they could of seruants and people, of the cõtries & Ilands. There came to them *Cicero*, that was son to *Tullius Cicero*, and diuerse noble Citizens, that were fled from *Thaso*, and by and by there was a great army, with a sufficiẽt nauy of good Captaines, taking with them *Lepidus* also, with an other band, whiche he kept for *Brutus* at *Creta*. And with these forces they sailed to *Murcus* and *Oenobarbus* into the gulfe of *Ionia*, where diuiding themselues, part went into *Sicelie* to *Sextus Pompey*, and part remained with *Oenobarbus*, for priuate faction: and thus of the remnants of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a newe armye was made.

Cicero the yonger.
Thassus an Iland in the *Aegian* sea.
Murcus
Aenobarbus.

Octauian and *Antonie* sacrificed for the victorie at *Philippi*, and gaue thankes to their souldiors. And to performe their promise, *Octauian* went into *Italy*, to distribute lande to the souldiors, which he did chose for his health. And *Antony* wẽt among the nations beyond the seas, and gathered mony for his souldiours, and diuided betwene them, the lands ỹ *Lepidus* had. Frãce beyonde the Alpes, *Octauian* woulde haue frẽ, according to the determination of the decrée of his vncle *Cæsar*.

Octauian goeth into *Italy*.
Antony goeth beyond the sea.

Lepidus was accused to fauour *Pompeys* part, which if it were founde false, *Octauian*, determined to giue hym other Prouinces. They licenced the old souldiors except eight thousand, which desiring to serue still, they diuided betwẽne thẽ, & of them apointed bandes for their bodies. To these there were added eleuen legions that wente from *Brutus*, and .xiiij. thousande horse, of the whiche *Antony* toke for hys iorney sixe legions and tenne thousande horse. *Octauian* had foure thousande horse, and fiue legions, and for those that *Antony* had, he shoulde receiue of *Antonies* out of *Calenus*, whiche he lefte in *Italy*, and so sayled to the *Ionian* sea. Whẽ *Antony* was come to *Ephesus*, he made solemne sacrifices to the Gods, and forgaue the souldiors of *Cassius*, that were in Sanctuarie, and asked pardon, *Petronius* being except, & as many as had conspired *Cæsars* death, & *Quintus* that betrayed *Dolobella* to *Cassius* at *Laodicea*: & to the *Grecians* and other nations that inhabit about *Pergamo* in *Asia*, in a great assembly of Ambassadors that came for peace, he spake in this wise:

Lepidus accused.

Ephesus, nowe *Fulgeso*, a cittye of *Ionia*, vvhere vvas the goodly Temple buylded of Amazõs. *Antony* pardoneth.
Pergama a cittie in *Asia*, not far from the floude *Carie*.
Troy vvas called by this name.
Laodicea, a citie in *Asia*, vvhose citizen *Zeno*, *Antonie* and *Augustus* made a king.

Antony to the Grecians.

You men of *Grecia*, your kyng *Attalus*, by testament bequeathed you vnto vs, whome you founde more beneficiall vnto you, than *Attalus* was, for we forgaue you the Tributes that you payd to *Attalus*, tyll wee had nede of Tributes, bycause of them that troubled our peace. Then we sette Tributes vpon you, not accordyng to euery mans value, that we myghte exact it wythout perill, but required you to pay a portion yearely, that wee myghte bee partakers of youre yearely fruites, and feele youre losse in harde times. And when the Bayliffes (requiring more than they ought) dyd you iniurie, *C. Cæsar* forgaue you the thirde parte of youre Tributes, and forbadde that iniurie to be done to you hereafter, for he committed to you the gathering of the Tributes of youre Countrey people. And our good Citizens call such a man as he was, a Tyrant: and you haue giuen them much money that were kyllers of the man, that most deserued of you, and that against vs, that reuenged hys quarrell. But forasmuch as Fortune, fauouring the iust cause, hath decreed, not as you woulde, but as ryght was, if you had continued in armes as their fellowes, you had bin punishable, but bycause we doe easily beleeue, that you did it by compulsion, we forgiue you the greater punishment: only we haue nede of your money, your land, & Cities, to pay our armyes, whiche be eyghte and twenty Legions, which wt their appertenãces maketh 170. thousand, beside Horsemen, & other remnant of the common sort. Of this multitude you may wel coniecture, what charge we be at. *Octauian* is gone into *Italy*, to diuide lands and Cities vnto them, and as I myght say, to bid *Italy* be packing. But yt you should not leaue your Cities & Countrey houses, your temples and religions, and youre auncesters monuments, we onely require your money, and not all, for yt you could not beare, but a meane part, which when you beare, I thinke you wil goe contẽted awaye. As much as you gaue our enimies in two yeares (whiche was ten yeares tribute) so much wil we require, sauing yt it must be paid in one yeare, bycause necessitie so craueth. You may acknowledge thãkes, & confesse that you are not punished as you haue deserued. Thus he spake to please yt soudiors, to whom they promised rewards at their meeting at *Modena*, & then they were xl. legions, so many of thẽ were

Cæsars benefites to the Grecians.

consu-

ꝛesumed. He had not fully ended his tale, whē ꝑ *Grecians*, fate vpō ꝑ ground, ẅ many demonstratiōs accusing ꝑ cruelti̇e of *Brutus* & *Cassius*, shewing they wer rather worthy pardō thā punishment.

Tributes put vpon the Grecians by *Antony*.

They would gladlye giue to their friends, but they were bereft all of their enimies, to whom they had giuen not only theyr monies, but when that fayled, their iewels and ornaments, which they coyned of themselues. At length, with much ado, they obtayned to paye nine yeares Tribute in two yeares.

Lucius Cassius is pardoned of *Antony*.

As he went about the prouinces, *Lucius* brother to *Cassius*, and other fearing themselues, when they hadde harde of his mercye shewed at *Ephesus*, they came and submitted themselues to him, and he pardoned them, except such as were priuie to the conspiracie, for to them he was vnreconcilable. He did comfort the cities ꝑ were grieuously oppressed, and gaue priuiledges to the *Lycians*, and exhorted the *Xanthians* ꝛepaire to ꝛeare their Cittie. He gaue to the *Rodians*, *Andrus*, *Tenus*, *Naxus* and *Mindus*, which shortly after he toke from them, bycause of their sharpe gouernement.

Priuileges giuē to the *Lycians*, & *Xanthians* exhorted to repaire their cittie.

Ilands giuen to the *Rhodians* called *Cludes* nigh to *Italia*.

Ilands giuen to the *Athenienses*.

Aegina, sometime *Aenone* vvhere children vvel brought vp prooued euill.

Gallogrecia it in *Asia* the lesse the people be called *Gallacrenes*.

Calestina, that part of *Syria* that is next *Arabia*.

Iturea, is the playne of the countrey.

Antony partiall, *Sinna* preferred of affection.

Cleopatra accused.

Cleopatra excuseth hir selfe.

He graunted the *Tarsentans* and *Laodiceans* libertie, and made frē al the Citizens of *Tarsus*, that had bin taken with priuiledge: he receiued the *Athenienses* very gently, & gaue thē *Tenus*, *Aegina*, *Icon*, *Ceam*, *Sciathus* & *Peparetis*. Then going through *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Gallogrecia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Calestria*, *Palestiā*, *Iturea*, and other prouinces of *Syria*, he put gret Tributs vpon thē. He toke vp matters of controuersie of princes and Cittes, euen as hee wold himselfe. And wher the controuersie for *Cappadocia*, was betweene *Sisinna* and *Ariarathes*, he preferred *Sisinna* for *Glaphyra* his fayre mothers sake. In *Syria* he deliuered the townes of Tirannes. In *Cilicia* he accused *Cleopatra*, bycause she did not helpe *Cæsar* in his wars. She did not so much excuse hir selfe, as boaste that she had sent foure legions to *Dolobella*, at the beginning of ꝑ war, & hauing prepared a Nauy, was letted by tempestes, and by the chaunce of *Dolobella* that was sooner ouercome than she loked for: and that notwithstanding, *Cassius* twice threatning hyr, she contemned him, and *Marcus* also, and with a riche Nauy, sayled into the *Ionian* sea, & there beside other losses, fel sicke. Wherfore she returned no more to the sea, after the victorie was won.

Kk.iij. Then

Antony in loue.

When *Antonie* being caughte in minde with the ſight of hir, hée began to loue hir, like a yong man, though he were fourty yéeres of age, his nature (as it ſéemeth) euer being pliant to that thing: and before, he hadde a minde to hir, when he was a Captaine of horſemen at *Alexandria*, vnder *Gabinius*.

Now leauing his wonted diligence, hée did all things as *Cleopatra* woulde haue him, without reſpecte of God or mannes laiwe. In ſo much, as he ſente Souldiours to kill *Arſinoe* hir ſiſter, that was fledde into the Temple of *Diana*, crying for mercy: and commaunded the *Tyrians* to deliuer *Serapion*, Captaine of *Cypres*, to *Cleopatra*, being fledde for ſafetie to *Tyrus*. Likewiſe he commaunded the *Arcadians* to doe with an other fugitiue, bicauſe he toke vppon him the perſon of *Ptolomeus*, *Cleopatras* brother, being ouercome in *Nilus* of *Cæſar*, and neuer ſéene after. He alſo commaunded *Megabyſus* a Prieſte of *Diana* of *Epheſus*, to bée deliuered, bicauſe he receiued *Arſinoe* as a Quéene: but when the *Epheſians* made ſute to *Cleopatra* for him, he let him goe: ſo ſone was he changed. This affection was the beginning of his troubles, and ende of his life. When *Cleopatra* was gone home, he ſent his horſemen to ſpoyle the *Palmirians*, a Citie not farre from *Euphrates*, a lighte offence beeing obiected to them, for a faſhion, bicauſe dwelling in the confines of the *Romanes*, and the *Parthians*, they ſéemed to bee of doubtful faith, for they were merchants, and brought and fetched the wares of *India* and *Perſide*, to the *Romanes*: but in very déede it was to enrich his horſemen. And when the *Palmirians* had vnderſtanding of it, they conueyed away their goods, and garded them with Archers, wherin they excelled. The horſemen finding the Citie voyde, went awaye emptie and vnhurtfull. Of thys occaſion the warres of *Parthia* ſéemed to ryſe, many of the tyrannes of the countreye of *Syria* reſorting to them. For this countrey (till *Antiochus* the good, and his ſonne) was vnder Kings, ſucceſſoures of *Seleucus*: but being brought into the forme of a prouince, they had *Scaurus* their Preſident, to whome the Senate ſent other ſucceſſours, and among them, *Gabinius*, which made warre vpon the *Alexandrians*. *Craſſus* ſucceéded *Gabinius*, which was after ſlayne of the *Parthians*.

Antony made cruel by Cleopatra.

Tyrus, ſometime an Iſlande after ioyned to the land by *Alexander*.

The king of *Aegipt* deade & neuer founde.

The lightneſſe of *Antony*.

The ſtate of *Syria*.

Scaurus, *Gabinius*, *Craſſus*.

Parthians. But after the death of *Cæsar*, and sedition rysing, euery City was holden by an vsurper, the *Parthians* helping them. And nowe hadde they entred *Syria*, (*Crassus* being deade) one alluring another: from whence *Antonie* droue them away, and made them flée to the *Parthians*. Which being done, he put tributes vpon the people, and did not pacifie the prouince after the commotion of the *Palmirians*, but diuided his armye into wintering places. He went to *Cleopatra* into *Egipt*, of whome being princely receyued, he taried the Winter with hir, lyke a priuate man in an other mans kingdome, eyther to shewe, that the rule perteyned not to him: or to be the more fitte to frequent the feastful dayes of the Winter. And leauing all cares of a Captaine, he put on a *Greekes* robe, and such a garment, as the *Athenienses* and *Egiptians* Priestes do vse. And he resorted onely to temples, scoles, and assemblies of Philosophers, keping company with the *Grecians* that obeyed *Cleopatra*, for whose cause hée had (as hée sayde) made that voyage. *Antony* priuate.

Cæsar Octauian in the meane time fell sicke in his iourney to *Rome*, and verie dangerously at *Brundusio*, where it was sayd, he was deade. Being recouered, he entred the Citie, and deliuered *Antonies* letters to his Captaines, who strayght commaunded *Calenus* to deliuer two legions to *Octauian*, and wrote into *Africa* to *Sextius*, to deliuer that prouince: both the which were done. Then discharging *Lepidus* of his suspition, he committed *Africa* to his gouernement, and solde such goods of the condemned men, as were not yet bought. Going about to place his Souldiors in their dwellings, and to diuide their landes, he founde greate troubles: For, the Soldiors required euery best Citie in *Italie*, as they were chosen before the warre. Contrary, those Cities required, that all *Italy* might be contributarie to this diuision, or the places of dwelling might be apointed by lot. The soldiors also required the valewe of the lands, bycause there was no cõmon pay. Both olde and yong women, and children, assembled togither in the Temples, and publique places, lamenting and complaynning, that they being natiue of *Italy*, should be putte from their houses and landes, as prisoners in the warre. The *Octauian* sicke. Diuision of *Italy* to the souldiors.

people

people wepte for these miseries, and moste of all, when they remembred that it was not done for the common wealth, but for the priuate lust of a fewe, the whiche had ouerthrowne the common weale, and now gaue their Soldiours rewardes, that they, by that gifte, should be ready to serue their turnes, and still kepe downe the common state. *Cæsar* appeased the Cities, and shewed the cause of necessitie, and that all was not sufficient. And hee sayth truth, for the neyghbours were oppressed of the soldiours, goyng beyond their boundes, & catching more than was giuen them, & taking euer the best. Neyther were they frayed by *Cæsars* rebukes, nor cõtented with new gifts, for they did now litle force of the princes, who had nede of their helpe, to hold vp their ambition. For now the ende of the fiue yeares approched, & euery one had nede of seuerall helpe to maintayne his Lordship. The Soldiours had nede of them, to kepe still that which was giuen them: they had nede of the Souldiours fauour, to confirme their rule. *Cæsar* also comforted the nedy Soldiours with other gifts, borowyng money of Temples, wherby he wonne their hartes, they beyng thankefull to him, as of whome they had receyued their landes and goodes, and they that were spoyled, cryed out vpon him, whiche he suffred for the Soldiours sakes.

Miserie of *Italy*.

Insatiablenesse of Soldiours

Octauian exclaimed vpon.

Lucius brother to *Antonie* beyng Consull, and his wife *Fuluia*, and *Manius* that had the ouersight of his things in his absence, that this benefite might not seeme to be onely of *Octauian*, nor he haue only the thanke, and the other generall be defrauded of the fauour of the Soldiours, vsed subtill meanes, that the placyng of the inhabitauntes might be deferred till *Antonies* commyng. Whiche when it seemed vnpossible, for the hatte of the Souldiours, they desired of *Octauian*, that they might place *Antonies* Souldiours, although by agreement it was graunted to *Cæsar Octauian* by *Antonie*, whiche they denied to be true. Therefore beyngyng *Fuluia* with *Antonies* litle children to the campe, they besought them instantly, not to suffer *Antonie* to be defrauded of his thankes, and renowne that he had gotten. *Antonies* name was then very glorious among the Soldiours and others, for the victory at *Philippi* was attributed to *Antonie* onely, bycause

Antonies Souldiers placed by his friendes.

Antonie renounced.

of

of *Cæsars* sickneſſe. Though *Octauian* ſawe that couenaunt was broken, yette for *Antonies* ſake, hée was content to gyue place. So *Antonies* legions were placed wyth very much licence, that they ſhoulde not ſeeme to bée inferiour to the benefite of *Cæsar*. There were other Cities neare to theſe, whoſe landes were deuided to the Souldiours, whiche ſuffered many iniuries of the Souldiours, the Citizens crying to *Octauian*, that diuiſion of landes was nowe more cruell, than proſcriptions of lyfe. For then enimies were punished, now innocentes are plagued. *Cæsar* did well perceyue the iniurie, but coulde not remedie it. For neyther had hée money wherewith to pay the poſſeſſours of the lande, neyther could the rewardes of victory be deferred, for the warres that myght enſue, *Pompey* beyng Lorde of the Sea, who cauſed famine in the Cittie, all victuall beyng kepte away: *Aenobarbus* and *Murcus*, haupng an other army, and gatheryng an other nauie: and the Souldiours the more vnwillyng, except they haue prompte kepte: and the ſpace of fiue yeares was almoſte come, ſo as they muſte haue néede of Souldiours, and therefore bare with their inſolencie: In ſo muche, as in the Theatre, a common Souldiour wantyng a proper ſeate, wente and ſatte in the place of a Gentleman. The people noted it, and *Cæsar* rayſed hym. The Souldiours were angry at it, and when *Cæsar* came from the paſſe tyme, they compaſſed him, and requyred their felow Souldiour, whome they thought to be deſtroyed. But when hé came, they ſayde he came out of pryſon, whiche bycauſe hé denied, they ſayde hé was hyred ſo to ſay, and was a Traytour to hys company. This rudeneſſe was vſed in the Theatre.

Oppreſſion of Cities.

Pompey, *Aenobarbus* and *Murcus* Lordes of the ſea.

Inſolencie of Souldiours.

Theatre the place vvhere they behelde paſtyme.

Inſolencie of Souldiours.

Beyng called to the diuiſion into the campe of *Mars*, and comming to it by night, they were angry that *Cæsar* tarried ſo long. *Nonius* a Capitayne rebuked them, and tolde them their dutie, and put the cauſe vpon *Cæsars* ſickeneſſe. They called him flatterer, and threwe ſtones vppon him, and droue him to take a water, out of the whiche they toke hym vp dead, and layde hym in the waye where *Cæsar* ſhoulde paſſe, who was moniſhed by hys frendes, not to truſte theyr rage: but hé to auoyde

Nonius kylled of the Soldiers.

Vprore of Souldiours.

further inconuenience by hys absence, wente on, and when hée sawe the dead body of *Nonius*, he went aside. And when the fault was layde vpon a fewe, hée willed them hereafter one to spare another, and so gaue them giftes and distribution of lands, and rewarded some beyonde their owne expectation. Which constancie of hym they so lyked, as they requyred that the kyllers of *Nonius* myghte bée punyshed. Hée sayde, hée knewe them well inough, and was satisfied wyth their confession and conscience: and the reste hée forgaue. By the whyche mercy and liberalitie, beyng prouoked, they made greate shoutes of hys felicitie. These two contempts of the Souldiours among many other, may suffice to be shewed.

Sufferance and liberalitie of *Octauius*.

Cause of disorder among the Souldiours.

The cause of thys, were they, that without lawfull authoritie, (as happeth in ciuill warres) takyng vppon them to bée Capitaynes, led these Souldiours, not to serue their countrey, but themselues: not agaynst enimies, but agaynst Citizens. This destroyed the discipline of the *Romanes* warre. The Souldiour, rather desirous to serue for pryuate affection, and the Capytaynes to abuse them for pryuate commoditie. Not onely a Souldiour, but whole armies were to bée bought for money. And it was offence to fauour the good, and prayse to aduaunce the euill. So as for lighte causes, whole armies would go from a good and lawfull leader, to a lewde and vsurpyng Captayne: (lyke agréeyng with lyke) the Souldiours take them for enimies, were they neuer so honest, that their Capitaynes hated. And the Capitaynes, to haue Souldiours at hande, suffred them to committe things abhominable, without al reuerence of lawe and iustice. So nowe all discipline beyng corrupted, they were compted best, that could rayse moste sedition.

Discipline corrupted.

Penurie and troubles in *Rome*.

The Citie in the meane time, was in great penurie, their prouision of corne beyng stopped by *Pompey*. In *Italie*, tillage beyng almost lefte for the continuaunce of warre, and that that there was, being consumed of the Soldiours: and in the Citie, théeues and murderers by night, were vnpunished, for what soeuer was done, was imputed to the Souldiour. The commons shutte vp they? shoppes, and were withoute officers, whiche woulde not

serue

ſerue where theſe was ſuffred.

But *Lucius*, beyng well affected to the common wealth, and greeued with the power of the three Princes, continuyng longer than the time appoynted, contended with *Cæſar*: for he onely promiſed helpe to the olde poſſeſſioners, making ſupplication to all the officers, & they promiſed their ſeruice to him. Wherby, bothe *Antonies* Souldiours, and *Cæſar* himſelf, accuſed him as an enimy to him, and *Fuluia* alſo, as ſtirrers of warre out of time. But a deuiſe of *Manius* preuayled, which perſuaded *Fuluia*, that if *Italie* were in quiet, *Antony* woulde remayne with *Cleopatra* in *Aegipt*, but if warres were ſtyrred, hée woulde come quickly. *Lucius* taketh parte with the old husbandemen. *Manius* counſel.

Then *Fuluia* of a womanniſhe paſſion, incenſed *Lucius*, & when *Cæſar* wente to place the newe inhabitancies, *Antonies* chyldren and *Lucius* wente with them, that *Cæſar* ſhoulde not haue the whole thankes, by goyng alone. *Cæſars* horſemenne ſcoured the coaſte towarde *Sicelie*, that *Pompey* ſhoulde not ſpoyle it. *Lucius* eyther afrayde in déede, or fayning to bée afrayde, that theſe horſemen were ſente agaynſt him and *Antonies* children, wente in haſte to the inhabitauncies of *Antonie*, to gette a garde about him, accuſing *Cæſar*, as vnfaithfull to *Antony*. But he anſwered, that he kept faith & friendſhip with *Antonie*, & that *Lucius* ſought to moue warre, for ý he was offended with the rule of thē three, by the which the newe inhabitants might take full poſſeſſion, & that the horſemen were yet in the coaſt, & did their duties. Whē *Antonies* Souldiours vnderſtode this, they made a méeting with him at *Theano*, and were reconciled to him with theſe conditions. *Fuluia Antonies* vyfe ſtirreth vvarre. Begynnyng of ſuſpition. *Teano*, a citie in *Via Appia*. An other in *Apulia*.

That he ſhuld deuide no lāds but to ſuch as ſerued at *Philippi*. Conditions betweene *Cæſar* & *Antonies* ſouldiours.

That the money of the condemned men, & their landes, ſhould be equally diuided among *Antonies* Souldiours.

That hereafter one alone ſhould not leuy men.

That two legiōs of *Antonies* ſhould ſerue *Cæſar* againſt *Pōpey*.

That the *Alpes* towarde *Spaine* ſhoulde be open to them that *Cæſar* ſent, and not be ſhutte by *Aſinius*.

That *Lucius* ſhould put away his garde, and exerciſe his office with quietneſſe.

Theſe were the couenants, whereof onely the two laſt were

Prenestie nowe Palestrina a Citie in Latio.

kepte. And *Saluidienus* passed the *Alpes* spyte of them that kepte them, the rest were defeated. Wherfore *Lucius* went to *Prenestie*, affirmyng he was afrayde of *Cæsar* hauyng a garde aboute him, and he none. *Fuluia* also went to *Lepidus*, saying, she was afrayde of hir children, for she trusted him better than *Cæsar*. And they bothe wrote to *Antonie*, certaine frendes carying their letters, that might certifie him of all thyngs, the copies whereof I haue long sought, and can not finde. Then the chiefe of the armies, agreed to take vp thys matter, and affirmed they woulde compell hym that were vnwillyng. They sente for *Lucius* friendes to come to them, whiche they denying to doe, *Cæsar* accused them, as well to the chiefe of the armies, as to the officers of the Cities.

Fuluia fleeth to Lepidus.

Great resorte to Lucius.

Then great resorte was made to *Lucius* out of the Citie, beseechyng him to haue compassion of afflicted *Italie*, and take some man, that eyther with him, or with the Capitaynes might make an ende of the matter. And where as *Lucius* had regarde both of them that spake, and also of the thyngs spoken, *Manius* answeared sharpely. That *Antonie* onely gathered money of strange nations, but *Cæsar* did gette mens loue by preuention of the armies and fitte places of *Italy*. For by fraude he had gotten *Fraunce*, which was *Antonies* prouince, and for xviij. cities, that should be giuen to the Soldiours, he ransacked almoste all *Italy*. And also gaue money to foure and thirty legions, not onely to eight and twentie that fought in hys quarrell: and that he had spoyled Temples in pretence of warre agaynst *Pompey*, whiche was not yet begon, for all the greate dearth in the Citie, but in deede to winne the fauour of the Souldiours agaynst *Antonie*, in so muche as the goodes of the attaynted, are not solde before they be giuen to the: but if he seeketh peace, in good fayth, he must make accompt of things he hath done, and hereafter do nothing but by consent of bothe. This was the bolde answeare of *Manius*, that neyther *Cæsar* shoulde doe any thing alone, nor the couenaunts betweene him and *Antonie* remayne firme, that is, that eyther of them should haue full authoritie in their prouinces, and each confirme others actes.

Manius answeareth pe.

Cæsar

Cæsar seeyng that they soughte warre, prepared hymselfe for it, but the two legiõs that wer placed about of *Ancona*, and first serued his father, and after *Antony*, for the loue they bare to them both, sente Ambassadors to *Rome*, to pray them to haue respect to peace. And when *Cæsar* aunswered that he swerued not with *Antony*, but *Lucius* wyth hym, the Embassadors conferring with the officers of *Antonyes* Souldyoures, sente a common Embassage to *Lucius*, requiring hym to be contente to committe hys difference wyth *Cæsar*, to arbitrement, affirmyng they woulde take vppon them, excepte he woulde condiscende. Hauing obteyned their requeste, *Gabij* was appoynted the place of meeting, in the middle way betweene *Rome* and *Preneste*. There was prepared a seate for the Judges, and two chayres to shewe the cause. *Cæsar* came firste, and sente Horsemen that way that *Lucius* shoulde come, eyther to see what *Lucius* dyd, or whether there were any traynes layde. They lyghted vpon *Antonyes* Horsemen, whyche came as forerunners of *Lucius*, or to see if all were cleere: they fell to fight, and some were kylled. Wherefore *Lucius* wente backe for feare of treason (as he sayde) and beeing called of the chiefe of the army, promising hym to conducte him safe, he refused. Thus the pacifyers beeyng deceyued, warre was threatned wyth bitter wordes betweene them. *Lucius* hadde fiue legions, of the leuie whiche he toke when he was created Consull, besyde eleuen of *Antonyes*, vnder Captayne *Caleno*, and all those in *Italy*.

Souldioures of *Ancona* labour for peace.

Gabij a people, destroyed by *Tarquinius Superbus*.

Meeting at *Gabij*.

A fight by chance.

The daye frustrate.

The warre breaketh.

Lucius power.

Cæsar hadde foure Legions at *Capua*, and certayne bandes for his person.

Cæsars power.

Antium was a Citie in *Latio*, very good vpon the Sea.

Saluidienus broughte other fyue Legions out of *Spayne*.

Lucius had money of the prouinces that *Antony* had pacyfyed.

Iannuuium, now *Indonins*.

Cæsar hadde of all them that came vnto hym by lotte, excepte *Sardinia*, whyche was then in warre.

Treasure houses of holy money.

He gote much of Temples, promising to render it with interest, that is, of *Capitolio*, *Antio*, *Lanuuio*, *Nemore*, *Tibure*, in the whyche Cities be treasures at this day of holy money.

Tibure now *Tiuoli*.

Nemore, not farre from *Aritia*.

Out of *Italy* all things were not quiet, for *Pompey*, by resorte of condemned Citizens, and auntient possessioners, was greatly

Pompey increaseth.

increased, both in mighte, and estimation: for they that feared their life, or were spoyled of their goodes, or lyked not the present state, fledde all to hym. And this disagreemente of *Lucius*, augmented hys credite: beside a repayre of yong men, desirous of gayne and seruice, not caring vnder whome they went, bycause they were all *Romanes*, sought vnto him. And among other, hys cause seemed most iust. He was waxed riche by bootes of the Sea, and he hadde good store of Shyppes, with their furniture. *Marcus* also brought him two legions, and fiue hundred archers, much money, and fourescore Shippes: and he had another army from *Cephalenia*. Wherefore mē thynke, that if he had then inuaded *Italy*, he might easily haue gotte it, which being afflicted with famine and discord, loked for him. But *Pompey* of ignorance had rather defend his owne, than inuade others, till so he was ouercome also. In *Affrica Sextius* the Lieutenant to *Antony*, beyng lately commaunded to deliuer his charge to *Fagion Cæsars* Lieutenant, and sent againe to take it from *Fagio*, who would not deliuer it, but made warre, hauing a bande of discharged Souldyoures, and a number of *Africanes*, and the helpe of the Princes there. And when *Fagio* was ouercome in both wings of his battell, and also lost his Campe, thinking it had come by treason, killed himselfe, and so *Sextius* ontogayne was Lord of both prouinces of *Affrica*. *Bocchus* King of the *Mauritians*, at the persuasion of *Lucius*, made warre vpon *Carinas*, Gouernour of *Spayne* for *Cæsar*. And *Aenobarbus* with lxx. Shippes, and two legions, and a bande of archers and venturers, scouring the sea of *Ionia*, destroyed the regions that accepted the rule of the three men. And being come to *Brundusie*, he partly toke the Gallyes of *Cæsar*, and partly burned them, and driuing the *Brundusians* within their wall, spoiled the lands. *Cæsar* sent a legion thither, and willed *Saluidienus* to come out of *Spayne*. And throughout *Italy* men were mustered in hast, as well of *Cæsars* Captaynes, as of *Antonyes*, for *Lucius*. Dyuers fightes there was betweene them both, in iust battell, and in ambushmentes. The fauoure of *Italy* was more enclined to *Lucius*, bycause he fought for them against the new inhabitants. Not onely the Cities that were giuen in pray, but also all *Italy*

Reason to Pompey.

Cephalenia, an Ilande in the Ionian Sea.

Pompey loseth his occasion.

Honor of *Pompey*.

Sextius.

Fagio.

Fagio killeth himselfe.

Bocchus.

Carinas.

Italy troubled all ouer.

was

was stirred, fearing the lyke calamitie, and reiecting *Cæsars* souldioures that borowed holy money, and partly kylling them, they gaue aide to *Lucius*, kæping their Cities for him. Contrarywise the new inhabitants stucke to *Cæsar*, as though eyther laboured for their owne. In this state, *Cæsar* called the Senatoures and the Gentlemen, and thus spake vnto them: I know I am contemned of *Lucius* faction as a coward, and afrayde of myne owne weakenesse: and that contempt is increased by your assembly. I haue a valiant army, both that which he inioyeth by hyndering their possession, and also that which afortetime haue serued vnder my banner, the rest be as sure, except one meaning. I delighte not in ciuill warres that be not necessary, nor do thinke to abuse the Citizens that be left, to destroy one another, chiefly in thys ciuill motion, the miserie whereof shall not be tolde from *Macedonia* or *Thracia*, but shall be sæne in *Italy*. The which if it be the fielde of this warre, what incommodities shall it suffer. This is the cause why it pyketh me to beginne first. And now I protest, that I neyther quarrell with *Antony*, nor do anye thing why he should quarrell with me. It is your part, that for your selues you do reprowue *Lucius*, with his abettors, whome I praye you to reconcile vnto me: but if they continue in their obstinacie, I shall make it knowen, that I am not slowe for feare, but for consideration. You shall be witnesses not onely to me, but also to *Antony*, that I am driuen to this necessitie, by the insolencie of *Lucius*. When *Cæsar* had thus said, they returned in hast to *Preneste*. *Lucius* answered only this, that the matter would come to tryall on both sides shortly, and that *Cæsar* dissembled, who had sente a legion to *Brunduse*, to stoppe *Antonyes* passage from *Italy*. *Manius* also shewed *Antonyes* Epistle, false or true I can not tell, whych willed his estimatiō to be mainteyned, though it were by warre. And when the Embassadors of the Senate did demaunde, if any mā did blemish his estimation, & if they did, they should cōplaine to ỹ Iudges. *Manius* vsed many threatnings againe, till they wēt away without conclusiō. Yet ỹ Embassadors dyd not shew ỹ answere to *Cæsar*, either bycause he knew it particularly, or bycause they wer abashed, or for some other cause. Then present war appered. *Cæsar* made prouisiō, & left *Lepidus* Gouernor of ỹ citie wt a garrison

Oration to the Senate.

A letter of Antonyes shewed.

No conclusiō of peace.

Lepidus Gouernoure of the Citie.

garrison of two legions. Many of the noble men of *Rome* resorted to *Lucius*, declaryng that the authoritie of three men did displeafe them. And thus thys warre followed after thys sort. The two legions of *Lucius* at *Alba* made a tumulte, and droue away their Captaynes, and were readye to reuolte. *Cæsar* and *Lucius* both made haft to them. *Lucius* came fyrste, and wyth many fayre wordes and promises stayde them. *Furnius* broughte hym another army, and *Cæsar* cutte off the tayle of it, and droue *Furnius* to an hyll. The that nyght following wente to *Sentia*, a Citie of hys faction, whome *Cæsar* would not follow for feare of traynes, but the nert day besæged the Citie. *Lucius* went to *Rome* wyth al haft, and sent in three bandes by night, he followyng with his armye, where he was receyued of *Nonius* that had the gard of the gate, and toke hys Souldyoures to serue. *Lepidus* escaped, and wente to *Cæsar*. *Lucius* assembled the people, and put them in good hope, that *Cæsar* and *Lepidus* shoulde be punished for their misgouernement, and that hys brother woulde willingly giue ouer his vnlawfull authoritie, and take the Consulship for it, which was an office instituted by theyr auntient fathers. When he had sayd thus muche, the people beeyng glad, and thinking that the three mens authoritie should sone ceasse, saluted hym Generall, which done, he went against *Cæsar*, gathering by the way another host of the places of *Antonyes* inhabitance, and settled them, beeing well affected to *Antony*: but *Barbatius*, who had bin his treasourer in warre, and was sente from hym in displeasure, tolde the people that *Antony* was angry with them that stryred against *Cæsar*, and the common authoritie. The people beeyng thus abused, forsoke *Lucius*, and wēt to *Cæsar*. *Lucius* now marched against *Saluidienus*, that brought great power out of *France* to *Cæsar*, and *Asinius*, and *Ventidius*, *Antonyes* Captaynes, followed at ỹ tayle, so as he coulde not goe forward. *Agrippa* a man most trusty to *Cæsar*, fearing least *Saluidienus* should be cōpassed, toke *Lombardy*, ỹ which place he thought *Lucius* could not spare & that he woulde leaue *Saluidienus*, & come against him, & so might *Saluidienus* follow at ỹ taile. And *Agrippa* was not deceiued, for whē *Lucius* saw he was deceiued of his purpose, he repaired to *Asinius*, & *Vētidius*, whereby

Resort to *Lucius*.

Alba longa. Mutinie of two legions.

Furnius beseged at *Sentia*, betweene *Campania* and *Vmbra*.

Lucius entreth the Citie.

Lepidus fleeth.

Lucius to the people of *Rome*.

Barbatius.

People forsaketh *Lucius*.

Saluidienus. *Asinius*. *Ventidius*. *Agrippa*.

whereby *Saluidienus* and *Agrippa*, were frée to take what aduãtage they could: whiche, when *Lucius* perceyued, and durste not fight with them both, he went to *Perugia*, a Citie wel defenſed, and there encamped, loking for *Ventidius*: but by and by *Cæſar*, *Agrippa* & *Saluidienus* comming vpõ him, he was beſiged with thꝛee armies at *Perugia*: and leaſt *Lucius* might eſcape their hãds, they ſent to *Cæſars* other forces, to deteine *Aſinius* & *Ventidius*, although they made no great haſt, nor approued that warre, nor were ſure of *Antonies* minde. Beſide, there was emulation betwéene them, eyther of them ſéking to be leader of all.

Lucius goeth to Perugia.

Occaſion of the hinderaunce of Lucius.

Lucius being thus beſieged, neyther durſte giue battel, being inferiour not only in number, but alſo in gwdneſſe of Soldiors, nor departe from thence, ſo manye being readye to moleſt him: therfore he ſent to *Ventidius* and *Aſinius*, by *Manius*, to perſwade thẽ to come to helpe hym & thẽ that were beſieged. He ſent alſo *Titinius*, with four thouſande horſe, to ſpoyle *Cæſars* landes, that thereby he myght call him from the ſiege, and ſo haue *Perugia*, frée to winter in, if néede were, til *Ventidius* and his companye myghte come. But *Cæſar* hauing al his power togither, compaſſed the place, eight miles aboute, bycauſe of the hills that be there, and made a long trenche to *Tiber*, that nothing ſhoulde bée brought from thence to *Perugia*. *Lucius* after lyke ſorte trenched the rootes of the hilles. *Fuluia*, commaunded *Ventidius*, *Aſinius*, *Ateius* and *Calenus* to make haſte to helpe them that were beſieged, and gathered a newe hoſte, and ſente it by *Plancus* to *Lucius*. Thys *Plancus* by the waye cutte off a legion of *Cæſars*. And whereas *Aſinius* and *Ventidius* went very ſlowly, as vncertaine of *Antonies* wil, yet, for *Fuluia* and *Manius* ſake, they came forwarde. *Cæſar* with *Agrippa* went to méete them, leauing ſufficient forces at *Perugia*. But they diſſeuered themſelues: the one to *Rauenna*, the other to *Arimene*, and *Plancus* to *Spoleto*. *Cæſar* leauing againſt eche of them power to kéepe them from ioyning againe togither, retourned to *Perugia*, and added rampires to the ditches, making the ditches more large, by thirtie foote, both in breadth and déepneſſe. He made alſo the trenches ſtronger, and ioyned to them .1500. towers of woodde .lx. foote aſun-

Lucius in diſtreſſe.

Siege of Perugia.

Cæſar encloſeth Lucius.

Tiberis ſpringeth aboute Arezzo, and goeth thorough Tuſcan to Rome nowe Tewere.

Fuluia.

Plancus.

Lucius powver diſſeuereth themſelues.

Rauenna ſtãdeth at the guiſe of Venice.

Arimene on the ſide of the Romane Sea.

Spoleto in Vmbria

Vt. ter,

der, so as they serued for bothe turnes, as well to resiste them that came to the Citie, as to kepe them in, that would come out of it. In the whych tymes there were manye sallies made out of the citye, *Cæsars* men being the better a far off with shot, & *Lucius* more bolde at hand stroks. But whē the worke was finyshed, famine toke the city, & encreased daily. For neither ỳ citizēs nor *Lucius*, had made any prouision of victuals. Which, when *Cæsar* vnderstood, he kept thē the straighter. The night before the Calends of January, *Lucius* thinking ỳ fearfull time would haue wrought negligēce among the enimies, he gaue an assaulte to ỳ camp, thinking he might haue put in some companions, whiche he had many in diuerse places: but one legion being quickly called of the watch, & *Cæsar* comming with his bands, after a sharp fight, *Lucius* was repulsed. At this tyme in *Rome*, corn being kept for the vse of the soldiors, the people with tumult & contention, ran into priuate houses, & toke what corne they could. Now *Vētidius* soldiors thinking it a shame not to helpe *Lucius*, marched forth, and ouerthrew *Cæsars* garisons in euery place. But when *Agrippa* and *Saluidienus* were come with more mē, they turned to *Fulginio*, a castle not far off frō *Perugia*, where being besieged of *Agrippa*, they signified by night to *Lucio*, wᵗ many fiers, where they were. Then it was thought best to try it out by fight. But *Plancus* thought it best to stay, & not to hazard thē selues betwene *Cæsar* and *Agrippa*, which sentence preuayled. They that were besieged at *Perugia*, when they saw the fiers, they were glad, and thought there was some impediment ỳ they came not forward: and when the fire ceassed, they thought they had bin destroyed. Then *Lucius* oppressed with famine, made issues out of the city, from the first watch vntil break of day, on euery side: but being repulsed in euery place, he retired, & perusing the victuals, commanded, that the bondmen should haue none, & yet to be kept, that they should not get out to shew the nēd to ỳ enimie. They ran about in Orchards & gardens, & eate grasse & leaues where they could find any: & whē they were pined, *Lucius* put thē into diches, that the enimy should not perceiue any burials, nor the Citty be infected with the sauors. But no end being of hunger nor death, the

Sallies out of the citye.

Famine in *Perusia*.

Calendes be the first daye of the moneth.

Ianuarie is the first moneth of the yeare.

Lucius assayleth the campe.

Tumulte in *Rome* for corne.

Ventidius.

Fulginio.

Plancus counsel.

Extremitie of famine.

Misery of slaues

the soldiors being weary, desired *Lucius* to sally out again, ẏ they would breake the contrary trench. Whose feruentneſſe when *Lucius* saw, he said: Of late we did not fighte so valiauntly as we might haue done, now therfore yelde, or fight to death. Euerye man consented. Therfore that the night shoulde giue none occasion to cowardneſſe, they desired they might go to it in the daye: and so *Lucius* led them forth, at breake of day, with many scales and engins of yron and other, to fill the ditches and climbe the trenches, and wyth all kind of weapons to throw. Thus they issued with great violence, and filled the ditches withoute stoppe, and casting their engins to the wall, some did beate downe the trenche: some set vp their scales, and some assaulted the toures, and without all respect of death fought it out, notwithstanding the great resistaunce that was made with the shotte on the contrary parte. This fight was in diuers places, so as the defence was the weaker. The fight was fierce vpon the bridge which they passed, and also scaled the rampire, and were like to haue done some desperate feate, except the moſt valiãt of *Cæsars* hoſt, had with like courage come to the resistãce, euer being relieued with freſh men: & the other at length being tyred, were thrown from the trench, and their engins broke, and yet they stucke to it without shrinking, though strength and voice fayled them. Yet not being able to resist, and ashamed to giue place, they abode it, til *Lucius* did blow the retreat, at the which, when *Cæsars* souldiours did make great token of gladneſſe, *Lucius* men stroken with shame, tooke their scales again, and approched the wal: but not able to do any good, *Lucius* againe did cal them backe, ẏ they shoulde not caſte away their liues in vaine. Then with heauye harts and against their wils they retires.

Lucius to his souldiours.

Assaulte of the Trenche.

The fiercenelle of the fyght.

Lucius repulsed.

This was the end of this sharpe assaulte. *Cæsar* then appointed souldioures to warde at the trenche, and at a token, to leape vppe to the wall, whyche they dyddē, thoughe they hadde none occasion, erecting themselues, and discouraging their foes. *Lucius* Souldioures remained sadde, and the wards were negligentlye kepte, so as diuers fledde into the Campe not onely of the common sorte, but also some Capitaynes. *Lucius*

Lucius enclined to peace.

was inclined to peace, pitying the multitude that perished, one thing hindred it, that *Cæsars* enimies were afraid of themselues, but whē it was heard that he vsed the fugitiues gētly, and that he was desirous of no mans death, thē *Lucius* thought it expedient, without anye further respect, to sæke peace. And least the people wouldoe deliuer hym for all, he thoughte he would proue their mindes, and thus saide:

Lucius to the besieged.

My desire and intent was (O souldiour fellowes) to haue reduced the common wealth, to that state ẏ our auncestors left it, bycause I sawe the office of the thyes men tourned into Tirannye, and not amended after the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, by whome they made their pretence of warre. For *Lepidus* being remoued from their Collegeship, & *Antony* occupyed in far parts, this man alone dothe here what he listeth: the lawes bee onely pretences, and shades. I seking remedye for these incommodities and minding to haue restored the commō wealth, I required that the souldiors, hauing their due rewardes, the power of one might haue bin abolished, which bicause I coulde not do, I wente aboute to doe it by force and power. Then thys man accused me to the armye, as one that pitied the antiēt inhabitance: of the which accusation being ignorant, & not beléeuing it when I hearde of it, bycause I was sure you receyued landes by my diuision: yet many beléeued that false accusation, and ioyned with him to make warre against vs, which one day they shal find to be done against themselues. For I am witnesse, that you following the better part, haue labored for thē, aboue your strength. Yet we be ouercome, not of the enimye, but of hunger, and as it were forsaken of our Captains. It should haue become me to haue abiden the vttermost for my country: & therby in the ende haue had the prayse of my good will: but I can not for you, whose safetie I preferre before my glory. Therfore I will send Ambassadors to the victour, and I will require him to punish me only, and let you go, & that he would giue you ẏ forgiuenesse, which I do not aske for my selfe. You being Citizens as he is, & sometime his souldiours, not nowe offending, but hauing a iuste cause of war, be ouercome, not with fight, but with famine,

famine. When he had thus said, he sent by & by three of the officers that were chiefe. The rest of the multitude lamented, eyther their own case, or the Generalls, which meant wel as they did, and seemed to be a friende of the common wealth, and fayne to giue place to extreame necessitye. The Ambassadoures that were sent to *Cæsar*, remembred to him their common country, their common souldiourfare passed, the friendships of the noble men of both sides, the custome of their ancestors abhorring from suche deadly Dissentions, and other things to thys purpose. *Cæsar*, knowing that his enimies hoste consisted in olde and young souldiors, vsed arte, and saide, he pardoned all *Antonies* souldiors, the other he required to submitte to his discretion. Thus he spake openly, but secretly to *Furnio*, he signified he would pardon al, except his priuate enimies: which priuate talk with *Furnius*, they had in suspition, and saide, that war was not made for displeasure, but for common cause, and required *Lucius* either to haue generall peace, or martial war. *Lucius* hauing pitie of those noble men that were equall in dignitie with the other, praised them, and saide he would sende other Ambassadors to him: and because he thought none so fit as hym selfe, he would go alone without an Herault. When it was tolde *Cæsar* that *Lucius* was comming to hym, he went straight to mete him, and they bothe came in sight, accompanied with their friends, in the habite of a General. Then *Lucius* sending aside all hys friends, wente on with two Sergeants, signifying what he meant: and *Cæsar* following that benevolence, shewed the lyke token of modestie. And when he saw *Lucius* come within his trenche, that so he might shew himselfe to be in his power, he firste wente oute of the Trenche, that *Lucius* might be free to saue hymselfe. Thys they dyd outwardly by tokens of courtesy, and when they were come to the ditche, and had saluted eche other, *Lucius* thus begã.

Ambassadors to *Cæsar*.

Cæsars answvere

Priuate talke.

Lucius goeth to *Cæsar*.

Cæsar meeteth vvith *Lucius*.

Lucius to *Cæsar*.

If I had made this warre with straungers, I would haue bin ashamed (O *Cæsar*) to haue bin ouercome, and more ashamed to yelde myselfe: from the whiche ignominie, I would easilye haue delinered my life: But because I haue dealt with a Citizen of lyke authoritie, and that for my country, I thinke it no

Mi. iij. shame,

‹ ſhame for ſuch a cauſe to be ouercome of ſuch a manne, which I
‹ ſpeake, not that I refuſe to ſuffer any thyng that thou wilt put
‹ vpon mee, beyng come to this campe, wythout an Herauld, but
‹ to aſke pardon for other, iuſte and commodious for thyne e-
‹ ſtate. Whych, that thou mayſte vnderſtande the more playn-
‹ ly, I wyll ſeparate theyr cauſe from mine, that after thou ſhalt
‹ vnderſtand that I am the onelye cauſe, thou mayſte exerciſe
‹ thine anger vppon me. Thinke not that I will inuey againſte
‹ thee licentiouſly, which now were oute of tyme, but wyll one-
‹ lye tell the truth, which I cannot diſſemble.

‹ I toke thys warre agaynſte thee, not that I would bee
‹ a Prince, if I hadde diſpatched thee: but that I myghte
‹ haue broughte the Common wealth to the rule of the Se-
‹ nate, whyche is nowe taken awaye by the power of thee,
‹ as thou thy ſelfe canſte not denye.

‹ For when you begunne it, confeſſyng it vnlawfull, you
‹ ſayde it was neceſſarye for a tyme, *Caſſius* and *Brutus* beyng
‹ alyue, who coulde not be reconciled vnto you. They being
‹ taken awaye, the reſte, (if any reſt there be) being afraide of
‹ you, and takyng armes, not agaynſte the Common
‹ wealth, and youre tyme beeyng ended, I requyred that
‹ the oppreſſed Senate myghte be reſtored, not regardyng
‹ my brother before my Countrey. For I hoped to haue
‹ perſwaded him at his retourne, and I made haſte to doe it
‹ in the tyme of myne office. If thou wouldeſt haue done ſo,
‹ thou ſhouldeſt haue hadde the glorye alone, but bycauſe I
‹ could not perſwade thee, I wente to the Cittye, and thought
‹ to gette it by ſtrength and force, being a Senatoure, and a
‹ Conſull.

‹ Theſe were the onelye cauſes of this warre, not my bro-
‹ ther, not *Manius*, not *Fuluia*, nor the landes diuided to the
‹ Souldyoures, that wanne the fielde at *Philippi*: not the pitie
‹ of the olde poſſeſſioners caſt out of the landes: for by myne
‹ authoritie, ſome were appoynted to landes for my brothers

‹ Legions,

Legions, the olde owners ſpoyled. But thys calumniation thou dyddeſt deuiſe, that thou myghteſt putte the faulte of the warre from thy ſelfe, to me, and the newe inhabiters. And by thys arte, wynnyng the hearties of the olde Souldyoures, thou haſt wonne alſo the victory: for it was perſuaded them, that I would putte them out by violence. Theſe deuices were to be vſed, when thou madeſt warre agaynſte me. Nowe beyng Conqueroure, if thou bée an enimie of thy Countrey, make mée an enimie alſo, that could not remedie it, beyng lette by fampne. And thys I ſpeake frélie, gyuing my ſelfe (as I ſayde) into thy handes, ſhewyng what I thought of thée before, and nowe alſo, beyng with thée alone. Thus much of my ſelfe.

Now, as concernyng my friendes, and the whole army: if thou wilte beléeue me, I wyll gyue thée moſt profitable councell. Doe not vſe them hardly for my cauſe, and matter: and ſeeyng thou arte a man, and ſubiect to vnſtable fortune, make not thy friendes the flower to venture, for thée, if they ſhall ſée examples gyuen of thée, nothyng to be hoped, but to the Conqueroures. And if thou reiect all my councell, as of thyne enimie, I maye not bée aſhamed to craue pardon of thée, that thou wouldeſt not exacte puniſhmente of my friendes for my faulte or miſſefortune, but rather turne all vppon mée, whyche am the cauſe of all theſe troubles: for I haue lefte them behynde me of purpoſe, leaſt if I ſhoulde ſpeake theſe things in theyr hearyng, I ſhoulde ſéeme to ſéeke myne owne cauſe. To thys *Cæſar* anſwered.

When I ſawe thée come to mée withoute an Heraulde, I came apace out of my campe, that thou myghteſt frélie doe that myghte bée for thy good. And ſeeyng thee acknowledgyng thy faulte, thou commytteſt thy ſelfe to my power, I néede not confute the thyngs whyche thou haſt obiected a-

and againſte me ſtrongly, but falſely, hurting mée now as thou
couldſt before. For if thou haddeſt come to make confederation,
thou ſhouldeſt haue come to an angrye Conqueroure not with-
out a cauſe. But now, ſéeing without any condition thou giueſt
thy ſelfe, thy friends and army to vs: al anger is taken awaye,
al neceſſitie of truce is cutte off. For nowe I muſte conſ-
der, not ſo much what you haue deſerued, as what is ſéemly for
mée to doe, whyche I hadde rather doe, either for Gods
cauſe, for my cauſe, or for thy ſake (O *Lucie*): neither will I de-
ceiue the expectation that thou haſte brought with thée.

Cæſar pardoneth

Thus much do I find in the daply notes of the Chronicles of
that time, in this matter. ✝ *Cæſar* maruelled at the noble ✝ ſtout
courage of *Lucius*, ioyned with prudence: and *Lucius* maruelled at
the clemencie and quicke briefeneſſe of *Cæſar*: the other gathered
coniecture of their talke, by the countenaunce of them bothe.
Then *Lucius* ſent to the chiefe Captaynes, that they ſhoulde re-
ceiue the watche worde of *Cæſar*. They brought a booke of the
number, for ſo was the manner, as it is now, that when the cap-
taine aſketh the watche word, he offereth to the Prince a booke
of hys number euery day. Receyuing the watch worde, they did
not leaue the wonted watches, for ſo *Cæſar* commaunded that
they ſhould kéepe watche ſeuerally. The nexte day *Cæſar* ſacrifi-
ced, and *Lucius* ſent the hoſte to *Cæſar*, carying their harneſſe, but
going in their common apparel, and a farre off they ſaluted *Cæ-
ſar*, as Generall, and ſtayde legion by legion, as *Cæſar* hadde ap-
pointed: for he deuided the olde legions from the young. When
he hadde ſacrificed, he ſate in the Generals ſeate, and comman-
ded euery one to lay down their armour, which beeing done, hée
commaunded the old ſouldiors to drawe nighe, that he might
reproue their vnkindneſſe, and make them afraide, yet his mea-
ning was knowne well ynough. Then whither it was of pur-
poſe, or of affection, *Cæſars* ſouldioures came cute of theyr pla-
ces, and embraced *Lucius* ſouldiors, and wept, and ſued to *Cæſar*
for them, and they woulde not leaue, but ſtil cryed vppon *Cæſar*,
ſo as there was muche mourning. But *Cæſar* chaunging hys
minde, and appeaſing the multitude, ſaid thus:

The marueil of both Generalls.

Lucius rendereth

A booke of the number of ſoldi-oures.

Lucius ſouldiours receiue vvatche vvord of *Cæſar*.

Souldiours embracing.

You

You my (fellowe Souldyers) haue alwayes so well serued me, as I can not deny you anything. The yong Souldyers, whiche I thinke haue serued iustly vnder *Lucius* standerd, I remitte: but those that haue heretofore bin ioyned wyth you in warre, and now be saued by your meane, I would aske, what iniurie I haue done them, or what grace denyed them, that they shoulde serue another, and beare armoure against me and you, and themselues? for I suffered all the paynes for diuision of the landes, of the which these were partakers, whose leudenesse nowe, if you will suffer me, I will punish. But they denying that, and cõtinually calling for pardon, I graunt (quoth he) that you demaunde, let them goe free, so as hereafter they agree with you: whyche, beyng promised on both partes, thanks were cryed to *Cæsar*, who was contente that some shoulde be lodged in houses. The common sorte he willed to lye in their Campe, where they syrste were placed, tyll he sente them to wintering. Then sitting in the hygh seate, he called *Lucius*, and the chiefe out of *Perugia*, among whome, were many Senatoures and Gentlemen, all in beaute shape, who beyng out of the Towne, a garrison entred. When they were come, *Cæsar* toke *Lucius* to hym, the other were committed to hys friendes and officers, beyng warned to kepe them in honest and secrete custody. The *Perugians* crying for pardon ouer the wall, he commaunded to come without the Senate only, whyche beyng done, he pardoned them.

Cæsar pardoneth the yong Souldyoures.

Souldyers still cric for pardon.

Pardon.

Romaines appeared, and were well fed for a time.

Perugians pardoned.

The Senatoures were putte in prison, and after kylled, except *Lucius Aemilius*, who being in *Rome*, when ỹ killers of *Cæsar* were cryed, he thoughte good they shoulde be punished, and the Citie purged. He mynded to haue gyuen the Citie in spoyle to the Souldyoures, but one *Sextius*, a madde fellowe, surnamed *Macedonian*, bycause he hadde serued in *Macedonia*, sette hys owne house on fyre, and threwe himselfe into it, and the wynde beyng great, blew the fyre ouer all the Citie, and burned it, the temple of *Vulcane* only excepted. Thys was the ende of *Perugia*, an auntient and goodly Citie, for (they say) it was ons of the twelue

Captaynes of *Perugia* killed.

Sextius setteth the Citie on fire.

Perugia set on fire.

Antiquitie of *Perugia*.

It vvas first called *Vibia Colonia*, of *Vibius* a Captayne of the *Acheanes* that first came thither: but the *Originens* of *Armenia* did build it, and of a Griffon vvhich they bare in their standerd, called in their language Perugio, they called the Citie *Perugia*. *Cæsar* repayred the Citie, and it vvas called *Perugia Augusta*, vvith this inscription, *Augusto Sacro Perugia restituta*.

twelue Cities, which the *Hetrurians* buylded after their firſte comming into *Italy*. Wherefore, after the *Tuſcane* faſhion, they honor *Iuno*. And after that, they that followed, choſe *Vulcane* in ſtead of *Iuno* for their patrone.

The next day, *Cæſar* made truce with all the armyes, yet ſome tumultes continued betweene them, til, *Canutius*, and *Flauius*, *Clodius*, *Bithinicus*, and diuers other were ſlayne, who were deadly enimies of *Cæſar*.

This ende had the ſiege of *Perugia*, and the warre that *Lucius* made, which certaynely was very daungerous, and like to haue continued long. For *Aſinius*, *Plancus*, *Ventidius*, *Craſſus*, *Attieus*, and others of this faction, hadde an army diuided into thirténe partes, with fiue thouſande horſemen, and aboue. All the which, ſcattered, ſome to *Brundiſio*, ſome to *Rauenna*, and ſome to *Tarento*. Some wente to *Murco*, ſome to *Aenobarbo*, and ſome to *Antony* himſelfe. *Cæſars* bandes chaced them by land, and *Agrippa* gote two legions from *Plancus*, which were left at *Cameryna*. *Fuluia* with hir children fledde to *Puzzolo*, and from thence to *Brundiſio*, with three thouſand horſe, which the Captaynes appoynted for hir conduit. At *Brunduſe* ſhe toke Shippe with fiue Gallyes that were ſente from *Macedonia*, and *Plancus* went with hir, who for cowardiſe, had forſaken the reſt of his army whiche ſerued *Ventidius*. *Aſinius* entiſed *Aenobarbus* to *Antonyes* ſide, whereof they both wrote letters vnto him, and prepared for him agaynſte his comming into *Italy*. There were other bandes of *Antonyes* vnder the *Alpes*, wherof *Calenus* was Captayne. *Cæſar* intended to winne them to him, becauſe he had *Antony* now in ſuſpition, that if he were his friend, he would keepe them for him, if he proued his enimie, he would ſerue himſelfe: and whyleſt he ſoughte a good occaſion, *Calenus* dyed. *Cæſar* toke the aduantage, and had the army, for *Fuſius*, *Calenus* ſonne, deliuered all for feare. Thus *Cæſar* without any buſineſſe, gote eleuen legions, and moſt ample prouinces, from the whiche he remoued the old officers, and placed his owne, and went to *Rome*. *Antony* kepte the meſſengers that were ſent from the inhabitancies, eyther becauſe of ỹ winter, or becauſe he would not haue them report his doinges.

Lucius army ſcattered.

Cameria in *Latio*, *Fuluia* fleeth. *Puzzoli* in *Campania*.

Plancus the coyward.

Cæſar taketh *Antonyes* bands in *Lombardy*.

Antony deteyneth the meſſengers.

At the beginning of the Spring, he wente from *Alexandria*,

tama

came to *Tirus*, and from thence by *Cipres* and *Rhodes* into *Asia*, where he heard of the seege of *Perugia*, for the whiche he blamed his brother and his wife, and most of all *Manius*. He founde hys wife at *Athens*, that was fledde from *Brunduse*. His mother *Iulia*, *Pompey* had sente out of *Sicelie*, whither she fledde in company of *Libone*, his father in law, *Saturninus*, and others of the best sorte that he had, the which assayed to allure *Antony* to *Pompeys* parte against *Cæsar*. *Antony* thanked *Pompey* for sending him hys mother, the which he would requite in time conuenient, and if hee did make warre againste *Cæsar*, he woulde vse his societie, but if *Cæsar* and he continued in agreement, he woulde reconcile him to *Cæsar*. And this was *Antonyes* aunswere. *Cæsar* beeyng come to *Rome*, vnderstode that some were gone to *Athens*, but what answere they had of *Antony*, he could not tell. Then he soughte to discredite *Antony*, with the souldyoures, as he that would ioyne with *Pompey*, to put them from their possessions, and that manye were fledde to *Pompey*, but for all that, he coulde not winne the Souldyoures from *Antony*, so greate was the glory that he had gote at *Philippi*. *Cæsar* thought himselfe good ynough for *Antony* & *Pompey* by lãd, for he had aboue 40. legions, but he had no ships, & they had more than 500. with the which, if they woulde beset the coast of *Italy*, they might some oppresse it with famine. Therfore of many maydens ỹ were offered him in marriage, he thought to make his best match, & he wrote to *Mæcenas*, that he shuld cõtract him to *Scribonia*, sister to *Libo*, father in law to *Pompey*, ỹ he might haue a pretence to agree with *Pompey* if neede were. This done, he remoued diuers of *Antonyes* friends from their authoritie, & sent *Lepidus* into *Affrica* with fiue legions of *Antonyes*. Then hee called to him *Lucius*, and praised him as kind to his brother, that he woulde take his faulte vppon himselfe: but he coulde not but thinke vnkindnesse in him, that after so great benefite shewed to him, he would not playnely tell his brothers conspiracie.

Antony findeth his wife.

Pompey sendeth *Iulia*, *Antonyes* mother to him honourably.

Pompeys friends assayed *Antony*. *Antonyes* answvere.

Cæsar discrediteth *Antony* at *Rome*.

Glorie of *Antony* great.

Mariage for *Cæsar* to serue his turne.

Cæsar to *Lucius*.

To thys *Lucius* aunswered, I knewe my sister in lawes ambitious desire to rule, but I toke the commoditie of my brothers armye, to take the rule from you all, and if my brother woulde come nowe to abolishe youre Monarchie, I woulde take hys parte alwayes agaynste thee for my Countreys sake, although priuate

Lucius to *Cæsar*.

'priuately I am moſt beholden vnto thée. But if hée will ſéeke
'companions of hys tyrannie, I will take thy parte againſt him,
'ſo thou wilte deſtroy the Monarchie: for the affection to my
Conſtancie of *Lucius*. 'Countrey ſhall alwayes prenayle more with me, than fauoure
'or kindred.

Cæſar to *Lucius*. *Cæſar* marueilling at the conſtancie of *Lucius*, ſaide, he woulde not vſe hym againſt hys brother, though he would followe him: yet he woulde committe to him the prouince of *Spayne*, and appoynt *Peduceus* and *Luceius* his Lieutenantes.

Lucius is honored of *Cæſar* vvith regard. Thus in ſhewe of honor he ſente away *Lucius*, yet ſecretely commaunded he ſhould be priuily watched.

Sicyone not farre from *Corinth*. *Antony* leauing his wife ſicke at *Scicyone*, toke the Sea wyth no great army, with a Nauie of two hundred Shippes, whyche he had made in *Aſia*.

Æenobarbus goeth to *Antony*. Whē he vnderſtode that *Aenobarbus* came to mēte him with a great army, who was ſuſpected not to be truſted of his worde, (for he was one of the condemned men of conſpiracie againſte *Cæſar*, and in battel at *Philippi*, fought againſt *Cæſar* and *Antony*,) yet he went toward him with fiue good Shippes, that he myghte ſéeme to truſt him, willing the reſt to followe after. *Aenobarbus* whē he had ſight of him, came forward with al his Nauie. Then
Plancus afrayde. was *Plancus* afrayde, and wiſhed him to ſtay, and firſte to trye what he meante, bycauſe he was to be doubted. *Antony* aunſwe-
Antony to *Plancus*. red, he had rather dye, being decepued by truſt, than be thoughte to flée for feare. Being come nére, both the Admirals were knowen by their flagges, and ſayled one to the other. The Herald of *Antony* ſtanding in the forepart, eyther ignorante that he was not a ſure friend, or of a boldneſſe of minde, that the inferioure ſhould ſtoupe to the ſuperioure, commaunded the other to ſtrike ſaile, whiche they did, and drewe to the ſide of *Antonyes* Shippe, where they ſaluted and embraced one another: and the armye of *Aenobarbus* receyued *Antony* for theyr Generall: yet was *Plancus* ſcarſly aſſured. And *Antonie* toke *Aenobarbus*
Peloente. into his owne ſhip, and ſayled to *Peloenta*, where *Aenobarbus* had his ſouldiers. And there *Aenobarbus* gaue place to *Antonie* in the Generals tent.

From

From thence they sayled to *Brunduse*, where was fiue bandes of *Cæsars* in garrison. The *Brundusians* shut the gates to *Aenobarbus* as an auncient enimie, and to *Antonie*, as one that brought an enimie. *Antonie* toke this pretence to be done by *Cæsars* commaundement, and therefore, fortified the narrow parte of earth that ioyned to the Citie, with ditche and trenche. For this citie is almoste an Iland in a porte lyke a cresent, whiche by lande, could not be come vnto, when this cliffe was cutte from it, and the place fortified. *Antonie* also did beset the hauen, which is very great, and all the Ilandes in it, with many Castels that hee made. He sent also into sundry coastes of *Italy*, to take the litte places, and exhorted *Pompey*, also that hee should inuade *Italie*, as much as he coulde. He gladly sent *Menodorus* with a great army .iiij. legions, to gette *Corsica*, which was *Cæsars*, where he toke two legions, beyng amased at this attonement with *Antonie*. *Antonies* Captaynes toke *Sigunto* a citie in *Ausonia*. *Pompey* besieged *Thurij* and *Cossentia*, & placed his horsemen in their fieldes. *Cæsar*, troubled in so many places at once, sent *Agrippa* to relieue *Ausonia*. He commaunded the Souldiours that were placed, to serue: but they, vnderstandyng that it was done by *Antonies* consent, denied, whiche troubled *Cæsar* moste of all. Yet he wente to *Brunduse* with an other army, and by fayre wordes made the souldiours to go with him, the whiche practised by secrete meanes to reconcile *Cæsar* and *Antonie*. And if *Antonie* woulde not, they woulde sticke to *Cæsar*, who was now sicke at *Canusio*, and had a greater Armie than *Antonie*: When he was come to *Brunduse*, & sawe how *Antonie* had cut off the lande from the Towne, he lay and wayted his aduersaries doyngs. *Antonie* was stronger in munitions, by the meane whereof he sente for his armie out of *Macedonie*, and vsed this policie, to put countrymen by nighte into his shippes, bothe Galleys and other, and to make a shewe of a great army, to come from *Macedonia*, and so began to beate *Brunduse*, whereof *Cæsar* was sory, for he coulde not helpe it. At that euening it was tolde, that *Agrippa* had recouered *Signuntum*, and that *Pompey* was repulsed from *Thurio*, and that *Cossence* was still besieged: whereat *Antony* was sory. And hearing that

Antony and *Aenobarbus* to *Brunduse*.

Antony is kepte out of *Brunduse*.

Antony besieged *Brunduse*.

Brunduse was builded of the *Aetolians*, and after inhabited of *Cretenses*, and at laste made an inhabitaunce of *Rome*: it hath the name of the forme of an Harres head with the horres which the *Messapians* call *Brudusium*, for that shape hath the porte, which is one of the beste of the world.

Antony vseth *Pompeis* helpe.

Pompey sendeth a nauy with *Menodorus*, and besiegeth *Cossensa* & *Thurij*.

The space from *Tiber* to *Beneuentum*, was called *Ausonia*, by the which name also, *Italie* was called.

Cæsar troubled.

Consentia, is yet a Citie, buylded vpō seuē hilles, and thereof giueth seuen hilles for their armes.

Souldiours practise peace.

Canusio now *Canossa*, in *Apulia*.

Antonies policy.

Agrippa recouereth the besieged places.

Thurio was a citie builded by Nicias, comming from Athens not farre from the which Mamaia gathered.

Antonies valiantneſſe.

Vria ona, in Calabria.

Seruilius was comming to Cæſar with one thouſande and two hundreth horſe: he could not ſtay, but ſtraight frō ſupper with greate rage, toke his frendes and .iiij. C. horſe, and valiantly gaue the onſet vpon a M. and .v. C. and toke them ſléepyng at Vria, and brought to Brunduſe. So great a fame was ſtill of him, for the victory hée gotte at Philippi. The garde of his perſon, would come to Cæſars campe, and vpbrayde them, their vnkindneſſe to hym that ſaued them at Philippi. Who anſweared, that they did but defende themſelues. Then they obiected one agaynſt an other. The one, that they were excluded from Brunduſio, and that the armie of Calenus was taken from them. The other, that Brunduſe was beſieged, and that the coaſt was inuaded, and aliance made with Aenobarbus, a killer of Cæſar, and with Pompey, a chief enimie. At length Cæſars men opened their minde to Antonies, that they folowed Cæſar, not forgettyng Antonie, beyng deſirous that they might be reconciled. But if Antonie would not relent, they woulde do their vttermoſt. And this talke had they in Antonies campe. Whyles this was a doyng, newes came that Antonies wyfe was dead, who coulde not beare hys vnkyndneſſe, leauyng hir ſicke & not bidding hyr farewell. Hir death was thought very cōmodious for them both. For Fuluia was an vnquiet woman, & for ielouſie of Cleopatra, rayſed ſuche a mortall warre. Yet the matter vered Antony, bicauſe he was cōpted the occaſion of hir death. L. Cocceius was frend to thē both. He the Sommer before was ſente of Cæſar with Cecinna to Antonie into Aſia, and Antonie ſente Cecinna home & kept Cocceius ſtill. He ſéekyng occaſiō to trie Antonie, told him, Cæſar had ſét for him, & deſired he might departe, & aſked whether hée woulde wryte to Cæſar or no, Antonie was content hée ſhould departe. But as for wryting (ſayde hée) what ſhoulde we wryte but tauntes one to an other, ſeyng wée are nowe enimies. And I wrote to hym by Cecinna, the copie whereof you ſhall haue if you wyll. I brought you letters from hym, (ſayde Cocceius) and enimie you can not take hym, that bled your brother Lucius and your other frendes ſo well. Why (quoth Antonie) hée ſhutteth me out of Brunduſe, and hath taken myne armie and prouince that Calenus kepte. And where

Obiections of ſoldiours on both partes.

Antonies wyfe dead.

Cocceius talke with Antonie:

hée

hée is good to my frendes, hée hath made them by hys benefites mine enimies. Then *Cocceius* not minding further to stirre so angry a man, departed. And when *Cæsar* saw hym, marueling he had tarried so long, sayde, I haue not saued your brother that you should become mine enimie: how cal you (sayd he) your frēds enimies, & take frō them their armies & prouinces? wherto *Cæsar* sayd. After the death of *Calenus*, so great a charge ought not to be giuen to so yong a man, as *Calenus* name, *Antonie* being absent, & *Lucius*, *Asinius*, & *Aenobarbus* in armes against me. As for *Plancus* legions, I intercepted, that they shoulde not go to *Pompey*, as the horsemen did. These things were tolde otherwise to *Antonie*, (sayde he) yet he beléeued nothing till he was shutte from *Brundusie*. I knewe not of it, sayde *Cæsar*, neyther did I commaunde it: the *Brundusians*, & the garrison that I left, could not abide him, when hee brought with him *Aenobarbus*, a killer of *Cæsar* and a proscribed mā, who after the field at *Philippi*, besieged *Brundusie*, and yet troubleth the coast of *Italie*, burned my shippes, & spoyled the countrey. You haue (sayd he) cōsented one to the other, to make alliance with whom ye wil. Neither haue *Antonie* ioyned with any manqueller more than you haue for regard of your father. *Aenobarbus* is no man killer, neyther any decree of anger made against him, neither was he prinie to that purpose. And if he be thought vnworthy pardon because he was frend to *Brutus*, then must we sée whether al other be not in his case. Cōfederacie is made with *Pompey*, not to hurte you, but if you make warre vpon *Antonie*, to haue his societie, if not, to reconcile hym to you, who is voyde of faulte: but you are in the faulte. For if warre had not bene made in *Italie*, they durste neuer haue sente Embassages, to *Antonie*. *Cæsar* replied, and sayde, that *Fuluia*, *Lucius* and *Manius* began the warre in *Italy*. And *Pompey* durst neuer before inuade the coast of *Italy*, but vpon the trust of *Antonie*. Not only trusting vppon *Antonie*, but sente of hym, sayde *Cocceius*, for I will not dissemble, and he shall inuade the reste of *Italie* being voyde of Nauie, if you make not peace. *Cæsar* nothing vnwilling to heare this diuise, stayde a whyle: *Pompey* shalbe punished, whelynow (quoth he) being already repulsed frō *Thurij*.

Cæsar to Cocceius.

Cæsars words of Pompey.

Then

Than *Cocceius* perceyuing all the controuersie, talde hym that *Fuluia* was dead, for vnkindnesse of *Antonie*, and nowe that shee is gone, there is no way but to vtter one an others greefe without dissimulation. *Cæsar* beyng appeased by this talke, receyued *Cocceius*, who requested him to wryte somewhat to *Antonie*, as the yonger to the elder. He denied to wryte any thing to his enemie, that woulde write nothing to him. He also thought vnkindnesse in *Antonies* mother, that beyng of his house, fledde out of *Italie*, and would not seeke to hym, of whome she might haue obtayned any thing, as of hir Sonne: and to hir hee was content to wryte. When *Cocceius* came forth, many of the Capitaynes declared the myndes of the Souldiours, that except they woulde be reconciled, warre should be made. Which hee tolde *Antonie*, and wished him to countermaund *Pompey* from further inuasion of *Italie*, and to sende *Aenobarbus* away, till they were agreed. *Iulia* his mother ioyned with *Cocceius*, and prayed hir sonne so to doe. *Antonie* stode in doubte, for if the peace did not take, he muste desire *Pompeis* helpe agayne, the whiche woulde be a shame for hym: but his mother putting him in comfort, & *Cocceius* seeming to knowe more, *Antony* gaue place, and required *Pompey* to returne into *Sicelie*, and he would keepe promise with him, and sent *Aenobarbus*, with authoritie into *Bythinia*. When ỳ armye heard this, they chose messengers that might goe to eyther generall, and cutting off al rehearsal of vnkindnesse paste, to requyre thẽ to linke in amitie. For this purpose, of *Cæsars* parte, there was chosen *Mecenas*: and for *Antonie*, *Pollio*: and *Cocceius* was ioyned to them as a frẽd to both. And bycause *Marcellus* was dead, that was husband to *Octauia Cæsars* sister, they required that shee might be made sure to *Antony*, whiche beyng done, all the army, cried, Happy may it be, continuing their reioyce one whole day & a night. Then *Cæsar* and *Antonie*, once agayne deuided the whole *Romane* Empire, and made *Cedropoli*, a Citie of *Slauonia* the boundes of both their partes, bycause it stode in the ende of the *Adriaticall* sea.

Cæsar is quieted by the talke of *Cocceius*.

Antony in doubt vvhat to doe.

Antony consenteth to peace.

Messengers of reconciliation.

A maryage practised for *Antony*.

Cedropolis.

That *Cæsar* should haue al prouinces and Landes westward euen to the mayne Sea.

That

That *Antonie* shoulde haue the lyke Eastwarde, euen to the flood *Euphrates*.

That *Lepidus* should haue *Africa* still, as *Cæsar* had appointed.

That *Cæsar* should make warre vpō *Pompey*, vnlesse other order were taken.

That *Antonie* shoulde make warre vpon the *Parthians*, to reuenge the iniurie done to *Crassus*.

That *Aenobarbus* should be receyued into societie, with these conditions that he had of *Antonie*.

That it should be lawful for both, to leuie men in *Italie*, with like numbers of legions. This peace was solemnelie ratified.

Whervpō they sent away their friends about their affayres. *Antonie* sent *Ventidius* into *Asia*, to represse the *Parthians*, & yong *Labienus*, who by the help of the *Parthians*, made new commotiōs in *Syria*, as far as *Ionia*, all the which he shewed in the *Parthians* warre. *Pompey*, by his Capitayne *Menodorus*, repulsed *Helenus Cæsars* Lieftenant out of *Sardinia*. Wherfore *Cæsar* would not be reconciled with him. They went to *Rome* togither, and celebrated the mariage. Where *Antonie* put *Manius* to death, bycause hée stirred *Fuluia* to make warre. He accused *Saluidienus* gouernour for *Cæsar*, of the armie at *Rhodanus*, that hée woulde forsake hys maister and cleaue to hym: whereof he wrote letters to hym to *Brundusie*. This was not lyked of all men, declaryng vnconstant dealing in too much seéking of amitie. *Cæsar* called *Saluidienus* vnto him, as about a matter of charges, and to sende him againe to the army, whom when he came, he slew him with reproche, and deliuered his army to *Antonie*, as suspected.

Menodorus dryueth *Helenus* out of *Sardinia*.

Manius is put to death by *Antony*, & *Saluidienus* accused.

Saluidienus killed of *Cæsar*.

In the meane time the cytie was oppressed with famine. for neyther durst the Merchauntes bring any corne from the East bicause of *Pompeis* being in *Sicelie*, nor from the Weast of *Corsica* & *Sardinia*, where *Pompeis* shippes also lay: nor frō *Africa*, where the nauies of the other conspiratours kepte their stations. Being in this distresse, they alleaged, that the discorde of the rulers was the cause, and therefore required that peace might be made with *Pompey*, vnto the whiche when *Cæsar* woulde not agrée, *Antonie* thought warre was nédefull for necessitie, and bycause mo-

Famine in *Rome*.

Cæsar vvyll not agree to peace vvith *Pompey*.

A payment put vpon the people.

ny wãted, a decrée was made by *Antonies* aduise, that euery maister shoulo pay the half of. xv. drammes, for euery slaue that he had, whiche was determined to bene done in the war of *Cassius*, & that somewhat also shoulde be payde of euery mans heritage.

The people re. sist the decree of *Cæsar* and *Antony*.

The people tore the decrée with great furie, & obiected the consuming of treasure publike, the spoylyng of prouinces, the sacking of *Italie*, and all for priuate displeasure, and yet all woulde not serue, but muste nowe put newe impositions vpon them that haue nothing left. They assembled and murmured, & cõpelled the that would not, and with threatnings to spoyle and burne theyr houses, gathered all the people. Then *Cæsar* with a fewe of his frends and garde, came to them to excuse themselues, but they

The people re sist *Cæsar*.

VVho buyeth friendship to deere shal smart as *Antony* did.

threw stones and droue him away, which when *Antonie* heard, he came to help him. To him comming the holy way the people did nothing, bycause he was willing to agree with *Pompey*, but prayde him to departe, which when he would not do, they threw stones at him. Then he brought in his soldiours that were with out the walles, & not about him, into the citie, being diuided into market places and streates, wounded & set vpon the multitude & killed the in the streates as they came. And they could not easily flée for ỹ multitude, nor breake through by runnyng, so that many were hurte and killed, crying and yellyng from their houses.

Cæsar escapeth by *Antonies* meanes. Dead bodies cast into the ryuer, and after spoyled.

So *Antonie* hadde muche ado to escape and *Cæsar* by him was, cuidently preserued and got away. Thus did *Antonie* delyuer *Cæsar* from present perill. The bodies of the commons that were killed, were caste into the riuer to auoyde the griefe of the sight, which came not so to passe, for the Soldiours, fished for them as the streame carried them, and toke from them their apparell, whiche grieued the beholders. Thus this cuill ended with enuie of the Princes, and yet no remedie for the lacke of things, whereat the people grutched and suffered. *Antonie* wished *Libo* hys frendes, to call him out of *Sicelie*, to congratulate for the alliance made, and he would procure greater matter, and saue him harmeleſſe. They wrote letters to *Libo*, and *Pompey* was content he should goe. And when he was come to the Ile called *Pithecusa*, and now *Aenaria*, the people assembled again and prayed

Antonies counsel. The alliance of the mariage betweene *Cæsar* and his sister *Scribonia*. *Pythecusa*, was named *Aenaria* of *Aeneas*, and now *Ischia* of strength, it was the inhabitance of the marquesse of *Pescara*.

Cæsar,

Cæsar, to send him letters of safeconduit to come to treat of peace. which he did, although against his wil. The people also cõpelled *Mutia*, mother to *Pompey*, to go vnto him, threatning els to burne hir, & help to make peace. When *Libo* perceyued how the enimies were inclined, he desired to speake with the Captaines, that they might togither agree in the couenants, the which the people cõpelled the with much a do, & so *Antonie* & *Cæsar* went to *Baia*. All other persuaded *Pompey* earnestly to peace, only *Menodorus* wrote frõ *Sardinia* that he should make open warre, or dryue off, whyles the dearth continued, that hee might make peace with the better cõditions, & bad him take hede of *Murcus*, who was a mouer for peace, as one that sought to be in his authoritie. Wherefore *Pompey* put away *Murcus*, and vsed his counsell no more, whome before hee honoured for his worthinesse and wisedome: whereat *Murcus* toke displeasure and wente to *Siracuse*, and to suche as were sent after him to keepe him, spake openly against *Pompey*, wherewith he beyng angrie killed diuerse of the best aboute *Murcus*, and sent to kill him, and to say that his slaues had done it, whiche beyng done, he hanged certayne of *Murcus* slaues as though they had done it. The whiche craft was not hid, nor the wickednesse that he did against *Bythinius*, a noble man and a valiant warriour, and constant to him from the beginnyng, & his friende in *Spaine*, from whence he came willingly to serue him in *Sicelie*. When he was dead, other men toke in hand to persuade him to peace, & accused *Menodorus* as desirous of his office by sea, not so much caring for his maister, as for his owne power. *Pompey* folowyng their counsell, sayled to *Aenaria*, w many chosen ships, himselfe being in a gorgious galley with fiue ores on a seate, & so did passe *Dicearchia* proudly, towarde the euening, the enimies loking vpon him. The nert morning stakes were set in the sea, & bridges made, into one of which ioyning to the land, *Cæsar* came with *Antonie*. *Pompey* and *Libo* entred the other bridge, in such distance, that one could not heare an other, vnlesse they spake alowd. *Pompey* required societie of rule, in place of *Lepidus*. They onely graũted his return to his countrie, then al was dashed. Till oftẽ messages wer set betwẽn, offring diuerse cõditiõs on both sides.

Baia was a Citie not farre frõ *Naples*, where the old *Romanes* had great delight.

Menodorus counsell.

Murcus is put from *Pompey*.

Siracuse, now *Saragosa*, a goodly citie of *Sicelie*.

Murcus and *Bythinius* killed of *Pompey*.

Now *Ischia*.

Dicearchia, now *Puzzolo*, *Puteoli*, an old ruined citie, nearer *Naples* than *Baia*, beyng three myles asunder by lande, to the which *Caligula* made a bridge by the sea, meeting of *Cæsar*, *Antony* and *Pompey*.

Pompey required that such condemned men as were with him for *Cæsars* death, might be safe in exile, & that the other men of honour & proscribed, might be restored to their countrey and goodes. The dearth continuing, & the people vrgyng peace, it was graunted that they should recouer the fourth part of their goodes, as redeeming it of the new possessioners, and wrote of it to the condemned men, thinkyng they would accept it, which toke the offer, beyng now afrayde of *Pompey*, for his wickednesse committed agaynst *Murcus*, to whom they went & moued him to agree. He tore his cloke, as betrayed of them, whom he had defended, and oft called for *Menodorus*, as one expert in matters of state, and onely constant in faith. At length, by the exhortatiō of *Murcia* his mother, & *Iulia* his wife, they three met agayne, vpon an old pere of the sea, beyng wel garded, where they cōcluded with these cōditions.

Pompey in a rage

The conditions of peace, betweene *Antony*, *Cæsar* & *Pompey*.

That peace shoulde be, bothe by sea and lande, and the Marchantes haue free course.

That *Pompey* should take his garrisons out of *Italie*, & receiue no more fugitiues, nor kepe no nauies in *Italie*.

That he should rule in *Cicelie*, *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, and those other Ilandes that now he had, so long as the rule should be continued to *Antonie* and *Cæsar*.

That he should send to the people of *Rome*, the corne that now was due.

That he should also rule *Peloponesus*, besides the former Iles.

That he should exercise the office of Consul in his absence by his frende, and be admitted to the colledge of the Bishops.

That the noble mē that were banished, might returne home, except them that were condemned by publique iudgement of *Cæsars* death.

That they that were fled for feare should be restored to their goodes. And they that were cōdemned, only to the fourth parte.

That the slaues that had serued vnder *Pompey*, shoulde be free.

That the free men shoulde haue the same stipendes, that the old Soldiours of *Antonie* and *Cæsar* had.

These were the conditions of peace, whiche beyng written were sent to *Rome*, to be kept of the holy Virgins.

Then

Then they desired the one to banquet the other, and the lotte fell first to *Pompey*, who receiued them in his greate gally, ioyned to the pere. *Pompey* banqueteth *Cesar* and *Antony*, and they him.

The next day, *Cesar* and *Antony* feasted hym in their Tentes, pitched on that pere, that euery man might eate on the shore, but peraduenture for their more safetie, for the Shippes were at hand, the gard in order, and the guestes with their weapons vnder their clokes. It is sayd, that *Menodorus* when they banqueted in *Pompeys* Shippe, sente one to *Pompey*, to put him in remembrance, that nowe was the time to reuenge his father and brothers death, for he would see that none should scape the Shippe: and that he aunswered, as became him then for his person and place: *Menodorus* might haue done it without me, it agreeth with *Menodorus* to be periured falle, but so may not *Pompey*. *Menodorus* counceth. Answere of *Pompey*.

In that supper, *Pompeys* daughter, wife to *Libo*, was espoused to *Marcellus*, *Antonyes* nephew, sonne to *Cesars* sister. nurse

The next day, the Consuls were appoynted for foure yeares, first *Antony* and *Libo*, and that *Antony* might make a substitute, next *Cesar* and *Pompey*, then *Aenobarbus*, and *Sosius*, lastly *Cesar* and *Antony*, thrice Consuls, and as it was hoped, to restore to the people the gouernement of the common wealth. Consuls appoynted.

These things being concluded, they departed, *Pompey* with his Shippes to *Sicelie*, and they by land to *Rome*.

At the newes of this peace, the Citie and all *Italy* made great ioy, by the which, ciuill warre, continuall mutters, insolencie of garrisons, running away of slaues, wasting of Countreys, decay of tillage, and aboue all, most greate famine was taken away: therefore, sacrifices were made by the way to the Princes, as to preseruers of the Countrey. The Citie had receyued them with a goodly triumph, hadde not they entred by nighte, bycause they would not charge the Citizens. Onely they were not partakers of the common ioy, that had the possession of the banished mens goodes, who should returne by the league, and be their beaute enimies. Reioyce for peace.

The banished men, a fewe except that went againe with *Pompey*, toke leaue of him at *Puzzolo*, and wente to the Citie, where Banished men returne.

a new ioy was made, for the returne of so many noble men. The Cæsar went to recitye France, and Antonie to make war on ỳ Parthians. And ỳ Senate hauing approued his actes, as wel past as to come, he sent his Captaynes abroade, & did what he would. He appoynted also certaine kings, only such as should pay a tribute. Of Pontus, Darius, Pharnaces sonne, & Mithridates nephew. Of the Idumeans & Samaritanes, Herode. Of ỳ Pisidiãs, Amyntas. Of part of Cilicia Polomon, and others of other natiõs. He sente his army that should haue wintered about him, into Parthiena, a natiõ of Illyria, nigh to Epidamno, ỳ sometime entierly loued Brutus, that he might acquaint thẽ to gayne & exercise. Another army he sẽt to Dardanes, which is a people of Illyria also, that was wõt to make rodes in Macedonia. Other he cõmaunded to abide at Epirus, ỳ he might haue them all about him, intending to winter at Athens. He sent Furnius into Affrica, to leade vj. legions of Sextius against the Parthians, for he had not yet heard, that Lepidus had taken them from Sextius. These things being done, he wintered at Athens with Octauia, as he did at Alexandria with Cleopatra. Only he loked on the letters ỳ came frõ his armies, and leauing ỳ habite of a Generall, vsed ỳ garmẽts of a priuate mã, and without a garde, wẽt in cõpany of two frends, to heare the lectors & disputations of the Philosophers. His dyet was after the Greciã maner, hauing Octauia euer in his cõpany, as one ỳ was fond vpõ womẽ. Winter being ended, he changed his maner & gouernement. He had his officers & Captaines attending at his gates, and all things were done to make feare. The Embassagies that were differred, were now heard, audience was giuẽ, ships were prepared, and all full of businesse. Whilest Antony was thus occupyed, the league betweene Cæsar and Pompey was broken for some secrete cause, but the open matter was this. Antony cõmitted Morea to Pompeyus vpon this condition, that he shoulde pay their debtes, or see them paide, or leaue the matter safe. He toke not the prouince wyth this cõditiõ, but to haue the coũtrey wõ the debts. Being greeued at this, of his peruerse nature (as Cæsar said) or bycause he enuyed that others should haue greater armies than he, or for that he gaue too much credit to Menedorus, that said, it was no peace, but a truce, he repaired other ships, & gathered his Gallies, & made

Antonyes actes allowed by the Senate.

Antony maketh Kings.

Idumei, people betweene Iudea and Arabia.

Samaria, a regiõ of Palestina, besides Pighe Pamphilia.

Parthiny.

Dardani.

Epirus, nowe Gomera, or Albania.

Antonyes behauiour at Athens.

Change of Antony.

Cæsar breaketh with Pompey.

The pretence of the breach.

an

an oratiõ to his army, declaring how war must nedes follow, & troubled ẏ sea by rouers, so as little commoditie came to ẏ Citie by that accord: wherfore it was spoke openly, that peace was not made for to releue thẽ of perils, but to adde the fourth to ẏ nũber of Tyrantes encreased. *Cæsar* toke some of the Pyrats, & put thẽ to ẏ torture, to make thẽ confesse, ẏ *Pompey* sent thẽ. *Cæsar* told it to ẏ people, & signifyed it to *Pompey* by letters. *Pompey* excused it, & cõplained of ẏ dealings touching *Peloponneso*. The noble mẽ that remained with *Pompey*, perceiuing him to be always ruled by thẽ that had bin his bondmẽ, killed some of his frẽmade mẽ, either of thẽselues, or to please *Cæsar*, to kindle him against *Menodorus* hys maister. Thys they did of purpose, for the hate they bare to *Menodorus*. At ẏ time, *Philadelphus*, a frẽmade mã of *Cæsars*, sayled to *Menodorus* for corne: & *Micilio*, a most sure frẽd to *Menodorus*, wẽt to deale with *Cæsar* for him, promising him ẏ rule of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, with three legiõs & many frẽds. This matter practised either by *Philadelphus*, or for displeasure of *Pompey*, *Cæsar* would not at ẏ firſt, but at lẽgth accepted it, thinking ẏ peace to be broke in deede, & called *Antony* frõ *Athens*, to *Brunduse* at a certayne daye for this war, and sent for the Gallies frõ *Rauenna*, and ẏ army frõ *Lombardy*, to lye at *Brũdusio* & *Putzolo*, to inuade *Sicelie* on both sides, if *Antony* would agree therunto. *Antony* came at his day, & not finding *Cæsar* there, tarried not, either for ẏ he liked not of ẏ war against ẏ truce, or for ẏ he saw *Cæsar* make great preparatiõ (for both of thẽ were ambitious of rule) or for ẏ he was feared with a token, for one of ẏ watch of his tẽt was deuoured of a Wolfe, al saue ẏ face, as though it shuld be knowẽ who it was, whiche was done without any crie or noise. And the *Brundusians* said, they saw a Wolfe runne frõ his pauiliõs by breake of day. Notwithstãding, he wrote to *Cæsar*, not to breake ẏ couenant made, and threatned to take *Menedorus* as his slaue, for he was bond to *Pompey* ẏ great, whose goodes he had bought. *Cæsar* sent his officers to receiue *Sardinia* and *Corsica* of *Menodore*, and fenced ẏ coast of *Italie* with many fortes, that it should not be so subiecte to *Pompeys* rouing. He commaunded that more Gallyes should be made at *Rauenna* and *Rome*, and sent for a great army from *Illiria*. *Menodorus* he made a frẽman, and to guide ẏ Nauie that he brought, as Viceadmirall

Quarels against *Pompey*.

Cæsar calleth *Antony* from *Athens*.

Antony cõmeth to *Brundusio*.

A suspition betweene *Cæsar* and *Antony*.

A token in *Antonyes* Campe.

Antony to *Cæsar*.

Menedorus is claymed of *Antony*.

Menedorus reuolteth to *Cæsar*, and is made free.

vnder

vnder *Caluiſius*. He continued leyſurely in making preparation, and was angry with *Antony*, that he would not tarrie. With ẏ Nauie prepard at *Rauenna*, he badde *Cornificius* go to *Tarento*. As he wente, a tempeſt roſe, and cruſhed the chiefe Shippe, wherein *Cæſar* ſhould goe, which was thought an euil token. And wheras the people thought that warre to be made againſt the truce, *Cæſar* to auoyde that ſuſpition, wrote to the people of *Rome*, and ſpake to the army, that *Pompey* had broken the league, by ſending Pyrats to the Sea, which was playne by the confeſſion of *Menodorus*, and the Pirats themſelues. Whereof *Antony* was not ignozant, and therefoze would not let him haue *Peloponeſus*. Whē he thought himſelfe well furniſhed, he ſayled into *Sicelie*, from *Tarent*, *Caluiſius*, *Sabinus*, and *Menodorus*, from *Tuſcane*, and his armye came by land to *Reggio*, and with great haſt all things wer done. And *Pompey* did not knowe that *Menodorus* was fledde, till *Cæſar* was come, and ſayled againſte both the Nauies. Himſelfe tarried at *Meſſina*, and ſent *Menecrates* againſt *Caluiſio*, and *Menodoro*, that was a greate enimie of his, being of his condition. He came in ſight of the enimie in the euening. They withdrew to ẏ gulfe of *Cuma*, and there reſted that nighte. *Menecrates* wente to *Aenaria*. In the morning, *Caluiſius* Nauie coaſted the ſhoze of *Cuma* in the forme of a Creſcent, to kēpe off the enimie. *Menecrates* came forth, and made ſpēde againſte the enimie, whome, bycauſe he could not drawe into ẏ dēepe ſea, he ſet vppō them as they were, and kept thē at the ſhoze, where they defended themſelues. He might take the ſea when he would, and come agayne moze fiercely, and change his Shippes at his pleaſure, but they coulde not ſtirre, but kēpe them from their aduerſaries on the one ſide, and from the rockes on the other ſide.

Tarentum is a Citie in *Apulia*, vvhich hath a good ly porte tvvelue miles compaſſe. An euill token to *Cæſar*.

Cæſar affirmeth the peace broke by *Pompey*.

Cæſar into *Sicelie*.

Menecrates vvith a greate company kee-ping the ſea.

Cuma vvas a goodly auncient Citie, not farre from *Baie*, novvē nothing is left but maruellous ruines. *Menecrates* fighteth vvith *Cæſars* Captaynes.

When *Menedorus*, and *Menecrates* ſaw one another, they lefte the reſt of their Nauies, and came togither with rage and noyſe, and it ſeemed, that which of them ouercame, ſhoulde be the conqueroure of the Nauie. Their Shippes with great violence cruſhed one another, ſo as ẏ ſterne of *Menodorus* ſhippe was broken, and the pump of *Menecrates*. Then grapeling their Shippes togither, they ſtode firme. The marriners and ſouldyoures fought with

The fight betvveene *Menedorus* and *Menecrates*.

fought with no lesse courage and feting, than as if they had bin on the land. They shotte, they darted, and threw stones, and dyd cast bridges, to passe from one to another. And because *Menedorus* shippe was higher than the other, they dyd the more harme, with lesse payne. Many were killed and hurte. *Menedorus* was stricken through the arme with a dart, the which was streight pulled out. But *Menecrates* was hurt in the thygh with a forked Spanish arrowe, which could not be pulled out. And not beyng able any longer to fyght, he exhorted hys company, and lept into the Sea, and then *Menedorus* toke hys Shyppe, and drew it to land, for he could fight no longer. This was the fight on the lefte side of the Nauie. On the right, *Caluisius* chaced certaine shippes of *Menecrates*. *Democh*ares a freemade mã of *Pompeys* also, ꝛ diceadmirall to *Menecrates*, entred vpon the other shippes of *Caluisius*, whereof he drove some to shore, and some he made to flee, ꝛ some he set on fire. When *Caluisius* came from the chace, and sawe hys Nauie scattered and fired, he stayde the one, and quenched the other, and because it was night, both they withdrew to their former harborough. This was the end of the first fight by sea, wherein *Pompey* had the better. *Democh*ares greuously taking the deathe of *Menecrates*, as a very greate losse, (for *Pompey* euer vsed *Menecrates* and *Menedorus* seruice by sea) leauing al other thyngs, as though not *Menecrates* body, and one shippe hadde bin lost, but the whole Nauie went streight from the broyle to *Sicelie*. *Caluisius* lay still as long as he thought *Democh*ares would come againste him, but when he saw him gone, he refreshed his ships, and kepte alongst ẏ shore. On the other side, *Cæsar* with a great Nauie frõ *Tarento*, and his army from *Reggio*, mette with *Pompey* at *Messina* with fortie shippes only. His friendes exhorted him to take the occasion of the few Shippes that *Pompey* had, and to sette vppon him before the rest of his Nauie came, but *Cæsar* would not, tyll he was ioyned with *Caluisius*, affyrming it to be a folly to hazard without helpe. When *Democh*ares was come to *Messina*, *Pompey* made him and *Apollophanes* his freemade man also, chiefe of the Nauie, in stead of *Menecrates*, and *Menedorus*. When *Cæsar* heard of the losse that *Caluisius* had, he crossed the sea to mẽte with *Caluisius*,

Fight by Sea.

Menedorus hurt.

Menecrates drowned.

*Democh*ares.

Caluisius shipped distressed.

Cæsars and *Pompeys* shewe at *Messina*.

Cæsar refuseth the fight.

Newe Admirals of *Pompeys* Nauie.

uiſius, and as he paſſed betweene *Stylida* and *Scylla*, *Pompey* ſet vpon ẏ taile of his Nauie, and prouoked ẏ fight by all meanes, but *Cæſar* refuſed it, either bycauſe he would not fight in the ſtreights, or bycauſe he would firſt find *Caluiſius*. He cõmanded all to drawe nigh the ſhore, & to lie at anchor, & to ſtãd to defence, if any did ſet vpõ thẽ. But *Demochares* cõming in, & ſetting two of his ſhips vpõ one of the other, ſo droue thẽ togither & vpon ẏ rockes, as many were cruſhed & periſhed cowardly. And ẏ like lucke was here, as was at the fighte of *Cuma*. *Cæſar* lept out of his ſhip into the ſhore, and holp to ſaue thẽ that ſwamme for their liues, but *Corniſicius* & other Captaines without cõmandemẽt, hoyſed anchor, & toke the ſea, thinking it better to be ouercome fighting, thã to periſh ſolliſhly. And *Corniſicius* with great boldnes toke the Ammirall that *Demochares* was in, who lept into another. The fighte cõtinuing with great loſſe, *Menodorus* & *Caluiſius* were ſeene cõming, not of *Cæſars* cõpany, who trauelled for their liues, but of *Pompeys* people only, who therfore retired. It was neere night, & they would not matche with the Freehmen, they being weary, the which chanced wel for the other that were in danger. In the nighte, many forſake their ſhips, and went to the mountaines, and made many tokes of fire to thẽ that were in the ſea, & were all that night without meate, & without reſt, wanting all things. *Cæſar* being in like caſe, went about, & praid thẽ to hold out til the morning. It was not yet knowẽ that *Caluiſius* was come, neither was there any help frõ the ſhips, all being in dãger of drowning, but by another good lucke, the xiij. legion drew nigh by the mountaines, whiche hearing of the loſſe, reſorted to the fires by the rocky places, & found their Generall, & thẽ that were with him weary, & wanting all things: then one did help another. And they brought *Cæſar* into an old houſe, without any of his chamber, being diſperſed in that nightes tumult. Whẽ he had ſente aboute to ſhew that he was ſafe, he vnderſtode that *Caluiſius* was come, & ſo being recomforted by two ioyful newes, he toke reſt. At breake of day he loked out, & ſaw his ſhips, ſome burned, ſome halfe burned, and ſome floting, and ſome broken. *Caluiſius* being come, he cauſed as much help, and repaire to be made as could be, and the rather, bycauſe the enimie was gone: but behold,

Scylla is one of the notable rockes of the narrow Sea of *Sicelie*, ſo named (as they ſay) of *Scylla*, the daughter of *Phereus*.

Charybdis, nowre *Gulfo di ro*, is another rocke ouer againſt, named alſo as they write, of a greedy woman of that name.

Stylida.

Scylla in the coaſt of *Sicelie* vnder the hill *Segpo*, in the continent of *Italy*.

Cæſar refuſeth the fight by Sea.

Cæſars Nauie hurt.

Cæſar leapeth a ſhore.

Corn ficius.

VVant in *Cæſars* hoſt.

A good lucke to *Cæſar*.

Cæſar in diſtreſſe.

hold, a vehement Southwind blewe, and made a rough sea, so as *Cæsars* ships were againe crushed on the cliffes & rockes, and one against another. *Pompey* was in the port of *Messana*, *Menedorus* fearing the violence of the storme, wēt further into the sea, and many followed his exāple. The other, thinking the storme would some haue ceassed, as is wont in Spring time, kept stil about the shore, sauing thēselues with labour: but the winde waring greater, all went to wracke, Cabels burst, & ships brake. The crie was so great, that no good aduice could be heard, no difference betweene maister & mariner, no skil nor rule preuailed, all was alike, and so they perished. The ships were slitte, the mē were drenched, & they that coulde swimme, were broken at the rockes: and when the floud of that sea came, whiche is wont to be great, the ships were with new rage tossed hither and thither, beating one another, and the wind continuing toward night, made thē feare the losse to bee in the darkenesse, and not in the light. Greate lamentation was made, and calling one to another for help, but all in vayne. They that were cast into the sea cryed for help of thē in the ships. They that loked for help of thē on the land, were crushed at the cliffes. So present death was in euery place, and so great darkenesse, as neyther heauen nor earth coulde be seene, and so euery one loked for death, whiche was more greeuous, than death it selfe. Suddainely the winde ceassed, and the Sunne appeared, the storme hauing bin so great, as the mē of that countrey affirmed they had neuer seene the like, the which destroyed the most part of *Cæsars* ships and Souldyoures, who being afflicted with these newe calamities, went to *Vibo* by land with vnpatient minde. He sente for the Captaines from euery place, that no mutinies might bee made, nor trayne layde for him. He appoynted his army by land, to keepe ỹ coast of *Italie*, that *Pompey* being incouraged by this victory, shoulde not inuade, who neyther attempted any thing by lande, nor made an ende of them by sea, but suffered them to gather togither as they could, and with prosperous wind to gette to *Vibone*, either bycause he thought thē afflicted ynough, or could not vse the victory, or (as I sayd before) slowe to inuade, contente to defend. Of *Cæsars* Nauie, scarcely the halfe was lefte, and that

Tempest vpon *Cæsars* shippes.

The trouble in *Cæsars* Nauie.

The looking for deathe greeuous.

A vehement storme.

Cæsar agayne afflicted.

Vibo.

The great negligence of *Pompey*.

ſore bruſede, leauing ſome to ouerſée them, with ſorowfull mind he went into *Campania*, for neyther had he any other Shippes, hauing nede of manye, nor time to make them, the dearth béeyng great, and the people crying for peace, and blaming that warre, that was made againſt promiſe. Néede alſo he hadde of money, whereof was great want, the people of *Rome* not to be moued to any payments. But *Octauius Cæſar*, ſubtile for his owne commoditie, ſent *Mecenas* to *Antony* with inſtructions to call him to ſocietie of warre, which if he refuſed, he would trãſport his legiõs into *Sicelie*, and trie ẏ matter by lãd. Being in theſe cares, it was knowen that *Antony* woulde ioyne with him in warre, and that *Agrippa* had a victory againſt the French *Aquitanes*. His friẽds alſo & ſome Cities promiſed him ſhips. So he leauing his ſadnes, prepared a greater Nauie. At ẏ beginning of the Spring. *Antonie* came frõ *Athens* to *Tarentum*, with iij. C. ſhips, to ioyne with *Cæſar* in warre according to his promiſe. He changing his purpoſe, tarried til his Nauie was furniſhed, and when he was told that *Antonyes* Nauie was ſufficiente, he alleaged he had other lettes, ẏ it might appeare he had more quarrell againſt *Antony*, or deſpiſed his help, truſting in his owne. *Antony* taking it greuouſly, remained yet ſtill, and required him once againe. For hauing much adoe, to prepare money for the *Parthian* war, & nede of *Italian* ſouldioures, he would haue chãged ſhips for mẽ, although by cõpoſition both of them might take vp mẽ in *Italy*, but it was ẏ harder for him to do, bycauſe *Italy* was another mãs prouince. Wherefore *Octauia* went to hir brother, to moue him therevnto. He ſaid, *Antony* had forſaken him, whereby he was like to haue bin loſt in ẏ ſea of *Sicelie*. She aunſwered, that matter was ſatiſfyed by *Mecenas*. Then he ſaide, *Antony* had ſent *Callias* his late ſlaue, to confederate with *Lepidus* againſt him. She ſayd, he went to treate of mariage. For *Antony*, before he ſhould go to the *Parthians* warre, deſired to beſtow his daughter vpõ *Lepidus* ſonne, as he had promiſed. When *Octauia* had affirmed this, *Antony* ſente *Callias* to *Cæſar* to trie ẏ truth by torture, which he refuſed, & ſente word to *Antony* to méete him, betweene *Metapontus* and *Tarento*. *Antony* when he ſaw *Cæſar* lept into a bote alone, ſignifying ẏ he truſted him, *Cæſar* ſeing ẏ, did the like, & either of thẽ made haſt to

Cæſars vvant.

Cæſars continuance in vvarre.

Aquitania is that they call *Gingeus*.

Antony commeth into *Italy*.

Cæſar contemneth *Antony*.

Antony deſirous of *Italian* Souldyoures.

Octauia to hir brother.

Obiecting and anſvvering of quarrels.

Metapontus vvas a fame Citie, novv vtterly deſtroyed. *Cæſar* and *Antony* meete.

get grouñ on ỹ contrary ſide, but *Cæſar* was the quicker, & arriued on *Antonies* ſide, and wente in charriot with *Antonie* to hys ſiſter *Octauia*, and lodged togither without garde. The nexte day *Antonie* did the lyke by him. Thus they were ſone at debate for ſuſpition, & ſone agreed for neceſſitie. *Cæſar* deferred the warre againſt *Pompey*, till the next yeare. *Antonie* could tarry no longer there for the *Parthians* warre, ſo they made an exchange. *Antonie* gaue *Cæſar* a hundreth and twenty ſhippes, for the whiche, *Cæſar* promyſed him twentie thouſande legions Soldiours *Italians*. *Octauia* preſented hir brother with ten ſhippes, that bothe ſerued for burden, and oares. *Cæſar* gaue *Octauia*, one thouſande thoyſe men for his garde, as *Antonie* woulde take. And bycauſe ỹ time of thræ mens authoritie was expired by decræ of Senate, they continued it for fiue yeare more, of their owne authoritie, neither lokyng for conſent of Senate, nor confirmation of people, and ſo departed. *Antonie* making haſte into *Syria*, leauyng *Octauia* with hir brother and hyr ſonne, *Menodorus*, being a traytour by nature, or fearing the threates of *Antonie*, that ſayde he was his ſlaue, or not finding ſuch rewarde as he loked for, or being moued with the daylie rebukes of his olde felowes *Pompeis* late bonde men, and after *Menecrates* death exhorting hym to returne as vnfaithfull to hys Maſter, hauing aſſuraunce he ſledde to *Pompey* with ſeuen ſhippes. Whiche *Caluiſius* the admirall did not perceyue, wherefore *Cæſar* put him from his office, and placed *Agrippa*. When his naule was finiſhed, he did purge it, after this ſorte. Alters ſtande at the ſea ſide touched with the water. They with their ſhippes ſtande about with greate ſilence. The prieſtes in boates in the ſea make the ſacrifices and carie their purgations thrice about the naule, the Capitaynes goyng with them, wiſhyng and prayeng that all vnfortunate and vnfaythfull things might be remoued from it. The bowels of the ſacrifices beyng diuided, they throwe parte in the ſea, and parte they burne on the Alters, the people wiſhyng all good lucke. It was determined that *Cæſar* ſhould inuade from *Puteoli*, *Lepidus* from *Africa*, and *Taurus* from *Carea*, and ſo beſeige *Sicelie*, Eaſt, Weaſt, and South. And a day appointed, whiche was the tenth

Exchaunge of forteſſe.

Continuaunce of three mens authoritie.

Menodorus fleeth from *Cæſar*.

Caluiſius, diſplaced and *Agrippa* placed.

Purgyng of the naule.

The maner of inuading *Sicelie*.

after the longeſt day of the yeare, which the *Romanes* cal *Calendes*, in the honour of old *Cæſar*, called *Iulie*, whiche before was named *Quintilis*. This day *Cæſar* appointed, bicauſe of the honour of his father, whoſe felicitie was perpetuall. *Pompey* placed *Plennius* at *Lilibæo*, againſt *Lepidus*, with one legion, and muche ſhatte. The Eaſt and Weaſt parte of *Sicelie*, he layde with garriſons chiefly the Iles, of *Lipara* and *Ceſſyra*, leaſt *Lepidus* ſhould get the one, and *Cæſar* the other, and be continuall annoyance to *Sicelie*. He kepte the ſtrength of his naule at *Meſſina*, to be ready at all euentes. After the day was come, they all toke ſhippe in the morning. *Lepidus* came out of *Africa*, with a thouſande ſhippes of burden, lxx. Galleys, and xy. legions, fiue thouſande *Numidian* horſe, and other prouiſion. *Taurus* from *Tarent*, of *Antonies*, a hundred and thirtie ſhippes, brought onely a hundreth and two ſhippes, the other were diſſurniſhed by the peſtilẽce that was the winter paſſed. *Cæſar* departed frõ *Putzolo*, hauing firſt ſacrificed to *Neptune*, and the calme ſea, to fauour him againſt the kinſmen of hys father. Certen ſcoutes went afore, to eſpie the coaſt. *Appius* ledde the reregarde, with a multitude of ſhippes. The thirde day after they were entred, a South winde aroſe and drowned many of *Lepidus* ſhippes, yet he gotte to *Sicelie*, and beſieged *Plennius* in *Lilibæo*, and toke many townes of that coaſte. *Taurus* when the winde turned, returned to *Tarent*. *Appius* ſayling by the poynt of *Minerua*, had ſhippewracke by tempeſt, parte were loſte vpon the rockes, parte in the ſhalowes, and parte cruſhed one with an other. *Cæſar* ſo ſone as the tempeſt roſe, wente to the porte of *Velino* ſafe, except one Galley of fiue ores on a ſide. After the South winde folowed a Southweſt winde, whiche ſo ſtirred that porte, that the ſhippes could not go forth opening to the Weſt, nor be ſtaied with anchor, but were broken againſt the rockes, or cruſhed of themſelues, which euill was augmented by the comming on of the night. When it was calme, *Cæſar* buried the dead, healed the hurte, clothed the ſwimmers, and amended the loſſe as well as he colde. He loſt fiue great ſhippes, and xxvj. of the leſſe ſorte, & very many of the ſmall veſſels. To amend this want, xxx. dayes were required, & now ſummer went away

Quintilis Iuly.

Lilibæo is one of the three elbowes called *Promontories* of *Sicelie*, looking towarde *Affrica*, and a Cittye of that name. The Iles of *Liparæ*, otherwyſe, *Lole* be ſeuen.

Cæſar ſacrificed to the Sea.

Lepidus.
Taurus.

Appius.
The point of *Minerua.*

The porte of *Velino.*

The loſſe of *Cæſars* Shippes.

away. Therfore it was thought best to deferre the warre til the next Sumer. But bicause the people was oppressed with penurie he repayred his nauies as wel as he coulde, & got of his friendes some helpe, whiche he sente to supply *Taurus* number. After this losse, *Macenas* was sent to *Rome*, to appease them that yet had remembrance of *Pompey*, by the way himselfe wente into *Italie*, & bad the new landed men be of good cheere, and with great spede came to *Tarent*, to view *Taurus* nauie, frō thence he went to *Vibo*, & cheered the legions, and trimmed the shippes, to inuade *Sicelie* shortly againe. *Pompey*, toke none aduauntage of this occasion, only he made sacrifices to *Neptune*, and to *Salatia*, whose sonne, now forsoth, he would nedes be called, thinking certainly, that God fauoured him so much, as he would giue him victorie still. And was so inflamed with this successe, as he chaunged his purple robe, into an azure, as adopted of *Neptune*. He thought *Cæsar* would not haue stirred, but whē he heard he returned againe, he was stroken downe, bicause he sawe he had to do with an inuincible minde. Yet he sent *Menodorus* with .vij. shippes whiche he brought to espie his doynges. He disdayning that he had not his old authoritie, & perceiuing he was had in suspitiō, bicause he had no more shippes than he brought, determined to flee againe. And thinking that it woulde turne to his good, if he shewed any feate worthy prayse, he gaue all his money to his companions, & with great hast came vpō *Cæsars* nauie, with such a violēce, as he toke the ships ỹ lay for the garde of the nauie, sometime two at once, sometime three, & the ships of burden he drowned, burned, & led away, & made great affray in ỹ coast. *Cæsar* & *Agrippa* being absent, who was gone to prepare matter for the nauy. Than he fel to flouting of his enimies, he droue his shippe into a softe ose, & pretended he had bin a groūd, which they thought to haue bene true, and ranne to catche him, as a cōmon pray: whiche when he perceyued, he went away & laughed: whereat *Cæsars* Souldiours were much agrieued. Whē he had shewed what seruice he could do, he delyuered *Rebilus* a Senator whom he had taken, making his way so. Than he fayned that *Vinidius* a familiar of *Cæsars* woulde flee away to him, and sayling nigh the enimy, he desired to speake with *Vinidius*, of matters that concerned them both.

Macenas goeth to *Rome*.

Cæsar goeth to cheere the souldiours of *Italie*.

Pompey loseth occasion. He is puffed vp vainely.

Salatia is the sea, here put for the Goddesse of the sea.

Menodorus maketh a newe stirre on *Cæsars* nauy.

Menodorus illudeth hys enimies.

Menodorus deliuereth *Rebilus* a Senator.

He maketh his deuise by *Vinidius*.

Whiche

Which when it was graunted, and they mæting alone, he tolde hym, that his flæyng agayne to *Pompey* was for despightes that *Calusius* had done him. But nowe that *Agrippa* was the Admirall, hée woulde returne agayne to *Cæsars* seruice, so *Vinidius* would byyng him assuraunce from *Messala*, that was *Agrippas* Leiftenant, promysing to recompence his faulte with singular seruice: but tyll he had his assuraunce, he sayde, he would molest them as he had done, to auoyde suspition, and so dyd. *Messala* doubted at the firste, as of a matter not honest, but at length hée graũted it, eyther for the necessitie of time, or for that he knewe *Cæsar* woulde be content. Thus once agayne hée fled, and when hée came to *Cæsar*, he knéeled to him and asked pardon, before hée shewed the cause of his former faulte. *Cæsar* bycause of promise was content to pardon him, and appoynted kéepers to him, and gaue leaue to the Capitaynes of his Galleys to go whither they woulde. Than *Cæsar* toke his tourney againe, commaundyng *Messala* to take two legions and ioyne with *Lepidus*, and go to the hauen that is next *Tauromino*. He sente thrée others to *Stilida* in the furdest parte of the Sea to abyde occasion. He commaunded *Taurus* to góe to mount *Silatio*, that is a mountaine against *Tauromino*. Whiche hée did, beyng both fitte for the fight, and for the passages. The army by land followed, & was scouted with light horsemen: the nauy, with Brigandines and Foystes. *Cæsar* came from *Vibone* and praysed the order, and returned to *Vibo*. *Pompey* placed garrisons on the coast of *Sicelie*, and kept his nauie at *Messina*, to helpe when néede were. To *Lepidus* came out of *Africa* the other foure legions, with whom, *Papias* a Capitayne of *Pompeis* met, and by a pretence of friendship, destroyed them. For they thought hée had bene sente of *Lepidus* to conduct them and gaue place. Two of ỹ legions perished in the sea, if any escaped by swimming, *Tisienus* killed them on lande. *Cæsar*, sayled from *Vibone*, into *Strongile*, one of the *Aeolian* Ilãds, sending foystes to espie the coast, and perceyuing many shippes aboute *Pelorus*, *Milis*, and *Tyndaride*, he thought *Pompey* had bene there. Therefore he left *Agrippa* his Liefetenaunt, and went agayne to *Libon*. Frõ thence he wente againe to *Taurus* campe with *Messala* and thrée legions,

Messala.

Menedoras reuolteth once agayne.

Tauromino a towne of *Sicile*. *Tauromino* was builded of the *Casidians*, and after a Colonie of *Rome* hauyng the name of the bull of *Minos* vvhich they beare in their armes, *Stylida*. *Scylaceo*, is nowe called *Capo di Squillacci* a daungerous place. *Vibono* or *Hipponeo*: a citie vvith a gulfe, nowe called *S. Eufemia* in *Calabria*. *Papias*. *Lepidus* shippes distroyed. *Tisienus*. *Strongyle*, nowe *Stromboile*, not far frõ *Sicelie*. *Pelorus*, a poynt of *Sicelie*, ouer against *Scylla*. *Myle*, nowe *Myllazzo*. *Tyndaride* is not far from *Myle*.

legions, minding to take *Taurominie* in *Pompeis* absence, and inuade him in two places at once. *Agrippa* passed from *Stongyle* to *Hiera*, and toke it. The next day he went to *Myla*, to match with *Democharis*, who had .xl. shippes. *Pompeius*, doubting of *Agrippas* purposes, sent other .xlv. shippes, to *Democharis*, vnder the leading of *Apollophanes* his late bondman, hée folowing with .lxx. moze. *Hiera*, nowv *Sicilia*, an Ile betvvene *Sicilie* & *Italie*.

Iparis. *Pompeis* nauy.

Befoze day *Agrippa* set fozth with halfe his nauie to fight with *Papia* alone, but when he saw *Apollophanes* nauie, and the rest of *Pompeis* shippes, hée signified to *Cæsar*, that *Pompey* was at *Myla* with the greater parte of his nauie. He kept the battel with his great shippes, cõmaunding al the rosse, to kéepe course to *Hiera*, the preparation was great on bothe sides, and the shippes had turrets both at sterne and pompe. When the exhortation was giuen, they beganne the fight, *Cæsars* vpon the face, the others vpon the sides fetching compasses. *Pompeis* shippes were lighte and litle, apte to turne and returne aboute the enimies. *Cæsars*, were great & beauie, and therefoze the slower, but of moze foꝛce both to offende and defende. In them, the Soldiours were moze manly: in the other, the mariners, they gotte aduantage by compassing aboute, & breaking the sternes & sides of the enimie, and with a violẽce somtime gaue as great a blow as they toke. On the contrary side, *Cæsars* ships, with their sternes, easily put backe these other being little, and either crushed, oꝛ pearced them, and when they fought at hande, they combzed them with shotte, and with hookes, held them harde, and then would they leape into the sea, and were takẽ vp againe of the litle botes that wayted on the shippes. *Agrippa* gaue an onset vpon *Papia* his shippe with such foꝛce as he slitte it. They that fought in the toppe fell downe, the water entred, the lower sorte were dzowned, and the other escaped by swimmyng. *Papia*, beyng receyued into an other shippe, fought agayne. *Pompey* standyng vpon an hyll, and perceiuing that his shippes were too weake and weary, and *Agrippa* continually refreshed with the rereward, commaunded them to retyze in oꝛder, whiche they did in a shewe of fight. But when *Agrippa* folowed, they fledde, not to the rockes, but to the safte moze, that was bzought in by the flouddes. *Agrippa* being

The fight by sea.

The difference of the Shippes.

The difference of the men.

Agrippa driueth *Papia* from his Shippe.

Papia fighteth agayne.

Pompeis Shippes retire.

aduertised by hys Maisters, not to aduenture in those shalowes, did caste anchor abroade, as though he would giue a new charge if nede were, in the night. But beyng admonished not to folow anger more than reason, and not ouer-labour the weary Souldiour with watchyng, nor trust to muche the caulmenesse of the Sea, he hardely departed. *Pompeis* men got to their portes when they had losse thirtie shippes, of the enimies, fiue were drowned, and many hurt. *Pompey* prayseth hys Souldiours. *Pompey* prayseth them for so manly resistyng the greate shippes, whiche hee sayde seemed to him, not a fighte by sea, but an assaulte of a wall, and rewarded them as victours, puttyng them in hope, that, in that narrow Sea, their shippes woulde euer be the better, and that they might so be, hee woulde adde somewhat to theyr height. This was the ende of the fighte by sea at *Myla*, betweene *Agrippa* and *Papia*.

Pompey hath the losse by sea.

Leucopatra, an hill in the sea nighe *Reggio*. nowe *Capo de Iarme*, or *Spartamento di Calabria*.

Caesar in the meane season sayled from *Sylatio* to *Leucopatra*, beyng certified that *Pompey* was gone from *Messina* to *Myla*, bicause of *Agrippa*: and when he was determined to haue passed from *Leucopatra* to *Tauromeno* by night, after he had heard of the late fight, he chaged his purpose, & thought it more for his honeur to passe by day. For he beleued that *Pompey* woulde not long tary nigh *Agrippa*. And when day was come, he loked from the mountaynes and could haue no sight of his enimie: he filled his nauy with as many as might be, comitting the reste to *Messala*, till the ships should returne for him. Aproching to *Tauromeno*, he sumoned the to render. But they wold denying it, he passed by flood *Onobala*, & by temple of *Venus* to *Archegeta*, making his praiers, to ouercome his enimies. *Archegeta* is a litle image of *Apollo*, which by *Naxians* that were sent to inhabite *Sicilie*, did first erecte. Goyng here out of his ship, he had a fall, but he rose agayne, and stayed. *Pompey* came in sight with a great nauie, wherat euery man marueled, for they thought he had bene ouercome of *Agrippa*. Hys horsemen ranged the shore to be euen with his nauy, & his fotemen were seene on euery side. The campe of *Caesar* was afrayde, & himselfe dismayde, bicause he could not sende for *Messala*. The horsemen set vpon the enimie as they were planting their cape. And if an onset had bene giuen by sea also, it had bene like that

Caesar came forth agayne.

Onobala.

Archegeta.

Naxians, of Naxo an Ile in *Aegeo*, nowe *Nisia*.

Caesar falleth.

Caesar in feare.

Pompey

Pompey had done a great feate: but for lacke of knowledge of warre, and not vnderstanding in what feare the enimie was, and doubting to begin the fight so late, they went to harborough at *Coccineo*, and the footemen to *Phenice*, to haue some distance from their enimie. That night was quiet, and *Cæsars* men had leysure to finishe their trench, but for labour and watche, they were vnfitte to fight. *Cæsar* had three legions, fiue hundreth gentlemen without horse, one thousand light harneste, two thousand venturers, & his soldiours for the sea. Deliuering his footemen to *Cornificio*, to resist the enimie as much as he could by land, he before day toke the sea, before he should be shut from thence. To the right battayle he appointed *Titinius*, to the lefte, *Carciás*. In a Brigantine he went aboute the naule, and exhorted them, which being done, he put of his robe off honour, as he was wont to doe in extreme perils. *Pompey* twice gaue him the onset that day, & the night ended, the fight, in ẏ which diuerse of *Cæsars* ships were taken & diuerse burned, & diuerse fled to *Italie* for all that he coulde doe, which were chased of *Pompey*: & such as cãme to the lande, were dispatched of the horsemen or taken: some got to *Cornificius* campe, whome he receyued, sending onely light horse to conduct thẽ, for he thought it not good to stirre his legions, being out of harte, & the enimy so nigh, in triũph of that victorie. *Cæsar* passed that night among his nauies, vncerten what to do, whether to sende for *Cornificio* amiddest the wreckes of the sea, or to flée to *Messala*: & euen by chaunce, departing with one onely page, without seruãts, soldiours, or families, he came to the port of *Abala*, where some founde him out, in great feare and desperation, and carying him from shippe to shippe, they brought him at legth to *Messala*, which was not far off, where before he toke rest, he sent a Brygantine to *Cornificio* and to all the shore, to signifie that hée was alyue, and promised he would shortly help them. When hée had a litle rested, hée wente by night to *Stilida*, from whence *Messala* caried him to *Carinate*, who was ready to saile with three legions, whome hée willed to go to *Lipari*, and hée would folow streyght. He wrote also to *Agrippa*, to deliuer *Cornificio* from daunger so sone as he could, and sent *Laronio* to help with spéde,

Pompey loseth for lacke of experience.

Coccineo, a point nigh a lake.

Cæsar ordereth his battayle.

Cæsar leaueth the robe of a generall.

Pompey gaineth.

Cæsar in doubte departeth with one page.

Abala.

Cæsar in desperatiõ is brought to *Messala*.

Cæsar signifieth that he is vyell.

Cæsar goeth to *Stilida*.

Lipari be the Ilandes nexte Scicile, seuen in number.

He sente *Macenas* agayne to the citie, bycause some went aboute newe troubles which were punished openly. He sente *Messala* to *Puteolo* to bryng the firste legion. This *Messala* was condemned at *Rome* of the three menne, and reward was promised to them that would kill him. Then he fledde to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and after their death, he gaue himselfe and hys naute, to *Antonie*. This I thought good to remember, as an example of the *Romane* vertue: that where *Messala* had hym that condemned hym in hys power, cast into vtter desolation, he restored him to his state and preserued hym. *Cornificius*, although hee might easily haue kept the enimie from the campe: yet bycause hee wanted victuall, hee prouoked them to battaple. *Pompey* thought not good to fighte with them that were desperate, hopyng to subdue them by famine. *Cornificius* marched receyuing into his bataple the vnarmed that escaped the sea: beyng greatly annoyed wt the horsmen in the plaine, which were most part *Affricanes* and Mores. The fourth day he came to a dry place called ỹ parchyng plotte of the fire, burned & dryed euen to the Sea, the which the inhabitantes dare not go to, but in the night, so great is the heate. *Cornificius* durst neyther passe that way in the night, bycause the Mone did not shewe, nor they skilfull of the way, nor coulde not abide by day, the heate was so intollerable. Thirst could not be asswaged: nor they go but fast, bicause the horsemen so followed them. And being come to the issue, they sawe naked men, who ranne vpon them, and claspyng with them, put them in daunger of choking, with ỹ which being yet troubled, the soldiours were in desperatiõ. But *Cornificius* cõforted them, & tolde thẽ there was a well at hand, & so they put backe those rude people till they came to the well, which they found possessed with other enimies of like sort. Then they were vtterly out of hope. For they saw an army cõming, and could not tell whether it was frend or foe, but it was *Laronius*, whom when they that kept the well saw, they fled, fearing to be intercloſed. Whereat the weary soldiours made great ioy with shoutes & crees, which *Laronius* answered. They runne on heapes to the wel. Their Captaynes forbidding thẽ to drinke too hastily, they that would not follow that coũsel, died presently.

Messala.

Romane vertue.

The drye place.

Daunger of *Cornificius*.

Naked citizẽs vpon the armed *Romanes*.

The *Romanes* grieuously troubled.

Laronius.

Soldiours perished with hasty drinking.

Thus

Thus beyonde all hope, *Cornificius* brought his army safe to *Myla* to *Agrippa*, who had taken *Tyndarida*, furnished with all things necessary, and fitte for the warre by Sea, whither *Cæsar* sent both fotemen and Horse. He had in *Sicelie* one and twenty Legions, twenty thousande horsemen, and aboue fiue thousande light Horse. *Pompey* held yet with garrisons, *Mylæ*, *Nauloco*, and *Peloro*, and all the Sea coast, who being afrayde of *Agrippa*, kept continuall kyes to vse against the Ships. He kept the mouthes of *Taurominio* and *Myla*, and shutte the pathes of Mountaynes with walles. He also molested *Cæsar* beyõd *Tyndarida*, who would not yet fight, and supposing that *Agrippa* would arriue, he went with spæde to *Peloro*, leauing the streightes of *Myla*, whiche *Cæsar* forthwith did take, with a little towne called *Dianio*, notable by the tale of the goodly Oxen, which were taken away when *Vlysses* slept. When the noyce of *Agrippa* his comming was ceassed, and that *Pompey* heard the streightes of *Myla* were possessed, hee called for *Tisieno* with his army. *Cæsar* going to encounter with him, missed his way in the nighte in the hill of *Myconio*, where he lay without a tent. And whereas the rayne was very greate, as is wont in Autumne, he stode all night vnder a French target, the Souldyoures holding it ouer him. The horrible and fearefull sounds of the hill *Mongibello* were heard, and the flashing of fire was seene, and ỹ sauoure of ỹ brimstone was felt, in so much as the *Germanes* kept out for feare, and thought it no tale that they had heard of that hyll. After this, he walked the Countrey of *Palesteno*, where he mette with *Lepidus*, taking vp rayne, and they both layde seege to *Messana*. Many skirmishes there were, but no great battell. Then *Cæsar* sente *Taurus*, to keepe victuall from *Pompey*, and take the Cities that remained for hym, by the which difficultie, being driuen to his tryal, he determined to aduenture all at one fight. And bycause he thoughte himselfe too weake by land, he sent his Herald to require the fighte by Sea. And albeit *Cæsar* had no good will to match by sea, hauing hitherto had euill lucke: yet thinking it dishonorable to refuse him, he appoynted a day to the fighte, with three hundred shippes on a side, furnished with all weapons and defence that they coulde deuice. *Agrippa*

Agrippa taketh *Tyndarida*, which was a Citie named of *Tindarus* father of *Ledu*.

Peloro is one of the foure hils of *Sicelie* towarde *Italy*.

Myla is a Hould and a Citie both, with a Port, now called *Melazzo*.

Dianio is a Citie also in *Spayne*.

They were the Oxen of *Phaëtusa*, which she and hir two sisters kept.

Myconio.

Cæsar in perill againe.

The hill *Aetna*, now *Mongibello*, that spouteth fire.

Germanes afrayd of the noyce of *Aetna*.

Palesteno.

Messana besieged.

Pompey desireth to trie all by a fight of equall number of Shippes.

Graple, the inuention of Agrippa.

inuented a graple, that is, a rafter of fiue cubites long, layd ouer with yron, hauing a cricle or ring in eyther ende, and in the one, a crooked hooke of yron, and in the other, many ropes, which drew the hooke by gynnes, when it was cast with a sling agaynst the enimies shyppes. When the day was come, the first onset was

The stoute and last fight by Sea.

of the small vessels, not without escries, throwing dartes and stones, and shotte fyred, as well by hand as by engine. The ships rushed one against another, some on the sides, some on the sterne, and other on the Poupe, thereby the Souldyoures were shaken, and the vessels broken. Some vsed their shotte and dartes a farre off, and there were little boates to take vp all that fell in the water. The Souldyoures and the Marriners contended who should do best. The exhorting of the Captaynes did good, and the engines did help, most of all the graple, whiche reached the small Ships a farre off for the lightnesse, and held them fast, drawyng them by the ropes: neyther coulde it be cutte off, bycause it was

The profite of the graple.

couered with yron, nor the ropes be touched, bycause of theyr length. Neyther was this engine knowen, that they might haue armed their weapons with yron. They rowed on the suddaine, thrusting their Ships on the sterne, to get aloofe. When the enimies did so, then was the force of mē equal, but when the graple came, it was a thing by it selfe. The Ships fought ioyned togither, and leaping out of one into another, and scarcely coulde the one be knowne from the other. Their armour and weapōs was

Likenesse of armour maketh confusion.

alike, their shape was all one. Their priuie token was vnderstood to both, which was cause of muche decept, and after, of confusion, for they distrusted their owne, for feare to be deceyued, and so did not know what they might do. In the meane time the hurt was great, the sea was full, as well of men, as of armoure, and ruines of the broken and crushed vessels. For after they came to fyghte at hande, they threw no more fire.

Both the armyes of footemen stode vppon the shore, wyth doubtfull mynde whyther the victory woulde encline, for in a multitude of fyre hundred Shyppes, they coulde not discerne, beyng all alyke, excepte it were the couloure of theyr toppes, wherein they onely differed, and onely they coniectured by the

markes

markes they hadde, and by the noyses and voyces, howe the matter went. But when *Agrippa* vnderstoode that *Pompey* had the worse, hée exhorted hys Souldyoures to stande to it, that they myghte obteyne the victory, whyche was in theyr handes, and so they dyd, wyth suche furie and violence, as the enimie fledde, and ranne themselues a ground, where they were eyther taken or burned, whiche when they that kepte the Sea, dyd sée, they yelded. *Agrippa* getteth the victory.

When the Naue of *Cæsar* sang the song of victory, the whych the fotemen on the shore aunswered with no lesse gladnesse. Reioyce of victory by *Cæsars* men.

Pompey perceyuing the ouerthrowe, fledde to *Messina*, not remembring his forces of fotemen, the whiche by and by yélded to *Cæsar*, and shortly after the Horsemenne did the lyke. The whyche when *Pompey* hearde, he commaunded to put all things into the seauentéene Shyppes that were lefte, and leauing the habite of a Generall, woulde flée to *Antony*, whose mother hée hadde saued in lyke daunger. And that he myghte bée the better welcome, he sente to *Plennius* to bring the eyght legions that hée had at *Lelisbeo*, whyche he woulde leade wyth hym. But when he perceyued that his friends and Souldyoures did continually yélde to *Cæsar*, and that the enimie was entred the narrow sea, although he was in a strong and well furnished Citie, yet hée would not tarrie for *Plennius*, but fledde wyth hys seauentéene shippes. After he was gone, *Plennius* came to *Messina*, and kept that Citie. Pompey fainteth, and prouideth to flee. Pompey fleeth vvith xvij. ships

This was the end of this laſt fighte by sea, in the whyche, only three of *Cæsars* ships were sonke, and seauen and twenty of *Pompeys*. The remnant were all defeated by *Agrippa*, except xvij. with the which *Pompey* fledde away.

Cæsar remayned at *Naulecho*, and commaunded *Agrippa* to besiege *Messina*, whiche he did with the fellowship of *Lepidus*. *Plennius* sente for peace. *Agrippa* thoughte it good to deferre the aunswere tyll the morning. But *Lepidus* was contente, and to winne *Plennius* Souldyoures to hym, permitted halfe the spoyle of the Citie to them, which they hauing obteyned beyonde all hope, beyng glad to haue gone with theyr liues that night, sacked the citie Naulochi. *Messina* sacked.

with

with *Lepidus* Souldyoures. By this meanes *Lepidus* wanne *Plennius* legions, who ſware vnto him, ſo as nowe, hauing two and twenty legions, with a great nauie, was not a little proude, and thought to winne *Sicelie*, bycauſe he had gotten diuers places before, to the which he ſent his garriſons to keepe out *Octauian*.

Lepidus diuideth the ſpoyle of *Meſſana* vvith *Plennius*, and receyueth his army.

Lepidus thinketh to be Lord of *Sicelie*.

The next day, *Cæſar* expoſtulated with *Lepidus* by his friendes, ſaying, he came as a confederate to reſort to *Sicelie*, and not to get ẏ Ile for himſelfe, and he alleadging, that his authoritie was taken frō him, and that *Cæſar* had it alone, he could be content to render *Africa* and *Corſica* for *Sicelie*. Then *Cæſar* was angry, and came vnto him, and charged him with ingratitude, and departed, ſo as they ſtode in doubt of each other, kéeping warde ſeuerally. The Shippes lay at anchor, and it was ſuſpected that *Lepidus* intended to haue burned *Cæſars* ſhips. The armies fearing a new ciuill warre, had not the like eſtimation of *Lepidus*, that they had of *Cæſar*: for him they accompted wiſe and diligente, and ẏ other remiſſe and negligent, bycauſe he ſuffered their enimies to be partakers of the ſpoyle. When *Octauian* vnderſtode this, he cauſed his friends to deale with the Captaines ſecretly, and to promiſe them liberally, and many were wonne vnto him, ſpecially of *Pompeys* band, thinking their ſtate not ſure, excepte *Cæſar* cōſented to it. *Cæſar* came in perſon with many Horſemen, which he left without the trench, and entred the Camp with a few, vnbeknowing to *Lepidus*, for lacke of foreſight, proteſting that new warre was moued againſt his will: wherefore the Souldioures ſaluted him as Generall, and *Pompeys* parte that were corrupted, aſked him forgiuenelle. To the which he ſaid, he maruelled that they ſhould aſke forgiuenelle, not hauing yet done that was conuenient for them. They vnderſtanding his meaning, toke theyr enſignes, and brought them to *Cæſar*. Other pulled downe theyr Tentes. But when *Lepidus* heard the tumulte, he came out armed, and ſtreight a fray began, where one of *Cæſars* Pages was killed, & himſelfe ſtroke through the breſt plate, but not hurte, wherefore he departed in haſt to his Horſemen. A garriſon ieſted at his running away, whereat he was ſo angry, as he was not quiet, till he had beaten downe that Caſtell, the whiche being

Cæſar ſtricken.

A Caſtell beſieged downe, vvhoſe garriſon ieſted at *Cæſar*.

Lepidus army reuolteth.

Pompeys Souldyours yeelde to *Cæſar*.

being done, other Caſtels gaue ouer in like ſort, ſome preſently, and ſome the nighte following, ſome neuer ſpoken to, ſome pretending ſome occaſion, by beeyng vexed of the Horſemen: yet ſome abode the brunt, and repulſed thē, for *Lepidus* euery where ſent helpers to them, the which reuolting alſo, the reſt that were willing to him, changed their mind. And firſt againe the *Pompeyans* that yet remayned with him, forſake him by little and little, *Lepidus* cauſed other to be armed to kepe thē in, who being armed to that intēt, take their enſignes, & with the aid of others, ioyned thēſelues to *Cæſar*. *Lepidus* threatened them that went, and prayd them alſo, and he toke the Standerds, and ſayd, he woulde neuer deliuer them, but whē a Souldyour ſaid, Thou ſhalt deliuer them dead, he gaue place. The laſt that forſoke him was the Horſemen, who ſente to *Cæſar* to know, if they ſhoulde kill hym, which he denyed. Thus *Lepidus* being forſaken of all men, and hauing loſt his army, changed his habite, and went to *Cæſar*, and many ranne to ſee that ſight. *Cæſar* roſe when he came, and would not ſuffer him to kneele, but depriuing him of all authoritie, reſeruing only a prieſtly office, in ỳ apparell that he came, he ſent him to *Rome*. Thus he that had bin many times a Generall, and ſometime one of the three rulers, making officers & condemning many as god as himſelfe, liued a priuate life, vnder ſome of thē whome he had attainted before. *Cæſar* would not perſecute *Pompey*, nor ſuffer other to do it, either becauſe he would not meddle in another mans iuriſdiction, or would behold *Antonyes* doings, to haue iuſt occaſion to fall out with him. For now that al other aduerſaries were taken away, it was thought ambition would make them two quarell, or becauſe *Pompey* was none of the conſpirators, as *Caſſius* did after affirme. Now had he an army of xlv. legions, as rvb. M. Horſemen, and of other Souldyoures as many more, which he gathered togither. He had fiue hundred Galleys, and many Shippes of burthen, which he ſent to the owners. He gaue the Souldyoures a reward for victory, and promiſed more in time to come. He diſtributed crounes, garlandes, and other honors, and forgaue *Pompeys* Captaynes. Thus ſo greate ſolicitie, Fortune diſeaſe; for his owne armie felt to

Caſtels giuen ouer to *Cæſar*.

Lepidus vtterly forſaken.

The horſemen ſende to *Cæſar*, to know if he woulde haue *Lepidus* killed.

Lepidus depriued, only a ſpeciall liuing reſerued.

The mutabilitie of Fortune.

Cæſar vvould not follovv *Pompey*.

Cæſars mighty armie.

Enuie follovveth Fortune.

Mutinie of Souldioures.

mutinie, desiring to be discharged, and requiring the rewarde promised at the field of *Philippi*. He answered, that thys warre was not like any of the other, notwithstanding, he woulde reward them for all, togyther with *Antonyes* Souldyers, when he should returne. But as concerning their discharge, he put them in remembrance of their oth and obedience. But seeyng them styll obstinate, he ceased hys rebukes, least the Souldyoures lately yelded, should follow their trade, and promised that *Antony* and he, would discharge them in conueniente tyme, and that he would now not vse thē in any cruell warre, for by the help of God, all was ended and done, and nowe he would leade them into *Slauonia*, and other barbarous nations, where they shoulde get great bootes. They sayde they woulde not goe, vnlesse hée woulde reward them thoroughly. He sayd he would reward them, and also giue them garlandes & garmentes of honor and prayse. Then sayde *Ofilius*, one of the Tribunes, Garlandes and purple garmentes bée rewardes of Children, Souldyoures had néede of money and landes. The multitude sayde it was true. Then *Cæsar* was greeued, and came from his seate, and they that stode nerte the Tribunes, praysed him, and rebuked the other that woulde not agree wyth them. He sayde, he was sufficiente alone to defende so iust a cause. The nexte daye he was not seene, nor coulde bée knowen where he was become. Then the Souldyoures not one at once for feare, but altogither, requyred to be dismissed. *Cæsar* spake as fayre as he coulde to theyr Captaynes, and discharged them that had serued at *Philippi* and *Modena*, as the most olde Souldyoures, and commaunded them to depart the Ile, least they should corrupt the rest. Thus much he sayd to them that he discharged, that though he discharged them nowe, yet he woulde reward them. Speaking to the other, hée made them to wytnesse the periurie of them that departed, not discharged by the leaue of theyr Generall, and prayed them, and promised to dismisse them shortly, and that they should not repente their ductie done to him, and that nowe he woulde giue to euery of them fiue hundred drachmes. Then he sette a taske vpon *Sicelia* of fiftene hundred Talentes, and appointed Lieu-

Ofilius rudely speaketh to *Cæsar*.

Ofilius not seene agayne.

Souldyoures dismissed.

tenants

seruantes for Sicelie and Barbarie, and diuided hys army. *Antonyes* shippes he sent to *Tarent*, the reste of hys army he sent partlie into *Italy*, and partly he toke wyth hym, when he wente out of the Ile. Commyng towarde *Rome*, the Senate receyued hym wyth all kynde of honors, permytting to himselfe to receyue, whyche he would, eyther all or some at his pleasure. He was mette a farre off wyth them that had garlandes, as well of the Senate, as of the people, of whome he was first brought to the Temples, and then to hys house.

Honoures offered to *Cæsar* at *Rome*.

The daye following, he made an Oration to the Senate and to the people, he declared hys doynges in order, and the administration of the common wealth, from hys beginning to thys day. Whiche Orations written of hymselfe, he published wyth many examples, and pronounced peace and tranquilitie after so long ciuill warres. Tributes vnpayde he forgaue, and lykewyse the gatherers of the tolles, and the fynes for offices.

Cæsar declareth his actes to the Senate and the people.

Cæsars Orations published.

Of the honors of the Senate, he accepted a Chariot in the Theatre, and yearely solemnities of the dayes of hys victories. And an image of golde in the common place, wyth thys inscription. *For peace gotten, after so many warres both by lande and sea.* But he refused the chiefe Byshopshippe, which the people offered hym, whyche by auntiente custome was not vsed to be taken from any man aliue, for *Lepidus* had it, and when they would haue hadde hym kylled *Lepidus* as an enimie, he denyed it. Then he wrote manye letters to the armyes, wyth commaundemente to bee opened all at a daye appoynted, and then to doe as they were commaunded, whyche was, to restore all bondmen in *Rome* and *Italy*, to their maisters or their heyres, that had freedome giuen them at the request of *Pompey*, all the whiche returned to their old state. The like he did in *Sicelie*. If any were vnchalenged, he put them to deathe in the Citie from whence they came. This seemed to be an end of ciuill warre, when *Cæsar* was eyght and twenty yeares of age, and consecrated as a God. The Citie and *Sicelie* was troubled very much wyth robbers and rouers, wyth such boldnesse, as they openly committed their lewdenesse.

Modestie of *Cæsar*.

Inscription of peace.

Bondmen restored to their maisters.

Cæsar honoured as a God, at xxviij. yeare of his age.

Robberies in the Citie.

Sabinus.

To correct these, *Sabinus* was sent, who put many of them to the sword, and spent a yeare, before he could ridde them, and at that time (they say) the bands of watches were appointed, which continue to this day. The speedy redresse of this, brought great estimation to *Cæsar*, who exercised many things after the olde manner by yearely officers, and burned all the letters that were written in the time of warre, and promised to restore the commonwealth so soone as *Antony* returned, for he knew that he also would giue vp his offices, nowe that there was no ciuill warre. Therefore, being extolled with immortall prayses, the Tribuneship was giuen him for euer, with a meaning, by the taking of this, to leaue all other, of the which he wrote priuately to *Antony*: and he gaue his aduice by *Bibulus* going from hym, and placed *Lieutenants* in his prouinces, intending to be his companion in the warre of *Slauonia*.

VVatches appoynted in the night in the Citie.

The hope of restorement of the common state by *Cæsars* vvords.

Tribune perpetuall.

Lacinio, a hill in the furthest shore of *Italy*.

Pompey fleeing out of *Sicelie*, came to the shore of *Lacinio*, where he spoyled a rich Temple of *Iuno*. From thence he went to *Mitylene*, where his father lefte him and his mother, when he made warre with *Cæsar*. And because *Antony* was gone to the *Parthian* warre, he intended to yeld to him at his returne. But where it was reported that *Antony* was ouercome, and he beleeued it, hee conceiued an hope to succeede him in all the prouinces, or that at the least in part, taking example of *Labienus*, who ranne ouer *Asia*. Being occupyed with these cogitations, he heard that *Antony* was come to *Alexandria*. He prepared himselfe to both courses, and wrote to *Antony*, to be his friend and fellow, only meaning to espie his doings. And secretely he sente other Embassadours to the Princes of *Thracia* and *Pontus*, minding to passe into *Armenia*, if he did not obteyne his purpose.

Pompey vseth double deuice.

He wrote also to the *Parthians*, hoping they would take hym for a Captayne in the warre, beeyng a *Romane*, againste *Antony* theyr *Romane* aduersary.

He prepared Shyppes and Souldyoures for the same, pretending to be afrayde of *Cæsar*, and to prepare them for *Antonyes* vse. But when *Antony* hearde of hys purposes, hee sente *Titius* chiefe Captayne agaynste hym, that receyuing an armie

Titius sent against *Pompey* by *Antony*.

armie and naule *Syria*, hée shoulde resiste *Pompey* with all hys power, but if he had rather receyue *Antonies* trustie, hée shoulde bryng him to him honorably. The Embassadours of *Pompey* made this request.

Pompeis Embassadours to *Antonie*.

Wée are sent to thée from *Pompey*, not that hée coulde not be admitted into *Spaine*, a prouince that oweth him good will for his fathers sake, if he listed to make warre, whiche holpe hym when he was younger, and now offereth him theyr ayde: but bycause hée had rather enioy peace with thée, or vnder thy banner, make warre, if néede be. Which is no new intent, but when he ruled *Sicilie*, and inuaded *Italie*, and saued and sente thée home thy mother, he desired thy friendship, whiche if thou hadest accepted, neyther had he bene driuen out of *Sicilie*, whereto thou diddest lende thy shippes, nor thou bene ouercome in *Parthia*, *Cæsar* not sending thée, such armye as he promised. Yea thou mightest haue brought *Italie* vnder thy power. But although he were refused when time was, he now desireth thée, not to be illuded and deceyued with so many fayre wordes and affinitie, remembryng that *Pompey* also after promise to the contrarie was iniustly inuaded of *Cæsar*, and spoyled of his portion, whereof no parte hath redounded to thée. Now thou onely arte the lette, why he hath not the only Monarchie, which he hath long thirsted after. For you had him at war before this, if *Popey* had not bene. And thou oughtest to foresée these things of thy selfe, so for the good will, whiche hée beareth thée, he had rather haue the amitie of a playne and liberall man, than of a subtill and crafty fellow. *Pompey* is not angry that thou lentest shippes agaynst him, beyng constrayned, that thou mightest haue men of him, but putteth thée in remembrance, how much ỹ armye not sent thée, did hinder thée. And to be shorte, *Pompey* committeth himselfe to thée, with all his shippes, with a trustie army, whiche haue not forsaken hym though he fledde, thou shalt purchase a great prayse, if beyng in peace, thou wilt preserue the Sonne of *Pompey* the great: that if the warre be broken, whiche is feared, thou mayst haue a confederate of such might and estimation. When *Antonie* hearde this, he sayde,

Antonie to *Pompeis* Embassadours.

If *Pompey* meaneth good faith, I haue giuen commission to *Titius*

to bryng him to me. In the meane time, *Pompeis* messengers that were sente to the *Parthians*, were taken of *Antonies* officers, and brought to *Alexandria*, of whome, when *Antonie* had learned all thyngs, he sente for *Pompeis* Embassadours, and shewed them to them. Then they excused hym, beyng a yong man and in extreme necessitie, fearyng to be relieued of him, and driuen to proue the moste mortall enimies of the people of *Rome*. But if he were sure of *Antonies* mynde, hee shoulde nede no further suyte. He beleeued it as a playne man, and nothyng suspitious. *Furnius* beyng president of *Asia*, receyued *Pompey* very gently, not beyng able to retein hym, nor sure of *Antonies* mynde. But when hee sawe hym traine his Souldiours, hee gathered an army of the countrey, and sente for *Oenobarbus*, capitayne of the armie, and for *Amyntas* a freende, who assembling quickly together, *Pompey* complayned that hee was vsed as an enimy. Whom he had sent Embassadours, to *Antonie*, and loked for answere from him. In the meane while he practised to take *Oenobarbus*, by the helpe of *Curione* hys freende, but the practise beyng discouered, *Curio* was put to death, and *Pompey* kylled hys late bondman *Theodorus*, who was onely priuie to that counsell. And because he doubted of *Furnius*, he toke the citie of *Lampsico* by composition, where many *Italians* dyd inhabite, appoynted by *Iulius Cæsar*, whome hee allured to his pay with great promyses. From thence had he two hundreth horse, and three legions, and besieged *Cyzicus* both by sea and lande, from the whiche he was repulsed. For there was a litle bande of *Antonies*, and certen two de players that were brought vp there. And where *Furnius* abstreyning from battayle, did euermore encampe nigh him, and kept him frō forraging, which he went aboute in the territorie of the *Acheans*, *Pompey* set vpon the fore parte of hys campe, and sente other aboute to do the like behinde. Whereby *Furnius* resisting him, hys campe was taken of the other, and driuen to flee by the fieldes of *Scamandria*, where *Pompey* killed many of them, for the fielde was myxt with the thoures. They that escaped durst not turne againe to the fielde. The people of *Mysia*, *Propontide*, & other places, that were pore & consumed with payment, came to *Pompeius*

Pompeys messengers taken.

Excuse of *Pompey*.

Antonie a plaine man. *Furnius*.

Pompey trayneth his men. *Oenobarbus*. *Amyntas*. Practise discouered.

Curio put to death.

Theodorus killed. *Lampsico* taken by *Pompey*. *Cepsico*, a citie in the shore of *Hellespont*. He besiegeth *Cyzicus*, an Ilande in *Propontide*, & a citie of that name of great strength.

Acheia a part of *Greece*.

Pompey dislodgeth *Furnius*.

Scamādria a litle couvne at the porte of *Ilio*.

People resorte to *Pompey*.

seruice, beyng renoumed for hys late victorie. But wantyng horsemen, and beyng shrewdly handled in forragyng, he heard of a bande of *Italian* horsemen goyng to *Antonie* (whiche *Octauia* had sente from *Athens*) and sente to corrupt them with golde. The president of the countrey toke them, that brought the money, and distributed it to the horsemen. *Pompey* at *Nicea* and *Nicomedia* gathered muche money with greate successe. *Furnius* a gayne comming into the fielde and encamping nigh him, there came lx. shippes out of *Sicelie* in the spryng, which were lefte of them that *Antonie* had lent *Cæsar*. And *Titius* came out of *Syria* with a hundred and twentie shippes and a greate army, all the which arriued at *Proconnesco*, of the which *Pompey* being afrayde, burned his shippes and armed his Mariners hauing more trust in the lande. But *Cassius* of *Parma*, *Nasidius*, *Saturninus*, *Therinus*, *Antistius*, & other honorable frendes of *Pompey*, & *Furnius* moste deere vnto him, & *Libo* himself, his father in lawe, when they saw that *Pompey* was alwayes to weake, they yelded themselues to *Antonie*. He being thus forsaken, went into ỹ midland of *Bythinia*, entending to go into *Armenia*. *Furnius* & *Titius* folowed him: he being secrete, departed out of his tents, and with great iourney they ouertoke him at night, and seuerally encamped aboute an hill without ditche or trenche, beyng late and they weary. That night *Pompey* set vpon them with three thousande men as they were sleeping, & put them to flee naked shamefully: but if hee had assayled them with his whole power, or folowed them as broke, he had gotten perfect victory. But fortune would not suffer, and he got nothing thereby, but that he went on his iourney. They recouering horses, folowed him, and kepte him from victuall, so as beyng driuen to greache, he desired to speake with *Furnius* that was sometyme a frende of hys Fathers, and a man of greate dignitie. And standyng on the banke of the riuer, he sayde he had sente Embassadours to *Antonie*, and in the meane season wantyng victualles, ỹd that he had done. If you make warre vpon me by *Antonies* commaunde-ment, he seeth not wel for himself not perceyuing a greater warre to hang ouer him. But if you do it vpon your owne gu[illegible]

Propontis, nowe the sea of sayn[illegible] George.
Mysia, nowe *Boseia* & *Seruia*.
Pompeys money taken.

He gathereth more.
Nicea, a citie in diuerse places.
Nicomedia, nowe *Nichar*, a citie in *Bythinia*.
Proconeso, nowe *Marmora*, an Ile in *Propontide*.

Pompeys frendes yeelde to *Antonie*.

Pompey assayleth his enimies by night.

Pompey loseth occasion.

Pompey desireth speach vvith *Furnius*.

‹ I pray you and beseeche you that you would ceasse till my Em-
‹ bassadours returne, or carie me safely to him. And to you, O
‹ Furni, I will committe my selfe, so you will promise me to deli-
uer me safe to *Antonie*. Thus much hee sayde, hoping in *An-*
tonie, as a gentle man, and seeking to passe his iourney quietly.

Furnius to *Pompey*. To whom *Furnius* thus answeared. If thou wouldest haue com-
‹ mitted thy selfe to *Antonie*, thou shouldest haue done it at the
‹ first, or being quiet, haue looked for answeare at *Mitylene*: but
‹ making warre, thou hast brought thy selfe to this case, if thou
‹ repentest thee, blame not vs. *Antonie* hath appointed *Titius* to
‹ receiue thee, to him therefore, committe thy selfe, of whom thou
‹ mayst require that thou requirest of mee. For he commaunded,
‹ that if thou playest the parte of an enimie, to kill thee: if not, to
‹ bring thee honorably vnto him.

Pompey hateth *Titie*. *Pompey* was offended with *Titie*, as vnthankfull: because hee had made this warre against him, whome he once tooke and saued him. Therefore *Pompey* was the more grieued to come into his handes, that was but a meane man: whose fidelitie he suspected, eyther of his behauiour, or of the former iniurie hee had done him, before he did him pleasure. Wherefore once againe he yelded to *Furnius*, & desired to be taken, but it was not graunted. Then he desired *Amyntas* might take him, which whē *Furnius* sayde, he should not do, because it were a wrong to him that had commission from *Antonie*, and so then brake. *Furnius* Souldiours thought hee would haue yelded the next day to *Titius*, But he in the night, making fires after the maner, and sounding the trompe at euery reliefe of the watche, with a few went out of the campe, not telling them what he would doe, for hee meante to haue gone to the sea, and haue set *Titius* campe a fire, whiche perchaunce he had done, had not *Scaurus* gone from him and signified his departure, and which way he went.

Pompey yelded to *Furnius* who would not take him nor suffer *Amyntas* to do it.

Pompeis intent, discouered by *Scaurus*.

Then *Amyntas* followed him with fiftene horse, to horsemen, to whom when he drewe nigh, his people forsake him, some openly and some secretely. When he sawe himself forsaken of all sides, he yelded to *Amyntas* without condition, refusing *Titius* conditions. Thus the younger sonne of great *Pompey* was taken,

Pompey forsaken of all handes.

Pompey yelded to *Amyntas* without condition.

losing

loſing his father when he was very yong, and his brother, when he was toward mans eſtate. Which two being taken away, he lay cloſe a great while, and vexed *Spayne* with priuie robberies, till he hadde good reſort to him, and then he profeſſed himſelfe to be *Pompeys* ſonne, and made open rodes: and when *Iulius Cæſar* was ſlayne, he moued playne warre, beeyng ayded with greate multitudes and forces of the ſuddayne, gayning Shippes, and publike treaſure. He oppreſſed *Italy* with famine, and brought his enimies to what conditions he woulde, and that moſt is, when the wicked condemnation was executed in *Rome*, he ſaued manye of the noble men, that enioyed their Countrey by his benefyte: but Fortune not fauouring him, he woulde neuer take the aduantage of his enimie, neglecting manye occaſions, he would lye ſtill. The conning vp of *Pompey*. The goodnes of *Pompey*. Negligence vndid *Pompey*.

Thus was he that now is in bondage.

Titius commaunded his army to ſweare to *Antony*, and put him to death at *Mileto*, when he hadde lyued to the age of fortye yeares, eyther for that he remembred late diſpleaſure, and for got olde good turnes, or for that he had ſuch commaundemente of *Antony*. *Titius* putteth *Pompey* to death at *Mileto*, a Citie in the endes of *Ionia* and *Caria*.

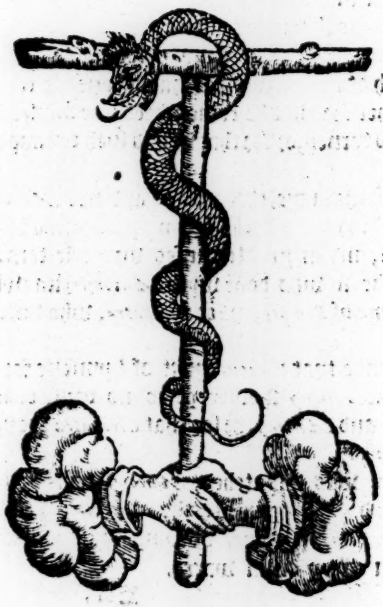
There bee that ſaye, that *Plancus* and not *Antony*, dyd commaunde him to dye, whyche beeyng preſident of *Syria*, had *Antonyes* ſignet, and in greate cauſes wrote letters in his name. Some thynke it was done with *Antonyes* knowledge, he feareyng the name of *Pompey*, or for *Cleopatra*, who fauoured *Pompey* the great. *Plancus*.

Some thynke that *Plancus* dyd it of himſelfe for theſe cauſes, and alſo that *Pompey* ſhoulde gyue no cauſe of diſſention betweene *Cæſar* and *Antony*, or for that *Cleopatra* woulde turne her fauour to *Pompey*.

When hee was diſpatched, *Antony* toke his iourney into *Armenia*, and *Cæſar* agaynſte the *Slauonians*, continuall enimyes of the *Romanes*, neuer obeying the *Romane* Empire, but reuoltyng in euery ciuill warre. The *Illyrians* now *Slauonians*, continuall enimies of the *Romanes*.

And bycause the warres of *Illyria* are not thoroughly knowen vnto me, nor sufficient to make a iust volume, and can not be declared commodiously otherwise, I haue thought it good to referre them to the time, that they were subiect to the *Romanes*, and making a compendious Treatise of them, to ioyne them with the affayres of *Macedonie*.

FINIS.



Faultes eſcaped in the printing of the fiue Bookes of ciuill vvarres of Rome.

Pag.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
1	13	ſhoulde	thall
3	35	*Lisbia*	*Libya*
4	1	duke of *Loma*	gulfe of *Ionia*
4	vlt.	*Colligant*	*Colligauit*
5	20	of that	of them that
13	2	*Paperius*	*Papirius*
16	33	paſtime	paſture
25	25	*Hirſians*	*Hirpiniant*
29	17	*Falerno*	*Ealerno*
32	16	*Canue*	*Canne.*
38	21	*Cithegus*	*Cethegus*
50	17	meanes	malice.
54	14	warres	wayes
69	vlt.	*Garinus*	*Garganus*
70	8	birdes	burdens
73	20	*Cateline*	*Catilina*
83	35	that *Milo*	*Milo* that
85	26.28.29.	*Ptolomie*	*Ptolomie*
95	3	*Dirrachium*	*Dyrrachium*
97	2	*Syprie*	*Sycorie*
102	14	mnalye	manly
105	1	Baron	barne
106	31	ſeyning	ſeeming
107	34	of. viij. C.	ſauing. 800.
110	1	*Vetona*	*Velona*
114	7	ſlingers	ſtingers
110	12	any. 120.	onely. 120.
115	2	fourtie	400.
115	27	ſo	ſee
126	9	*Methridates*	*Mithridates*
140	17	came	comming
161	2	40.	400.
ibid.	5	horſe	hoſte
ibid.	18	*Tusrum*	*Tuscum*

A CONTINVATION
of Appian of Alexandrîa:
Wherein is declared the laſt acte of the wo-
full Tragedie of the Romaines bloudie
Diſſentions, in the whiche *Marcus Antonius*
was ouerthrowen by ſea at *Actio*, and
by land at *Alexandrîa:*
Where both he and *Cleopatra* killed themſelues, after the which,
Octauius Cæſar was the only Monarch of all the
Romane Empire alone.

In this we be taught: That Gods vengeance is sharp, although it be
ſlovv, *and* that peoples rule muſt giue place, and princely
povver preuayle.



AT LONDON,
Imprinted by Raulfe Newberry
and Henry Bynniman.

Anno, 1578.

¶TO THE RIGHT HONOrable, his ſingular good Mayſter, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton, Knight, Capitaine* of the Queenes Maieſties

Garde, Vicechamberlaine to hir Highneſſe, and one of hir Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſayle.



S the loſſe of old poſſeſsiõs, is a griefe to the landed men: euẽ ſo the decay of aũtient bokes, is a ſmart to the learned ſort. *Titus Liuius* father of the *Romane* hiſtorie (whom to ſee, repaire was made of Gentlemen frõ farre places, vvhiles he liued) hath not eſcaped the iniurie of time, but bin left vnperfitte, to the great ſorovv of poſteritie, after he dyed, *Cornelius Tacitus* that folowed him both in matter and age, could not auoyde that iniquitie, althoughe the Emperor *Tacitus* commaunded his bokes to be written ten times euery yeare. This Authour *Appianus Alexandrinus*, hath had the like lucke, for al the eſtimation he vvas in, the halfe of his labour being loſt, and the laſt part of the vvhole ciuill tumult not now to be had frõ him, but briefly ſupplyed otherwiſe, that the end of the *Romanes* wo, & the beginning of our ioy, might be declared, the one ſucceſsiuely folovving of the other. The vvhich it may pleaſe your honour to accept, according to your accuſtomed goodneſſe, beſeeching the liuing Lord long to preſerue the ſame.

Your Honours humble ſeruaunt. H. B.

A Continuation of Appian of Alexandria, till the ouerthrow of M. Antonius, vvhiche vvas the laste ciuill dissention after the whiche, Octauius Cæsar had the rule of all the Romane Empire alone.



After that *Octauius Cæsar*, and *M. Antonius* had agreed with *Sextus*, the yonger sonne of *Pompey* the great, it was determined that *Antonius* shold make warre vpon the *Parthians*, to reuenge the death of *Crassus*. Wherefore presently he sent *Ventidius* to represse the *Parthians*, and he to gratifie *Octauius*, was content to marie his sister, and to be made the holy minister of *Iulius Cæsar* that was dead, he remayning in *Rome*, ruling by common consent, with *Octauius Cæsar*, as well the matters of the Cittie as of the whole Empire. And as it befalleth betweene such Princes, to make pastimes in play and matches, *Antonie* alwayes had the worse, at the whiche he was somewhat moued. He had in his company an *Aegiptian*, after ỳ maner of a Southsayer, who, eyther to please *Cleopatra*, or to shew the very truth, tolde *Antonie* then, that hys fortune was obscured by the fortune of *Octauius*. Therefore hee aduised him to go furder off. For, sayth he, whē thou art abrode, thy nature is noble and corragious, but when thou art with him, it is deiect and afrayde of his. *Antonie*, whether by this motion, or his owne inclination, was content to leaue all there to *Octauius*, and to go towarde his olde loue of *Aegipt*, yet carrying his new wife with him into *Grecia*, pretending an earnest desire to reuenge the iniurie that was done to *Crassus*, which was after this sorte:

Antonie marieth *Octauia*.

Antonies fortune is ouercome of *Cæsars*.

Crassus, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, were all suters for the Consulship in *Rome*, agaynst them stode *Cicero* and *Cato*: *Crassus* and *Pompey* were chosen, and they continued *Cæsars* authoritie in *France* for fiue yeares longer, whiche he only desired. In casting lottes for

Crassus, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*.

the prouinces, *Spayne* fell to *Pompey*, whereof he was glad, beyng giuen to please his wife: and the people was gladde, beyng desirous to haue *Pompey* nigh the Citie. *Syria* fell to *Crassus*, whereof he was onely gladde, and all other sory. For they perceyued hée was wholy giuen to spoyle the countrie of *Parthia*, whiche was not comprehended in the law of the prouinces. Wherfore *Atteius* the Tribune of the people, forbad *Crassus* to inuade *Parthia*, but he being animated by *Cæsars* letters out of *Fraunce*, and by *Pompeys* presence in *Rome*, wente forwarde, notwithstandyng that the Tribune, at the gate of the Citie did stande by, with fire and Sacrifice, coniuryng him in the name of moste straunge and fearefull Goddes, not to procéde, the which kinde of execration, the *Romanes* thinke to be moste horrible, bothe to him that doth pronounce them, & to him, against whom they be pronounced: when *Crassus* had passed the seas, and lost many of his shippes, sayling before due time, and after he had gotten some cities by accorde, and wonne one by force, he wouldé néedes be called *Imperator*, for the which he was mocked, bicause that name was not giuen to any by the *Romanes*, before he had in a plaine batayle, ouerthrowne .x. M. and spending one winter like a rent gatherer, without any exercise of his soldiours, & in spoyling a Temple at *Hierapolis*, in the entry of the which, he & his sonne, fell one vpon an other, & being offred help of the king of *Armenia*, if he would make his iourney thorough his countrie, which was the better way, he refused it, & went rashly through *Mesopotamia*. And at the passage ouer a bridge which he had made, it thundred & lightned in his face, & blew downe a parte of the bridge, and after he was come ouer, his campe was twice set a fyre by lightning. These & many other tokens might haue moued him, but he went forth, till both he & his sonne and .xx. M. *Romanes* were slaine, & .x. M. taken, and al the despite done to them that could be deuised. Vpon this occasiõ did *Antonie* leade his army against ỳ *Parthians*, & by his Leiftenãt *Ventidius* gaue them a great ouerthrow, whiles he was at *Athens*. Wherfore he made great feastings among the *Græcians*, and being ready to go forth, he ware a garland of holy Oliue, & to fulfill an oracle, caried with him a vessel of water. In

Crassus goeth to the warre against order.

Execration.

Imperator.

Hierapolis an holy citie in *Asia*, ful of maruelous things.

Tokens.

Antonie goeth against the Parthians to reuenge *Crassus*.

Antonie did better by his Lieftenants than by himselfe.

Ventidius.

th of Crassus

the

the meane time *Ventidius* gaue an other ouerthrow, in ỳ whiche, *Pacorus* ỳ kings sonne was slaine, the which although it semed a sufficiẽt reuenge for *Crassus* death, yet he gaue thẽ the thirde ouerthrow betwéene *Media* & *Mesopotamia*. Then *Ventidius* thought it good to stay, least *Antonie* should enuie him. And when he had subdued them ỳ reuolted, he besieged *Cõmagenus Antiochus*, in *Samosata*, who promised to giue a thousand talents & obey *Antony*. Unto whom *Ventidius* willed him to send his Embassadours, bicause he was at hand: which being done, he would not receyue ỳ offer, that it shoulde not séeme that *Ventidius* hath done all. But when the citie stode at defence, and would not yéelde, he was sorie he had refused the condition, & was content, to take three hundreth talents, & go his way againe to *Athens*, hauing done litle or nothing in *Syria*. He rewarded *Ventidius* very well, & sent him to *Rome* to triũph, & only he had triũph of the *Parthians*, a man of base blond, & auãced by *Antonie*, who cõfirmed ỳ saying of *Cæsar* & *Antonie*, ỳ they did better preuayle by their Lieftenants, than by themselues. Now was *Orodes* the king of *Parthia*, killed by his sonne *Phraates*, frõ whom many fled away, & amõg other *Moneses* a noble mã came to *Antonie*, who cõparyng his miserie, to *Themistocles*, & his owne felicitie, to ỳ kyngs of *Persia*, gaue him three cities: euẽ as *Xerxes* gaue. iij. cities to *Themistocles*, for his bread, drynke and meate, and as some say, two more, for his lodgyng and apparell. And when the kyng sent for *Moneses* to be restored, *Antonie* was content with it, and offered hym peace, so he would render the Ensignes and the captiues that were taken at the losse of *Crassus*. Then he toke his iourney by *Arabia* and *Armenia*, where he increased his army by the confederate kyngs, whereof ỳ greatest was ỳ king of *Armenia*, who lent him. 6000. horse, & 7000. fotemẽ, he mustred his army, & had of *Romane* fotemẽ. lx. M. of *Spanish*, *French*, & *Romane* horsmẽ. x. M. of other natiõs of horse & fotemẽ. xxx. M. And this great power, ỳ did cast a terror euen to the *Indians*, only the vaine loue of *Cleopatra*, brought to none effect, for the desire he had to come againe into hir companie made him do al things out of time and order. He had lefte his laste wife *Octauia* with hyr children, and the children hee had

Samosata, a citie vvhere is a lage of a maruelous nature.

Antonie refuseth good offer.

Antonie returneth.

King *Orodes* killed by his sonne.

Moneses to *Themistocles* compared

Antonies liberalitie, to coũtervayle kings of *Persia*.

Vaine loue.

Octauia

had by his firſt wyfe *Fuluia*, with *Octauius Cæſar*. And beyng now in the Eaſte partes, was wholy gyuen to the wanton deſire of *Cleopatra*, to whome hée gaue the prouinces of *Cypres*, *Caloſyria*, *Phœnitia*, and a parte of *Cilicia* and *Iurie*, wherewith he were muche grieued, and alſo with his cruelitie to *Antigonus* kyng of *Iurie*, and with his vanitie in the chyldren hée had by *Cleopatra*, callyng the one, *Alexander*, the Sunne, and the other *Cleopatra* the Mone. Yet was *Cleopatra* not the fayreſt woman in the worlde, but very wittie and full of artificiall deuiſes, and had the caſte to beguyle *Antonie*, who was eaſie to be ledde. For haſte, hée woulde not ſuffer hys armie to reſte after ſo long a iourney: for haſte hée lefte his engines behinde him, whereof one was called a Ramme of foure ſcore fote long: for haſte hée lefte *Media*, paſſyng by the lefte hande of *Armenia* into *Atropatia*, whiche hée ſpoyled. Then hée beſieged the great Citie of *Phraata*, where hée founde hys errour, in leauyng hys artillerie behinde. Therefore to cauſe hys men to do ſomewhat, he made them caſte vp mountes. In the meane time the kyng came forth with a mighty army, and hearing that the artillerie was left behinde, he ſent a great parte of his horſe men, which ſlew *Titianus*, and ten thouſand that were left for the cuſtody of the Engines, & toke and ſpilled the munitiõ. The which did much diſcourage his Soldiours, & cauſed that the kyng of *Armenia* forſoke him, for whoſe cauſe he made the warre. The *Parthians* were very bragge vpon the *Romanes*, wherefore *Antonie* toke ten legions, and all his horſemen to range the countrie, thereby to prouoke the enimie to fight. Whē he had gone one dayes iourney, he ſaw the enimies round aboute him, therefore, in his campe he determined to fight, yet would not ſo ſéeme, but rayſed his campe as to goe away, commaundyng that when the fote men were at hande, the horſemenne ſhoulde ſette vppon the enimie, whiche ſtode in a triangle battayle to beholde the *Romanes* good order, ſhakyng their dartes. When the tyme ſerued, the horſemen gaue ſo fierce an aſſaulte vppon them, as they toke away the vſe of theyr ſhotte, notwithſtandyng they ſtucke to it. But when the fote men came, with ſhoute and fearefull ſhew, the

Cleopatra.

Antonie killeth the king of *Iurie*. Vanitie of *Antonie*.

Haſte maketh waſte.

Atropatia one part of *Media*.

The artillerie of the *Romanes* taken.

Parthian horſemen were diſordered, and turned their backes. Antony thinking to make an ende of the warre that daye, gaue them the chaſe, and yet toke but xxx. and kylled lxxx. Whyche agayne did much diſcourage the Romanes, ſince they loſt ſo many at their cariage, and wanne ſo little at this victory. Antony obteyneth a ſmall victory.

The next day Antony returned to his Camp, and by the way at the firſt mette with few of his enimies, afterwards more and more, and at the laſt all, ſo as being much moleſted with them, with much adoe he got to the Tentes, where the enimie aſſaulted the trench, the which, diuers for feare did forſake. Wherefore Antony puniſhed euery tenth man, and fedde the reſt wyth barley. The warre was greeuous to them both, for Antony could no more goe a foraging without great loſſe. And the kyng feared, that if his men ſhoulde lye in the fielde all Winter, they would forſake him. Wherefore he deuiſed this policie. The noble men of the Parthians ſuffered the Romanes to carrie awaye their prayes, with great commendation of their worthineſſe, and that the king woulde be glad of peace, and ſo riding nearer the army, would rebuke Antony for keeping them there in ſo ſtrange a countrey, out of the whiche, though the Parthians were theyr friends, it ſhoulde be harde for them to eſcape. When Antony hearde of this, he cauſed to be enquired, whether theſe men dyd ſpeake by the Kings conſent, which they aunſwered to be. Then he ſente to the King, that if he woulde reſtore the Captiues and enſignes, he would depart. The King ſayd, he would ſende them to him, if he would depart quickly. Therefore Antony made vp, and retired. At his going away, he did not ſpeake to the Souldyoures as he was wont to doe, being very eloquente that way, whereat many were offended, committing the matter to be done to Domitius Aenobarbus. Being in his way, one Mardus, well acquainted with the Parthian maners, whoſe faith the Romanes had proued before, tolde Antony it was beſt for him to goe ſo, as hee might haue the hilles on his right hande, and not to hazarde hys army laden with armour to the Parthian archers and horſemen in the playne way. Antony conſulted with his counſell, pretending yet not to be afrayde of the breache of peace, and accepting

Punishment. To be fedde with barly, was a punishment among Souldyoures.

Craft of the Parthians.

Antony omitteth a Generalles part. Mardus.

the counsell as compendious. *Antony* required suretie of *Mardus*, he bad him bind him, till he came into *Armenia*. So beeyng bound, he brought him two dayes quietly.

Parthians vpon the *Romanes*.

The third day when *Antony* loked for nothing lesse than the *Parthians*, *Mardus* espyed the banke of a riuer to bee broken downe, and the water flowing abroade, which he coniectured to be done by the enimie to hynder the passage of *Antony*. Therefore he wished *Antony* to loke to it, for they were not farre off. *Antony* sette his men in order, and by and by the *Parthians* came vppon him, whome he receyued with his shotte. So there was muche hurte done on both sides, till the French horsemen brake vpon them, and put them by for that day. *Antony* being taughte hereby, went on with a square battel, fencing the same thoroughly with the shotte. The Horsemen were commaunded to gyue repulse to the enimie, and that done, not to chace them farre. So when the *Parthians* these foure dayes had receyued as much hurt as they had done, they minded to retire, because the winter was at hand.

Parthians trouble the *Romanes*.

Fuluius Gallus taketh an euill enterprise.

The fifth daye, *Fuluius Gallus* a valiant man, desired *Antony* to haue a greater bande of shotte, and more Horsemen, and he would do some notable feate, which when he had receyued, he put backe the enimie, not returning to the armie againe as they did before, but pursuing them along without feare, whiche when the leader of the rereward did see, he called him backe, but hee would not obey. And whereas *Titius* tolde the banner to turne backe, he put it forward againe, and badde him meddle with his owne matters, and went so farre, as he was compassed of his enimies, and compelled to sende for helpe, wherein *Canidius* that was in greate credite with *Antony* did not well, for hee sente but a fewe at once, which were some put backe, and vtterly hadde bin lost, hadde not *Antony* come with his legions in time, and abated the courage of the enimie. Notwithstandyng three thousande *Romanes* were slayne, and fyue thousande hurte, and *Gallus* wounded with foure dartes, of the which he dyed. *Antony* went about weeping, and comforting them: they desired him to be content, for all was well, if he were well. Great loue bare

Titius.

Canidius.

Romanes slayne.

Antony weepeth.

the

the ſouldyoures vnto him, for he was compted one of the beſt Captaynes of that time. The enimies were ſo encouraged by this victory, as they wayted at the Camp all night, thinking the *Romanes* would haue bin gone: And in the morning the number was much encreaſed, for the king had ſent the horſemens gard of his perſon, but came at no fight himſelfe, ſo as there was nowe fortie thouſand horſemen. *Antony* woulde haue gone among the ſouldyoures with a blacke gowne, but his friends woulde not ſuffer him: ſo he went generall like, and prayſed them that hadde done well, and rebuked them that had done otherwiſe. They prayed him to pardon them, and to puniſh euery tenth man. Only they deſired him to leaue his ſorrow. Then he held his hands vp to heauen, ſaying: If anye diſdeyne of God remained of hys former fortune, he deſired it might fall vpon him, ſo the *Romanes* army might be ſaued, and haue the victory. *Antony* lamenteth. *Antonyes* prayer

The next day, he went more warily, when contrary to theyr loking, the *Parthians* came trolling downe the hill, thinking to haue gotten pray, and not to haue founde warre. The *Romanes* toke in their archers and ſuch other, into the middeſt of the battell, cauſing thē to kneele, and they ſtouping, couered them with their ſhields, vppon the which the *Parthians* arrowes ſliced off. And the *Parthians* thinking that the *Romanes* had ſtouped for wéarineſſe, made a ſhoute, and came vpon them with their ſtaues, at the whiche time the *Romanes* roſe, and ſo encountred with them, as they droue them away. Thus were they troubled dyuers dayes, and made but little way. Policie of the *Romanes*. *Parthians* repelled.

Nowe was there wante in the Campe, for they coulde gette no corne, and their Cattell was ſpente, partly by loſſe, and partlye by carrying the wounded and ſicke men. A barly loſe was ſolde for the waighte of ſiluer. They eate ſtrange hearbes and rootes, and ſome that brought preſent death, with a kinde of madneſſe, for they coulde do nothing elſe but roll ſtones, ſo as all the Campe was almoſt occuppyed in picking and turning of ſtones. The remedye of thys was wyne, whyche wanted in the hoſt, therefore when they hadde vomited the melancolie, they dyed. Manye thus dying, and the *Parthians* ſtyll commyng vpon VVant in the *Romanes* Camp. Barly bread. Hearbes venemous. Frenſye in the Camp. VVine.

vpon them, *Antony* oftentimes cryed, Oh the tenne thousande, meaning the tenne thousand *Greekes*, which, vnder the leading of *Xenophon*, passed safe a farre longer way, in despight of their enimies. Nowe when the *Parthians* perceyued they could not preuayle againste the *Romanes*, nor breake their order, but were alwayes put backe, they began to deale gently againe wyth the forragiers, shewing the strings of their bowes vnbente, and to make an ende, onely a fewe *Medians* shoulde followe the tayle, to keepe the Townes from spoyling. These wordes made the *Romanes* glad, and *Antony* minded to goe the champion way, and leaue the hilles. And being entred this way, one *Mithridates*, a cousin of that *Monesis* that fledde to *Antony*, came vnto him, and required to speake with one that coulde the *Parthian* tong. To whome *Alexander* of *Antioch*, a friende of *Antonyes*, was appoynted. He tolde him that *Monesis*, for good will to *Antony*, had sent him to shew, that vnder the hilles which he saw before him, nerte vnto the which the playne way did ioyne, the *Parthians* lay in secrete, to beguile him againe by their faire wordes. Therfore if he woulde saue himselfe and his host, he shoulde not leaue the way by the hilles, where in deede he shoulde finde labour and thirst, but the other way he should not escape *Crassus* misfortune. This saide, he went his way. *Antony* communicated this wyth his friendes, and with *Mardus*, who affirmed it to be most lyke the truth. Therefore he sayd it was best to go by the hils, though it were paynefull, and shoulde lacke water one daye. Nowe *Antony* toke this way, and commaunded euery man to carrie as muche water as he coulde: but there was lacke of vessels, and the most part carryed it in their sallets. When the *Parthians* spies had told whiche way *Antony* went, contrary to theyr manner, they came vpon him by night, and by breake of day, set vpon the rereward, weeryed with labour & watching. So they were compelled both to march, and to resist the enimie. Now was the forewarde come to a flood, whiche was very cleere, but salt, that who soeuer dranke of it, was full of payne. *Mardus* gaue them warning of it, but the Souldyoures would not be ruled. Then *Antony* ranne aboute, praying them to refraine and passe on, for a

The army of Xenophon.

Antony warned

VVater.

Salt vvater.

little

little further was a floud of healthsome water, and so chose a way, that the *Parthians* could not follow them. And to cause the Souldyoures to haue some shadow, he blew the retreat, and pitched his tents, Which being done, and the *Parthians* going backe, as they were wonte, *Mithridates* came agayne, and spake with *Alexander*, telling hym, that after the Souldyoures had rested a while, they should remoue and passe ouer the next floud, for so farre the enimie would followe. When *Antony* heard this, he toke many cuppes of gold to *Alexander*, to giue *Mithridates* as many as he could carrie away. So *Antony* departed, and hadde much ado, for the enimies followed so hard, as they sacked hys carriage, and toke his tables and plate of golde, and as many as hadde anye thyng, they kylled and spoyled, whereby it was thought that all the armye was disordered, and scattered, in so much as *Antony* called one of his chamber to hym, and wylled him, if he commaunded hym, to kyll hym, he shoulde do it vppon hys oth, and take away his head, that he mighte not be knowen when he was dead. *Antony* being in this sorrowe, *Mardus* dyd comfort him, affirming that the floud was at hande, whiche hee knew by the coldnesse of the aire that there was felte. *Antony*, to bring all to quiet, commaunded to Campe euen there. By breake of daye, the *Parthians* againe charged vppon the tayle, in defence of whome, the shotte was sent, and the battell defended them with their shieldes. The *Parthians* durst not come to handstrokes, so as by this time the forewarde was come to the floud, ouer the which, *Antony* sent first the hurt & sicke souldioures, and appoynted all the Horsemen to encounter with the enimie, by the whiche meane, they that wente ouer, might haue leysure to drinke. When the *Parthians* sawe the floude, they vnbente theyr bowes, and sayde, the *Romanes* myghte nowe drinke at leysure, for they had so deserued by theyr vertue.

Mithridates.

Antonyes giftes.

Antonyes treasure spoyled.

Antony in dread.

Cold ayre token of water.

The *Romanes* beyng past the floud, did marche in order, not yet trusting the *Parthians*.

The sixth daye after theyr last fyghte, they came to the floude *Araxes*, which diuideth *Media* and *Armenia*. And bycause thys floud was harde to passe, they were agayne afrayd of theyr enimies

Araxes diuideth *Armenia* from *Atropatia*.

mies had layne in awayte, but passing quietly, as sone as they came to lande, they reioyced at it, as they do that se it from the Sea, and embraced one another, weeping for ioy. Now followed there another inconuenience, for the Countrey being plentifull, and the Souldyoures taking to muche, fell into many diseases, and dyed. *Antony* then mustered his men, finding he wanted twenty thousand fotemen, and foure thousand Horsemen, halfe of the which dyed of diseases. From the Citie of *Phraata*, they had bin comming seauen and twenty dayes, in the whiche they hadde fought eyghteene times with the *Parthians*, of whome they coulde not haue perfite victory, bycause the King of *Armenia* forsoke them, whose army hadde bin most expert to haue dealte with the *Parthians*: wherefore euery man counselled *Antony* to be reuenged of the King: *Antony* vsing policies, shewed all courtesies to the men of the Countrey, and sent so fayre messages to the King, as he came vnto him, whome he committed by and by, and carryed him to *Alexandria*, where he triumphed ouer hym, which thing greeued the *Romanes*, that *Antony* woulde defraude his Countrey to please his Concubine. The winter was so greate, that he lost eyghte thousande, before he coulde come to a Castell called *Leuce*, where he was in great agonyes, till *Cleopatra* was come. Then like a folishe yong mã, he gaue himselfe to wantonnes and riot, running from his table to the sea side euery day to see if she were come. When she came, she brought muche apparell, and money to gyue the Souldyoures. Some say, *Antony* toke them to hir, to gyue the *Romanes*.

Surfet.

Losse of the *Romanes*.

Antony taketh the King of *Armenia* by slight.

Antonyes triumph displeasant to the *Romanes*.

Leuce.

Antonyes fondnesse.

Now was there a variance fallen betweene the Kings of *Parthia* and *Media*, for the spoyle of the *Romanes* goodes. The *Median* King sent to *Antony* to come agayne, and he woulde ioyne wyth him with all his power which was very great. *Antony* was not a little glad hereof, bycause the helpe of the *Medians* might bee the meane for hym to conquer *Parthia*, and so intended to make a new iourney.

Antony called by the *Median* agayne.

At *Rome Octauia* desired to goe to hir husbād *Antony*. *Cæsar* was content with it, not so muche to pleasure his sister, as to take occasion by the euill handling which he suspected would followe of hir,

Cæsar seeketh occasion to vexe *Antony*.

hir, to moue iuſt warre againſt *Antony*. When ſhe was come to *Athens*, ſhe receyued letters from *Antony*, to ſtay there, by cauſe of his newe voyage. She ſmelling the matter, wrote vnto him to know whether ſhe ſhould ſend the things whiche ſhe had brought him, that is to ſaye, many coates for his Souldyoures, great plenty of Cattell, money, and rewards for his Captaines, and two thouſande freſhe Souldyoures, for the gard of his perſon, all the which, were well ſet out to hym by *Niger* his meſſenger. When *Cleopatra* heard this, fearing that if *Octauia* came, ſhe would put hir out of concept, ſhe beſtirred hir, ſhe pined hirſelfe, ſhe wepte, and wayled, and woulde needes dye for *Antonyes* ſake, who ſayd, he would take his iourney in hand. Some there were that blamed *Antony* as rude and hard harted, that hee would put ſo louing a Lady and ſo great a Quéene in danger of hir life, eyther for his wiues ſake, or for anye other cauſe, in ſo muche as *Antony* was made a tame fole, and deferred vnto the next ſommer his expedition, and returned to *Alexandria* to winter with *Cleopatra*. Now was *Octauia* returned to *Rome*, & hir brother willed hir to goe to hir owne houſe, but ſhe went to *Antonyes* houſe, which ſhe kept with ſo good order, and cheriſhing as well the children he had by *Fuluia*, as by hir ſelfe, as it did aggrauate the fault of *Antony*, that he woulde forſake ſo vertuous a *Romane* Lady, for an *Egiptian* ſtráger. *Octauia* deſired hir brother, that if there were none other cauſe of warre but by hir, that he would not moue it, for ſhe ſhould beare the blame. Therefore in all requeſts ſhe did help *Antonyes* friends, whereby vnwillingly ſhe hindered *Antony*, who was nowe ſo fonde waren, as hée woulde haue *Cleopatra* called by the name of the Goddeſſe *Iſis*, Quéene of *Aegypt*, *Cyprus*, *Affryke*, and *Caloſiria*: and *Cæſarion*, whome it was thought ſhe hadde by *Iulius Cæſar*, to be hir companion in theſe Kingdomes. The ſonnes that he hadde by hir, he called Kings of Kings. To *Alexander*, *Armenia*, *Media*, & *Parthia*: to *Ptolomeo*, *Phœnitia*, *Syria*, & *Cilicia*, he appointed. In *Rome Cæſar* accuſed him of this geare before ỳ Senate, *Antony* by letters, accuſed *Cæſar* likewiſe. Firſt, that he had not made him partaker of *Sicilia*, out of ỳ which he had wrong *Pompey*. Then, ỳ

Antony forbiddeth his wife *Octauia* to come to him.

Niger.

Craft of *Cleopatra*.

Antony doteth.

Octauia.

Modeſtie of *Octauia*.

Antonyes fooliſhneſſe.

Iſis.

Cæſarion.

Accuſations betweene *Cæſar* and *Antony*.

he had not restored the Shyppes which he had lent him. Thirdlye, that hauing deposed *Lepidus* his fellow in authoritie, he kepte those prouinces and prouinces to his owne vse, and that he had diuided *Italy* to his owne souldioures, and not remembred his. To these *Cæsar* answered, that bycause *Lepidus* ruled out of order, hee had brought him to order, his prouinces he woulde participate with him, when he would diuide with him *Armenia*. As for hys Souldyoures, they hadde no portion in *Italy*, no more than he in *Media* & *Parthia*. Whē *Antony* heard of this, he sent by & by *Canidius* with xvj. legions to the sea. He carrying *Cleopatra* wyth hym, wente to *Ephesus*, whither all his Naule assembled, to the number of eyght hundred shippes of burden, of the which, *Cleopatra* gaue him two hundreth, and two hundreth talentes for the expences of the warre. *Domitius* and other of *Antonyes* counsell, woulde haue had *Cleopatra* to haue gone to *Egypt*, till the warre were ended. But she corrupted *Canidius* to tell him, that it was not honorable to remoue hir that was at suche charge for the warre, nor sure to exasperate the *Egyptians* mindes, in whome was great part of his forces by sea. So *Antony* must liue wyth *Cleopatra*, till they were both brought to death. From *Ephesus* they wente to *Samos*, where they made lusty cheere. For as all Kings, Princes, and prouinces were commanded to bring all maner of munition for the warre thither, euen so all kind of players, and people of pastime, were willed also to be there, that at what time all the world as it were was in sorrowe for y ruine that was toward, that only Ilād was in all ioye & pleasure. The Kings sente all y^r souldiōthither, striuing who should make greatest bāquets, in so much as it was said, if there be suche cheering before the warre, what triumphing will there be, when the victory is gotten. From hence they went to *Athens*, where were shewed all y^e Comedies & Tragedies, and then to *Athens*, where all kinds of newe shewes were deuised. Where *Cleopatra*, for emulation of *Octauia*, to whome the *Athenians* had done great honoures, gaue a greate largesse to the people, and they againe made a decree of honours to be done to hir, at the whiche, *Antony* was as a Citizen of *Athens*, and in the name of the Citie made an Oration vnto hir.

Obiections of *Antony*.

Answeres of *Cæsar*.

Canidius.

Naule of *Antony*.

Domitius.

Cleopatra laboureth to tarry wyth *Antony*.

Progresse of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, *Samos*.

Pastime out of time.

Athens.

Cleopatra enuieth *Octauia*.

Antony a Citizē of *Athens*.

Antony playeth the Reuerber.

Antony

Antonie had sent to *Rome*, to remoue *Octauia* out of his house. She went from it, with all his children, weping and lamenting that she should be any cause of the warre. The people lamented, bothe hir and *Antonie*, specially they that had seene *Cleopatra*, who did not excell *Octauia*, neyther in beautie, nor in floure of yeares. *Cæsar Octauius* was afrayde, when he heard of *Antonies* expedition and great preparation, for he had nothyng ready, nor money to prepare, in gathering of the whiche, if *Antonie* had come on, *Cæsar* had bene in great daunger. For whyles money is so exacted, men are tumultours, but when it is gathered, they be quiet. Therefore it was thought a greate folie in *Antonie*, to detract the time. But what shal a man say, *That that wilbe, shalbe.*

Octauia is put out of *Antonies* house.

Cæsar in vvant.

Slackneſſe of *Antonie.*

Exaction of money.

Titius and *Plancus* two chiefe aboute *Antonie*, and they that gaue him aduise he should send *Cleopatra* away, fledde from him to *Cæsar*, bycause *Cleopatra* began to maligne at them: and they did bewray *Antonies* Testament, being priuie to it. It was kept of the Virgines Vestalles, to whome *Cæsar* sente to haue it: they would not deliuer it, if he woulde take it from them, hee might. So he went, and toke it away, and first by himselfe redde it, and noted what might be sayde agaynst it. Then he called the Senate, and redde it openly, whereat many were grieued, thinkyng it not reasonable that a mans minde for his death, shoulde bee scanned whyleſt he was aliue. The greateſt faulte that was founde, was this, that he had willed wheresoeuer he died, that his body should be carried to *Alexandria*, and sente to *Cleopatra*. Furthermore, one *Caluisius* a frende of *Cæsars*, obiected agaynst *Antonie*, That he had giuen hir the Librarie of *Pergamo*, in the whiche was two hundred thousand bookes. That he would rise from the table, and trample vpon hir fete by compacte. That he suffered the *Ephesians* in his presence, to call hir Soueraigne. That when hee gaue audience to Kings and Princes, he woulde receyue letters of loue from hir written in tables of pearle and Cristall, and reade them. That when *Furnius*, a man of authoritie in *Rome* and very eloquent, did pleade a cause before him, *Cleopatra* came by in a litter, & he left the court, and ranne vnto to hir, and leanyng vpon the litter, went away with hir. Many

Titius, *Plancus*. *Antonies* friends forsake him.

Antonies testamẽt bewrayed.

Cæsar obiected agaynst *Antonies* testament.

Librarie of Pergamo.

men thought *Caluisius* forged these crimes. Therefore *Antonies* frends made meanes to the people of *Rome* for him. And sent *Geminius* vnto him, to warne him to take heede, that he loste not his power, and be pronounced rebell to *Rome*. When *Geminius* was come into *Grecia*, *Cleopatra* suspected he came to entreate for *Octauia*. And beyng at supper, she taunted him, and vsed him spitefully: but he bare all, till he might haue *Antonie* alone. But what? ỹ would not be, but he was cõmaunded to tell why he came eue at supper: he sayd that other things required a sober conference, but one thing he knew both sober and dronke, that all should be well if *Cleopatra* went into *Aegypt*. *Antonie* was angry at that. And *Cleopatra* sayde, Thou haste done well, *Geminius*, to tell the truth without any torture. *Geminius* went hys way out of hand. The Parasites of *Cleopatra* dyd cause many other to flée from them, bycause they coulde not beare their despites and contumelies, among whome was *Syllanius* and *Dellius*, who sayde hée feared to be destroyed of *Cleopatra*, for so *Glaucus* the Phisitian had tolde hym. When *Cæsar* was ready, the warre was denounced against *Cleopatra*, the authoritie taken from *Antonie*, bicause he had cõmitted it to a womans lust, and not in his right wits, beyng bewitched by hir. And lefte all the warre to be directed by hir Eunuches and Ruffians, who also had the commaundement in ciuill affayres. Diuerse vnlucky tokens were séene at the beginnyng of this warre, both in *Italie* and *Grecia*.

Geminius.

Cleopatra taũteth *Geminius*.

Answere of *Geminius*.

Geminius telleth truth and is blamed.

Romanes fleeth from *Antonie*.

VVarre proclaymed.

Antonie had a naule of warlike ships to the number of fiue hundred, wherof 110. were made for triumph. He had an hũdred thousand fotemen, & xij. M. horsemen. *Bochus* king of *Africa*, *Tarcondemus* king of vpper *Cilicia*, *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* king of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* king of *Commagena*, and *Adallas* king of *Thracia*, were present at this war. *Polemon* king of *Pontus* sent ayde, likewise *Manchus* of *Arabia*, and *Herode* the Iewe, and *Amintas* the kyng of *Licaonia* and *Galatia*. Also the king of *Media* sent him succour. *Cæsar* had. 250. shippes for the warre, lxxx. M. fotemen, & as many horsemẽ as the enemie. *Antonie* had rule from the floud *Euphrates* & *Armenia*, to the sea of *Ionia* and *Illiria*. *Cæsar* had all from that sea to the west *Ocean*, & from thence

Naule of *Antonie*.

Confederate kings.

Naule of *Cæsar*.

Countries of eyther side.

to

to the *Tuſcan* & *ſicilian* ſea. So much of *Africa* as bent towarde *Italie*, *Fraunce*, *Spaine*, and the pilers of *Hercules*, *Caſin* had. The reſt from *Cirene* to *Aethiopia*, *Antonie* helde. So much was he thrall to this woman, that where he farre paſſed in good ſotemē, for hir pleaſure he put all his ſtrength in a nauie. And when hee vnderſtode that the Captaines of the nauie found fault for lacke of good ſeamen, he ſupplied the want with roges, carters, harueſt men, and labourers of waſted *Gracia*, and yet was not the nauie furniſhed, but many ſhippes voyde and vnable to fight.

Caſar made not his ſhippes huge & for oſtentation & ſhew, but light & ſwift, & them well furniſhed, whiche he helde at *Tarent* and *Brūduſe*. Frō thence he ſent to *Antonie* to require him to loſe no time, but to come forth, & he would giue him ſafe rodes & portes for his nauie, and giue him conuenient ground in *Italie*, to lande his men ſurely & quietly. *Antonie* on the contrary ſide bragging chalenged to fight with him hand to hand, which if he would not doe, then to fighte with him in *Pharſall* fielde, where *Caſar* fought with *Pompey*. But *Caſar*, whiles *Antonie* lay at anchor at *Actio*, whiche is now *Nicopoli*, paſſed the ſea to get the towne of *Epirus*, whiche is now called *Toryne*. *Antonie* beyng afeard, the enimie ſhould ſet vpon his ſhippes vnfurniſhed, made a ſhewe of great readineſſe by ſhippyng oares on euery ſide, and ſo kept the porte. Wherby *Caſar* being deceiued, went backe, and *Antonie* deuiſed to take away the water frō him, which was ſcant & naught. Hee dealt gently concerning *Domitio*, contrary to *Cleopatras* opimō, for he being ſicke, toke a litle boate & fled to *Caſar*, ỹ which although it greeued *Antonie*, notwithſtanding he ſent him all his goodes & ſeruants. The which, bicauſe it was openly knowē that he was fled, ſo gricued him, that he died. The kings *Amintas* & *Deiotarus*, went to *Caſar* alſo. And bycauſe *Antonies* nauie was not ſufficient, he was cōpelled to loke & truſt to his army by land. And *Canidius* ỹ was generall of the ſotemē, perſuaded him in any wiſe to ſend *Cleopatra* home, & go to *Thracia* or *Macedonia*, & try ỹ matter by lāde. For *Dicomes* king of the *Getes* was redy to help him with great nūbers. And ỹ it ſhold be no ſhame to him to refuſe ỹ fight by ſea, bicauſe *Caſar* had ỹ practiſe of it by reaſō of ỹ *Sicilian* warres: but

The maner of *Caſars* Shippes.

Caſar prouoketh *Antonie*.

Antonie chalengeth combat with *Caſar*.

Actio.

Toryne.

Canidius.

but it should be a great blame vnto him not to vse his forces by
Antonie heareth not good counsell. lande, wherein he was moste experte, and suffer the same to be abused by sea. But *Cleopatra* urged him to fight by sea, although she despayred of the victorie, and secretely prouided all meanes
Antonie in danger. to flée away. In this time *Antonie* was in some daunger, there was a certaine narow space of grounde, betweene him and his naule, ouer the whiche it was his maner to passe without feare, of the whiche, when *Cæsar* was aduertised, he layde wayte for him, the whiche, being a little to quicke, toke him that came before *Antonie*, and he hardely escaped and ranne away.

When it was determined to fight by sea, they burned all the vnprofitable vessels, and kepte the Gallies of the best sorte, into the whiche he put twentie thousand footemen, and two thousand
A good request of an old Capitayne, not graunted. Archers. Then a certayne Captayne, that had bene a good seruitour, and was an expert Souldiour, shewed his wounded body to *Antonie*, crying, O generall, why doest thou distrust these woundes and weapons, and puttest thy trust in brittell vessels? Let *Aegyptians* and other like make their fight by sea, giue vs the land, in the which we haue bene wonte to stande and die, or
Antonie refuseth al good counsell. else to conquere. *Antonie* answered nothing to him, but with his hande and head, signifying he should be of good chéere, passed by, all hope layde aside, for where as the maisters of the shippes, would haue taken away the sayles, he commaunded them to be carried into the shippes, that none of the enimies shoulde escape him, as he pretended. That day, x. xiij. daies more, the rough weather deferred the fight. The fifth day, the weather beyng fayre, they made the fight. *Antonie* and *Publicola* had the righte wing, *Celius* the left, and *Marcus* and *Iusteius* the midde battayle. *Cæsar*
The fight. appoynted *Agrippa* to the right, he helde the lefte. *Canidius*, had *Antonies* land Souldiours. *Taurus*, had *Cæsars*, beyng in order and quiet on the shore. *Antonie* went about hys naule in a fayre, exhorting his Souldiours, to fight without remouyng, bycause of the waight of the shippes, and commaunded the maysters, that standyng (as it were) at Anchor, they shoulde not sturre at the onset of the enimie, but auoyde the disaduantage of the place, in the mouth of the porte.

They

They say, that when *Cæsar* wente out before day to view hys naule, hée mette a man leadyng an Asse, and asking his name, he sayde, my name is *Fortunate*, and mine Asses name, is *Victorie*. The forme of this place, with the figure of the man and the Asse, he did sette vp afterwarde in a table of Brasse, in the common place of *Rome*. When hée had ouerlooked the residue of his naule, he betoke himselfe to the righte battayle, and beholde his enimies quiet in the straights: For it séemed they had lien at anchor: and so helde his shippes backe a good while, beyng two miles off. At fyue of the clocke, a good gale beganne to blowe, when as *Antonies* Soldiours would tarry no longer, but trustyng in the greatnesse of their ships, moued the lefte battayle. When *Cæsar* sawe that, hée was gladde, and held still his right battaile, that he might the more get his enimies out of the straightes, and with his swifte shippes, fighte with the huge beauy vessels of his enimies, which were nothing well manned. When the onset was giuen, they did not couragiously encounter, for *Antonies* ships could not well stirre to giue a good assault, whiche is best done by mouyng. *Cæsars* shippes were not fitte to gyue the charge vpon the front, bycause of the others sharpe and strong beakes: nor durst do it on the sides, for breakyng of their owne beakes, for the greate tymber and yron worke of those mighty vessels. Therefore it was like a fight on lande, or rather, as I may say it, an assault of a wall. For three or foure of *Cæsars*, did set vpon one of *Antonies*, and fought with theyr dartes, pykes, and fyred weapons. And *Antonies* menne flong downe theyr weapons from their towers out of their casting Engines. *Agrippa* began to stretch forth to compasse the rest, whiche when *Publicola* dyd see, he was forced to do the same, and so diuided from the midde battayle. And the fighte beyng very sore on bothe sides, and vncertayne to whome the victorie woulde fall, *Cleopatra*, with hyr threescore shippes, whiche were placed behinde the greate shippes, brake thorough to their greate disorder, and toke themselues to flight.

A token.

The diuersitie of the fight.

Cleopatra fleeth.

Here did *Antonie* shewe himselfe to haue forgotten his of-

Antonie followeth.

fice and charge, and verified the olde saying, *That the minde of a louer, liueth in an other body.* For as though he had bene annexed to hyr, and coulde neyther lyue nor die without hir, by and by, so sone as he saw hir shippe vnder sayle, he forsoke all, and left his soldiours to the slaughter of his enimie, for whom they shed their bloudes, and with two companions of *Aegypt*, got into a Byrgandine, folowyng *Cleopatra*, to bring both hir and himself to reprochfull death. When she did see him commyng, she sette out a flagge to call hym, so hee beyng hoysted vp to hyr, did not loke vppon hyr, nor shee vppon him, but wente and satte solitarie in the forepart of the shippe, holdyng his hedde with bothe his handes.

Louer.

Antony is hoysted into *Cleopatras* Shippe.

Shortly *Cæsars* swifte shippes that did followe hym were in sight, whome *Antonie* put backe, saying one, in the whiche *Euricles* was, who fiercly pursued, shakyng his speare with threatnyng wordes. *Antonie* standyng still and asking, who is hee that followeth *Antonie*? it is I (quoth hee) *Lacharis* sonne, that by the good fortune of *Cæsar* do pursue thee for my Fathers death. Yet did he not take *Antonies* shippe but the other that was of the same goodlinesse, in the whiche was all the riche furniture of *Cleopatra*.

Antony is pursued.

Euricles.

When hee was gone, *Antonie* satte still after one sorte and in one place, and spake not to *Cleopatra*, eyther for anger or for shame. But when hee was come to *Tanaro*, the womenne that were familiar to them bothe, brought them to talke, and then to borde and bedde. Entendyng to sende from thence into *Africa*, he chose one of the Quenes riche shippes, full of Golde and Siluer, and gaue it to hys frendes, wishyng them to prouide for themselues. And when as they wepte and prayed hym to be of theere, hee desired them to folowe hys requeste, and wrote to *Theophilus* hys officer at *Corinth*, to gyue them quicke dispatch, and to helpe to hyde them, till *Cæsar* might bee pacified.

Silence of *Antonie.*

Tanaro, a foreelande.

Antonie giueth his frends leaue to shift for themselues.

Many of the shippes of burden, and some of his frendes, were come from the fight, declaryng that the nauy was losse, but they

they thought the army by lande was safe. Wherefore he wrote to *Canidius* to make haste by *Macedonia*, and bring his armie into *Asia*.

In this case was *Antonie*.

Cæsar had a long fighte with *Antonies* naule, the whiche at length, by the vehemencie, bothe of the rage of the Sea and courage of the enimie, gaue ouer, onely fiue thousande beyng slayne, and three hundreth shippes taken. *Cæsars* victorie.

There were but fewe, that knewe of *Antonies* fleeyng, and when they hearde it, they wondred, as at a thyng incredible, That he, hauyng nineteene legions of footemen, and twelue thousande horsemen, woulde forsake all and runne away, as though hée had not knowne the vnstableneſſe of Fortune, and had not proued the chaunce of warre, full many a tyme. The Souldiours thought still hée woulde come among them, in so muche as when *Cæsar* sente messengers to them, they reiected them, and so continued seuen dayes, but when their Capitayne *Canidius* was stolne away by night, and they left comfortleſſe, they yélded to the Conquerour, who sayled vnto *Athens*, and makyng vnitie with the *Gretians*, distributed corne among them, being afflicted before, with all kynde of exaction and seruitude. When *Antonie* had sent *Cleopatra* into *Aegypt*, from *Paretonio*, hée wente into *Affrica*, with two frendes only, the one a *Gretian*, and the other a *Romane*, and there lyued solitarily, till hée heard that hys Lieftenauntes there, hadde forsaken him: Then he would haue kylled himselfe, but hys frendes did stoppe him. And so hée wente againe to *Cleopatra*, who was diuising by great expenses to carrie hyr naule into the nooke of the strayghteſt place of the Sea, that is thought to diuide *Affrike* and *Asia*, that she might bée safe from inuasion. But, bycause the first shippes that came, had euill lucke, and for that *Antonie* hoped hys footemenne were safe at *Actio*, hée causod hyr to leaue off, and fenced the mouthes of the floudde *Nilus*. This beyng done, *Antonie* buylded him an house in the Sea at the Lanterne, and ramped it aboute, separating himselfe from the company of men: Men amazed at *Antonies* madneſſe.

Soldiours good opinion of *Antonie*.

Antonies footemen yeldeth.

Paretonio a port towne.

Antonie in despayre.

A deuise of *Cleopatra* for hyr safetie.

Antonie folowseth the trade of *Timon*.

Affirmyng hée woulde folowe the trade of *Timon*, that was surnamed, *Hater of men*. For when as he was forsaken of his frendes, and decepued of suche menne, as he had brought to aduauncement, hée toke this ingratitude so to the harte, that hée woulde refuse all mens societie: euen as *Timon* dyd, who was a Citizen of *Athens*, and called that house *Timons* Tabernacle.

Timons tabernacle.

The firste that brought hym newes of the losse of hys sotemen at *Actio*, was *Canidius* hymselfe. And shortly after it was tolde hym that *Herode* the *Iewe* was gone to *Cæsar* with certayne legions, and that other Princes dyd the lyke: none of these thyngs dyd moue him, but as beyng well wyllyng to leaue bothe hope and care, contented hymselfe with *Timons* Tabernacle. But beyng otherwise perswaded by *Cleopatra*, he came to the courte to *Alexandria*, and there gaue hymselfe to feastyng and banquettyng, so as the *Alexandrians* dyd nothyng else a great whyle, but make good cheere. This maner of felowshyp, vsed among them that woulde lyue, they forsoke, and beganne an other, whiche was called, of them that woulde die together, the whiche was not inferiour to the other, in delicacie nor superfluitie, and as many as had sworne to dye togither, made suche feastes in order by course, one to an other.

Euill newes one after an other.

Antony renueth his riot.

Feastes of the dying sorte.

Cleopatra beside all this gaue hyr selfe to the searche of moste spéedy poyson and venom, and caused not onely suche growyng thyngs, as were accompted moste effectuous, to be sought, but also the lyuing beastes and Serpentes, and made a proufe of them all in some of hyr folkes. Then bothe shée and *Antonie* sente to *Cæsar*. Shée requyred that the kyngdome of *Aegypt* myght be entayled to hyr chyldren. *Antonie* desired hée myght lyue a pryuate lyfe in *Athens*, if hée might not doe it in *Aegypt*. For lacke of other frendes they were fayne to sende *Euphronius* their Schoolemayster to him. For *Alexas* of *Laodicia* had decepued *Antonie*, and by the meane of *Herode* the *Iewe*, gaue hymselfe to *Cæsar*, who dyd not accepte hym, put him in chaynes, and sent him to die in his countrey. This rewarde had hée for hys vnfaithfulnesse to *Antonie*.

Cleopatra seketh for poyson.

Request of *Cleopatra*.

Requestes of *Antonie*.

Euphronius.

Alexas of *Laodicia*.

Infidelitie punished.

Cæsar

Cæsar would not heare *Antonyes* requests, but promised *Cleopatra* all kinde of courtesie, if she would reiect *Antony*. He sente his Liberte *Thyrenus* a learned man, that might moue that magnificall Lady wyth the hope of so lusty a yong Emperoure. He vsed so long and pleasing oration, that *Antony* had him in suspition: therefore he toke him, and caused him to be whipped, wrighting to *Cæsar*, that he was stirred by his pride and insolencie, which would moue a man though he were in miserie. And if this (quoth he) doth greeue you, take my Liberte *Hipparchus* & is with you, and whippe him, and then we shall be euen. Nowe *Cleopatra*, that she might wipe away all suspition, honoured hym maruellously, and celebrating hir owne birth daye, meanely, as hir case required, she honoured his, so nobly and princely, that many that came poore to the feast, went rich away.

Cæsar promiseth much to *Cleopatra*.

Antony whippeth the messenger of *Cæsar*.

Scornefull message of *Antony*.

Birth day.

At this time *Agrippa* wrote to *Cæsar* from *Rome*, that in anye wise he should repaire thither, for the case required his presence. By this occasion the warre againste *Antony* was deferred tyll the next sommer, when *Cæsar* sent forces againste his Captaynes in *Affrike*, and went himselfe against him in *Asia*. And when he had taken *Peluſio*, it was suspected that *Cleopatra* was contented that *Seleucus* shoulde deliuer it: but she to purge this crime, toke the wife and children of him to be punished. She had a goodly sepulchre made, ioyning to the Temple of *Isis*, in the whiche she had placed all hir treasure, and princely things. And *Cæsar* being afrayd, that if she were driuen to desperation, she woulde set all on fire, put hir in great hope alwayes. Now was he come wyth his army to the Citie, and his horsemen lay at the horserace, vpon the which *Antony* came out so fiercely, as he drue them to the Camp. Then he returned into the Court, and toke *Cleopatra* in his armes, and kissed hir, and recommended him vnto hir, that had fought best, and she gaue him an head peece, and a coate armour of golde. Yet he that night fledde to *Cæsar*. Then *Antony* challenged *Cæsar* once againe to fight hande to hand. *Cæsar* aunswered, there were many wayes for *Antony* to dye. Then seing there was no way so honourable to dye, as in fight, *Antony* determined to set vpon *Cæsar* both by Sea & land, and at supper bad

Cæsar goeth to *Rome*.

Peluſio a part of *Egipt*.

Cleopatra in suſpition.

Sepulchre of *Cleopatra*.

Antony issueth out of *Alexandria*, and repulseth *Cæsars* horsemen.

Cleopatra rewardeth the valiant Souldyoure.

The seconde chalenge of *Antony* vpon *Cleopatra*.

Antony cheereth his men.

his mē drinke & make merry, for he coulde not tell if they ſhould do ſo any more, or ſerue other Lords, for as for himſelf, he ſhuld not liue. And whē they wept at the words, he ſayd, he would not leade thē to a fight, by ẏ which he might rather hope for a glorious death, thā a ſure & triumphāt victorie. About midnight, was heard ouer al ẏ citie ſuch a pleaſant noyſe & muſicke, as is wont to be vſed in ẏ ſacrifice of *Bacchus*, the which wēt forth of ẏ Citie into the enimies Camp. It was expounded, that the God, whom he had moſt ſerued, did now alſo forſake him. In ẏ morning, he brought forth his footemen, & placed thē vpō the hilles about the citie, where he ſtood to ſée ẏ ſucceſſe of his naūie, the which comming nigh to ẏ enimie, ſaluted thē as friends, & they did the like, & ſo yéelded to thē. When this was perceyued, *Antonyes* horſemē fled to *Cæſar* alſo: his footemen did fight it out, & were ouercome, which being done, he retired into ẏ citie, crying, he was betrayd of *Cleopatra* to thē, againſt whome he had made war for hir ſake. She being afrayd of his furie, got hir into hir Sepulchre, cauſing the bridge to be drawne, & to be kept cloſe and ſhut. This done, ſhe ſent one out to tell him that ſhe was dead. Whē he heard it, he ſayd, Why tēptеſt thou *Antony*? Thē he wēt into his Chāber & vnharnelled him, ſaying, O *Cleopatra*, I am not tormented that I am without thée, for I wil ſone be with thée, but that I being ſo great a Captayne, ſhould be preuēted of thée, ẏ art but a womā, in ſuch a caſe of fortitude. *Heros* his faithful ſeruāt was with him, whom before he had ſworne to kill him whē he ſhould commaund it: Now (ſaith he) is the time for thée to do it, and take him his ſword. He turned his face and killed himſelf, and fell dead at *Antonyes* féete. Ah god *Eros* (quoth *Antony*) where thou couldeſt not abide to doe it to me, thou haſt taught me to do it my ſelfe, and ſo he thruſt the ſword into his belly, and layd downe vppon his bed. The ſtroke was not ſo great, as it could diſpatch hym, there fore he commaunded them that were by, to make an end of him, but they went out of the chamber, leauing him crying and lamenting, til *Diomedes* came from *Cleopatra*, to bring *Antony* to hir, who hearing ſhe was aliue, commanded to be caried to hir in their armes to ẏ doze of the monument, which *Cleopatra* would not open, but let downe chéetes & lines to heaue him vp, whyche

Antonyes ſhips forſake him.

His horſemen forſake him.

Antony complayneth of *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* fleeth from *Antony*. Meſſage of *Cleopatra*.

Antonyes greefe

Heros Antonyes man, killeth himſelfe.

Antony thruſteth his ſword into himſelfe.

Diomedes.

Antony is caried halfe dead into the Sepulchre.

A noyſe in the Citie in the night of ſweete muſicke.

she

she and hir two women did, that onely were with hir there. It was a pitifull sight to see him all bloudy, and yeloing the ghost, to be hailed vp so hardly, holding forth his hands, and stretchyng himselfe toward hir, as well as he could, the poore wome not hauing strength ynough to do it, till *Cleopatra* with both hir hãos, bẽding downeward as much as might be, got him vp, they ẏ were below, crying vpon hir to haue pitie vpõ him. Whẽ she had him in, she layde him vpõ a bed, lamenting and tearing hir mourning weede, & wiping the bloud frõ his face, called him Lord, husband & Emperour, forgetting hir owne sorow, for cõpassion of him. He being somewhat cõforted, desired a cuppe of wine, eyther for that he was a thirst, or ẏ he might the sooner be dispatched. Whẽ he had dronke, he wished hir to prouide for hir selfe, so wel as she could, hir honor being saued, & among *Cæsars* frends, to trust *Proculeius* most: and that she should not afflict hirselfe for him, in this great alteratiõ, but rather comfort hirselfe, ẏ she had dealt with him ẏ was most mighty & ful of power, who being a *Romane*, was not thorough cowardise ouercome of a *Romane*. This said, he yelded ẏ ghost, whẽ as *Proculeius* was come frõ *Cæsar*, for whẽ *Antony* had stickẽ himselfe, & was drawẽ vp to *Cleopatra*, *Dercetem* one of his gard toke his bloudy sword, & caried it to *Cæsar*, telling him how it stood: which whẽ he heard, he went into his closet, & wept for *Antonyes* chance, that had bin a valiãt mã, & his cõpanion in many battels. Then he red his letters to his friendes, declaring how proudely & arrogãtly he answered to his gentle letters, & he cõmanded *Proculeius* to do all ẏ he could, to get *Cleopatra* aliue, for he feared the destructiõ of hir treasure, & thought it would be no smal honor to him, if he might bring hir in triũph. She wold not talke wt *Proculeius* wõ, but far of, so as hardly hir voyce could be heard. Hir requeſt was, that hir kingdome might be established to hir children. *Proculeius* bad hir be of good chẽre, and remit al to *Cæsar*, and marking ẏ place, sent word to *Cæsar*, who sent *Gallus* to talke with hir, and he of purpose prolõged the cõmunication, till *Proculeius* hauing got scalling ladders, with two more, got into ẏ window where *Antony* was taken in, & went streight to ẏ place wher she was talking wt *Gallus*. Whẽ one of ẏ womẽ cryed, O vnhappy *Cleopatra*, thou art takẽ aliue. Whẽ she would haue stickẽ hir

A pitifull sight.

VVords of *Antony* at his death

Proculeius.

Antony dyeth.

Dercetem.

Cæsar vveepeth for *Antony.*

Requeſt of *Cleopatra.*

Gallus.

Proculeius getteth into the secret Sepulcre of *Cleopatra.*

Proculeus stayeth *Cleopatra* from killing hirselfe.

hirselfe, for she ware a dagger: but *Proculeus* ranne quickly, and embraced hir with both his hands, saying: O *Cleopatra*, you doe iniurie both to your selfe, and to *Cæsar*, in taking from him the acte of clemencie, and casting an infamie of vnfaithfulnesse. Then he toke the dagger from hir, and cut hir garments, that she shoulde haue no poyson about hir. Then *Cæsar* sent his freemade man *Epaphroditus*, with commaundement, that he shoulde in anye wise see hir kepte aliue, in all other thinges doing most gently and curteously. Then he entred the Citie with *Arrius* the Philosopher, holding him by the hande, that the Citizens might see in what honor he had him. Being come into the common hall, and the Citizens lying prostrate for feare, he willed them to rise, saying, he forgat them, firste for *Alexanders* fame that builded the Citie, then for the beautie of it, thirdly, for *Arrius* sake. The body of *Antony*, *Cæsar* was contente that she shoulde burie, which she did with hir owne hands, by the labour whereof, getting an ague, she was glad she hadde suche a cloke, to refrayne from meate, and kill hirselfe with hunger, whiche, when it was perceyued, *Cæsar* threatned hir the losse of hir Children. Then she was contente to be relæued againe. And after a fewe dayes, *Cæsar* came to see hir, and comforte hir. She lying very homely in hir night gowne, lept out of the bedde, and fell downe at *Cæsars* feete with trembling voyce, and beaute chere. Hir body was deformed with hir owne stripes, whereof the printes were seene: hir eyes were sonke, and hir couloure swart: yet dyd hir behauiour declare, that hir grace was not extinct, whiche dyd appeare out of that forepined and wasted corpse. *Cæsar* willed hir to sit, and he sate by hir, she making excuses, that she had done al for feare of *Antony*, all the whiche when *Cæsar* had reproued, she gaue hir wholly to his mercy, and toke him a note of suche treasure as she had. The which, when one of hir Treasurers *Seleucus* had corrected, that she had hidde somewhat from him, she lepte vnto him, and knocked him aboute the pate, whereat *Cæsar* smyling and blaming hir, O *Cæsar* sayd she, is it not a greefe, that seeing thou doest not disdeyne to visit me in this wofull estate, to be accused of my seruants for keeping a fewe womens thynges,

Epaphroditus. Care of *Cæsar* to keepe *Cleopatra* aliue.

Cæsar honoureth a Philosopher.

Cæsars mercy to the *Alexandrines.*

Cleopatra buryeth *Antonyes* body very princely.

Cleopatra kept from killing hir selfe by hunger.

Cæsar commeth to *Cleopatra.*

Cleopatra submit. to *Cæsar.*

She beateth one of hir seruants.

wherewith I would winne thy wife *Liuia*, and thy sister *Octauia*, to make thée the more fauourable to me. *Cæsar* was glad of these words, thinking she had desire to liue, and granted hir al that and more to, beyond all hope, thinking he hadde deceyued hir, but she deceyued him. *Cornelius Dolabella* a noble yõg mã in *Cæsars* camp, had a great desire to *Cleopatra*, to whom *Cæsar* gaue leaue to come and tell hir, that he would go home by lãd through *Syria*, and that she and hir children should be sent to *Italy* by shippe. When she vnderstode it, she desired *Cæsar* she might first celebrate *Antonyes* funerall, wherwith he was content. She came to the graue with hir women, and sayde, Of late (noble *Antony*) I did burie thée, being free: now I honor thy burial, being captiue, and garded, that I should not consume this wretched body with too much lamenting for thée, whiche is reserued to be shewed in triumph of thée. Other honours at my hand thou shalt not looke for, being ready to be caried away from thée. Nothing did separate vs lyuing, but now in death we must be parted: thou a *Romane*, must lye heere, and I vnhappy *Egiptian*, in *Italy*, so farforth to be partaker of thy Countrey: but if the Gods there can do any thyng, (for ours Gods haue deceyued vs heere) forsake not thy wife, which is aliue, neyther suffer in me a triumph to be made of thée, but burie & close me heere with thée. For of infinite greefes, there is none so great to me, as this shorte time that I haue lyued without thée.

Cæsar granteth all things to *Cleopatra*.

Dolabella is sent to *Cleopatra*.

Cleopatra celebrateth *Antonyes* funerall.

VVords of *Cleopatra*.

When she had ended these laments, and put on garlands, and kissed the graue, she commaunded a bath to be made readye for hir. When she was washed, she wente to meate, and had greate cheere: then a chest was brought out of the Countrie to hir by a man, and the gard asking what it was, he toke away the leaues, and shewed them the figges. They maruelling at the forme and greatnesse of them, the man smiled, and desired them to take thẽ. They suspecting nothing, bad him carrie them in. After this, she sent *Cæsar* hir writings sealed. When all other being remoued, but hir two women, she shut the doores. When hir letters were come to *Cæsar*, he redde them, and founde hir onely requeste to bẽ with greate petition, to be buryed by *Antony*, whiche when hée

Cleopatra deceyueth *Cæsar*.

The Gard is deceyued.

Cleopatras last request to *Cæsar*.

saw, he suspected by and by what was a doing, and was mynded to haue gone streight thither hymselfe, yet first sent to see what was done, but she was dispatched suddaynely. For they that ranne thither, founde no alteration in the Gard, and opened the doores, and found hir dead, lying in a bedde of gold most royally. One of hir women called *Iris* lay dead at hir feete. The other, whose name was *Charmium*, being ready to fall downe dead, trimming the Crowne vpon hir head, to them that cryed, is this well done *Charmium?* yea very well (quoth he) for one that is descended of so many progenitours Kings. When she had said thus much, she fell downe dead by the beds side. They say a Serpente called *Aspis*, was brought among the figges, and couered wyth the leaues, the whiche did sting hir to death, whose nature is, to giue an heauinesse and slæpe, without any shrinking or marke in the skinne, onely putting forth a gentle sweat out of the face, as one were in a trance, and hard to be wakened. Some saye, there were two little spots in hir arme, whiche *Cæsar* eyther beleeued, or else would so haue it beleeued, for in hir Image ỳ he brought into triumph at *Rome*, he set forth the Serpent, and two markes in hir arme. Howsoeuer it was, *Cæsar* was sory it was so chanced, yet did he highly commend hir noble mind, and caused hir to be royally layd by *Antony*, and hir women to be nobly buryed also. *Cleopatra* was .xxxix. yeares of age, and hadde raigned .xxij. whereof .xiiij. was with *Antony*, who liued .liij. yeares, or at the most. lvj. *Antonyes* Images were throwen downe, *Cleopatras* were not remoued, for *Archibius* hir friend had obteyned that of *Cæsar* for a thousand talents. *Antony* had seauen children by three wiues, whereof *Attilus* the eldest was only killed of *Cæsar*, the rest of *Iulia*. brought vp with hirs. *Attilus* was betrayed of hys Scholemaister *Theodorus*, who toke a gowdy iewell from hys necke when he was killed, the which being required, and denyed of him when he had it, caused that he was hanged.

Cleopatra is found dead vpon a bed of gold, and hir two women by hir.

Aspis brought among the figges, did sting hir to death.

Age of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*.

Antonyes children.

Cæsar destroyeth *Cleopatras* children.

Cesarione, whom *Cleopatra* had by the first *Cæsar*, beyng also betrayed of his scholemaster, who she had sent with him, & a great treasure into *India*, was slayne, after she was dead. Hir doughter called *Cleopatra* of hir name, he maried to the flourishing king

Iuba.

Iuba. He promoted *Antonie*, that was sonne to *Fuluia*, to so high fauour, that next *Agrippa* and *Liuias* children, he was chief. She had by *Marcellus* two daughters, and one sonne named *Marcellus*, whom *Cæsar* did adopt & made him his sonne in law. The other daughter was giuen to *Agrippa*. *Marcellus* dying shortly after this mariage, *Octauia* desired that *Agrippa* might marrie hys daughter, & *Antonie*, hyrs. Hir other daughters were bestowed vpon *Domitius Aenobarba*, & *Drusus Liuias* sonne, and steppechilde to *Cæsar*, of whom came *Germanicus* and *Claudius*. *Germanicus* died, & *Claudius* was Emperoure. Of *Germanicus* came *Caius* who was Emperour also. *Agryppina* that had *L. Domitio* by *Aenobarba*, did marrie with *Claudius* the Emperour, who adopted *Domitius*, calling him *Nero Germanicus*, and was Emperour. Thus of *Antonies* race diuerse Emperours issued. Albeit himselfe had the lamentable end that you haue heard, and was the only cause why the *Romane* state was not restored to a common wealth agayne as the noble *Brutus* protested when he died, al whose execrations came vpon *Antonie* before he died. Either for that God would plague *Antonies* euill life: or that he would chaunge the state of that mighty cõmon wealth, whiche had all the worlde at suche a becke, as they might doe what they would, whose outragious dealings as wel in forreine as ciuill murders, displeased God to punish with so great alteration, or else for some secrete determinatiõ for the nativitie of his only sonne Iesus Christ our Lord. For now is *Cæsar* the only Monarche without any competitor at all, and yet had no childe to whom to leaue it, but adopted *Tiberius* his wiues sonne, whome, that she might see Emperour, it is thought shee holpe to dispatche *Cæsar* before his time, who had the title of *Augustus* giuen him, a thing neuer done before to any *Romane*, not onely for augmenting and encreasing the Empire of *Rome*, but also for the decimation and destruction, by which it was assigned vnto him. And after hee had shutte the gates of *Ianus* temple, for that a generall peace folowed through out the worlde, he disposed himself to set good orders in the citie, and made many good lawes for the preseruation of the same, in the whiche time diuerse tokẽs appeared of the cõming of a greater Prince

He vseth one of *Antonies* sonnes in great fauour.

Chaunge of mariage.

Emperours of *Antonies* issue.

Anthony, the cause of the alteration of the *Romane* estate.

Augustus.

Ianus temple shutte onely twyce before in token of generall peace.

Byrth of Ieſus Chriſt.

than he, the Prince of Princes, & king of kings, who was borne into this worlde in his time, to the glory of God in the higheſt, and the peace of the earth to men of good will.

Enuie.

The great enuie that *Iulius Cæſar* his great vncle had procured, neuer fell vpon him, either becauſe men were weary of tumultes, or for that they ſaw ſuch modeſtie in him, as he would attempt no ſuch matter that was ſo odious, that is to ſay, to be called a kyng: Either for that both he and the people had in memorie the malediction & curſing of the old Decree, againſt al the that ſhould bring in the name of a king againe, which his father *Iulius* did not vtterly refuſe, or for that he paſſed not of the name, hauing the rule, or for that the name of Emperour was then ſo great, as *Dictator* was wont to be, whiche before was no otherwiſe than a gratification of the Soldiours to their Capitayne, when he had ſtroken a battell manfully, and ſlaine ten thouſand enimies, at which time it was lawfull for him to be called *Imperator*, as among all other, *Cicero* was in *Aſia*, when he ouercame the *Amanianes*, at *Iſſo*, where *Darius* was ouercome, of *Alexander*. The which name hath continued euer ſince to that ſoueraine Magiſtrate, as well, when the whole Empyre was in the hands of one Monarche, as when it was diuided into two, the one of the Eaſt, and the other of the Weaſt. The which beganne with *Charles* the Great, and hath continued vnto *Rodulphus* that now is Emperour among the *Germane* nation in the weaſt Empire, and ended in the Eaſt, about. 118. yeares ſince, when the Citie of *Conſtantinople* was taken by *Mahumetes* the ſonne of *Amuretes* that made himſelfe a Turkiſhe Monke, and the Emperour *Conſtantine* ſlayne, and all the villanie in the worlde, ſhewed to the poore Chriſtians. So as to him that will haue a Regiſter of the whole number of Emperours, reckening *Iulius Cæſar* for the firſt, ſhall finde them to be. 118. Whereof. 42. haue bene *Germanes*.

The name of Emperour.

Imperator.

Cicero was called Emperour in *Aſia*.

Greecke Emperours.

Mahumetes.

Amuretes.

Germane Emperours.

FINIS.

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1	18 (for	ſhould (reade	ſhall
3	35	Lisbia	Libya
4	1	Duke of Loma	Gulfe of Ionia
4	vlt.	Colligant	Colligault
5	20	of that	of them that
12	13	Paperius	Papirius
16	33	paſtune	paſture
25	25	Hirſians	Hirpians
29	17	Ealernio	Falerno
32	16	Caune	Canne
38	21	Cithegus	Cethegus
50	17	meanes	malice
54	14	warres	wayes
69	vlt.	Garinus	Garganus
70	8	birdes	burdens
73	20	Cateline	Catiline
83	35	that Milo	Milo that
85	26.28.29	Ptotolomie	Ptolomie
95	3	Dittachium	Dyrrachium
97	2	Sypris	Sycoris
100	22	that any	that only
102	14	Baron	Barne
103	1.	of. viii. C.	fauing. 800.
107	34	Vetona	Velona
110	1	ſlingers	ſingers
114	7	foztie	400.
115	18	ſo	ſee
115	27	Methridates	Mithridates
126	9	whſch	with
128	33	Corta	Cirta
129	5	came	comming
140	17	40	400.
161	2	hozſe	holie
ibid.	5	Tituius	Titureius
ibid.	18	Phaberius	Taberius
167	14	Theſe wozds, but as a ſucceſſoz of his tyzannie, muſt be red in the text, after thys wozde (thinke)	
172	33		
174		the	thy

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175		ſtriker	ſtrikers
178	1	hart	haſt
210	3	left	hurt
ibid.	22	touſing	folowing
212	30	Craſſus	Criſpus
223	19	Cornut himſelf	Cornutus killeth himſelfe
232	33	leaue out all the line	
248	27	for or	for
271	28	Ciceronians	Cizicenians
285	7	Caldeans	Calcidonians
ibid.	15	of Saporea	for Saporea
289	3	of	with
ibid.	21	Caſe	Thæſe
290	9	ſloche	flanke
292	17	legates	legion
294	21	yet	after
296	11	Achis	Achais
ibid.	vlt.	Generalles	Generall
305	15	naue	none
307	30	Pergama	Pergamo
309	8	adde this, other Tributes were commanded to Kings & Pzinces & free Cities, according to euery ones habilitie	
ibid.	25	Galace	Galaceans
ibid.	22	Paleſhia	Paleſtina
ibid.	31	Siana	Siciana
315	17	adde this, that the Conſulles ſhoulde rule after the auntient manner, without any lette of the three men.	
324	2	enuies	enemies
326	4	and ſtate	eſtate
339	21	Bithinus	Bithinicus
341	15	wife	neeſe
343	11	Menedorus his	Menedorus as one ruling his
358	2	cingle	circle
359	10	adde	but Pompeis part was ſad
380	19	ſight	ſleyght
378	14	Antioch	Antioche
379	vlt.	of	that
382	1	ſent	tent
ibid.	38	as	all

The second part of Appian of Alexandria.

Wherin be contained so manie of the Romanes expeditions against forraine Nations, as haue bene defended from the spoyle of War, or the decay of time, and bin brought into light and come to our handes.

That is to say:

1 *Against* Mithridates *King of* Pontus, *with his miserable end.*

2 *Against the* Hiberians, *nowe called* Spaniardes, *and among many notable things, the pitiful ouerthrow of the Citie of* Numantia.

3 *Against the* Carthagies, *with the lamentable destruction of that Citie.*

4 *Against* Antiochus *the Great, who after manye losses, made a dishonorable peace.*

5 *Against the* Parthians, *where* Crassus *was slaine, and* Antonie *foyled.*

6 *Against the* Illyrians, *of whose Conquest* Octauius Cæsar *glorieth.*

7 *A fragment of the warr with the Frenche, with whom* Iulius Cæsar *fought tenne yeares togither, and triumphed of them.*

Translated into English by W.B.

Imprinted at London by Ralph Newberie and Henrie Bynniman.

Anno. 1578.

¶TO THE RIGHT HONO-rable, his ſingular good Mayſter, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton, Knight*, Ca-pitaine of the Queenes Maieſties Garde, Vizchamberlaine to hir Highneſſe, and one of hir Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſayle.

THe firſt tranſlatour of this Author into Latin, did make his dedicatiō to two ſūdry Princes: but we haue thoughte good to make your Honor the vvhole patron of our engliſh *Appian*, as vvholy as vve could ſet him forth.

In the former parte hee ſheweth to youre Honoure, the conqueſtes that the Romaynes made, one of another. In this parte hee ſheweth the conqueſtes that they made of other nations: vvherein they vvente ſo farre, that at laſte they fell dovvne, beeyng ouerpreſte vvith their ovvne vvayght. To theſe tvvo kindes of conqueſts, a thirde is to be added, vvhen a man conquereth himſelfe, as *Alexander* did in conteyning from *Darius* moſt faire vvife and daughters, and *Cæſar*, in ſparing to puniſh his greateſt enimies. To vvhom *Cicero* ſayde, that in other victories, fortune, policie, and ſouldiours, might claime a parte, but in this, he alone ſhould haue al the glorie. And vvhen *Darius* died, and vvas holpen therto, by *Polycrates*, he ſayd, for thy paines *Alexander* ſhal giue thee thanks, but the Gods immortal, ſhal giue *Alexander*

lexander thankes, for his magnanimitie shewed to my mother, wife and childrē. By such maner of conquest, your honour shall attaine to moste sure triumphe, the guide of whose Chariot, shal be Grace giuen from aboue, that shal neuer fayle you. How worthy this author is to be read in these matters, his testimonie may be ynough to proue, that wisheth him to be read in the same, afore all other.

Stephanus in his Greeke addition to the Greeke Preface.

Then may it please your Honour to accept him at the hands of your most humble seruaunt, that cōtinually prayeth for your increase of fame and honour, to the seruice of your Prince, and the glorie of God.

Your Honors most bounden seruaunte:

H. BYNNIMAN.



¶ The Authours Preface to the bookes of the Romane wars, with forraine Nations.



Beginning to write the Hiſtorie of the Romaines, I haue thought it neceſſary to declare firſt, the borders of the nations that the Romanes ruled. In the mayne Sea, the moſte parte of the Brittaines is theirs. And goyng to the ſea, by the pillers of *Hercules*, and ſayling aboute theſe pillers, they bee Lordes of al the Ilands, and the firme land, that is inhabited alongeſt the ſea.

The firſte on the right hande of that ſea, be the *Marouſians*, the other be the nations of the *Lybians* as farre as *Carthage*, beyonde whome be the *Nomadians*, whome the Romaines call *Numidians*, and the Countrey *Numidia*. The other *Lybians* do inhabite about the ſhallowe ſeas, to *Cyrene*. Then *Cyrene*, the *Marmaridans* and *Ammonians*, and they that dwell at the lake of *Mœa*, and the great citie which *Alexander* did build in *Egipt*, with *Egipt* it ſelf, as farre as a man may ſayle in *Nilus* to the Caſte *Ethiopians*, and by ſea, to *Peluſio*.

Then tourning the courſe to *Syria* and *Paleſtina*, and beyond them you go to parte of the *Arabians*. The *Phœnitians* bordure vppon the *Paleſtines* at the ſea, and beyond the *Phœnitians*, the hollow part of *Syria*, vnto the floude *Euphrates*. From the ſea aboue the porte *Minaris*, and the ſandes of *Palmiria* to *Euphrates*. They had the *Cilicians* of *Syria*, and the *Cappadocians* their neighbours, & parte of *Armenia*, called *Armenia* the leſſe. And all the nations about *Euxinus Pontus*, obeyed the Romaynes. And the *Syrians* and *Cilicians* that be toward the ſea. The *Armenians* and *Cappadocians* inhabiting the nations of *Pontus*, & they of the middle land, which they

These pillers or hylls of *Hercules* be in the ſtraightes of *Gades*, beyõd the vvhiche it vvas thought no mã could go.

Moores inhabite *Mauritania* vveſt vvarde.

Libia, otherviſe called *Affrica*, is the third part of the vvorld, diuided frõ *Aſia* by the floude *Nilus*, and from *Europa*, by the ſea, that is called *Medi terraneum*.

Nomades vvere they that alvvai followed theyr flocks, and chaũged their places of paſture

There be tvvo ſhallovve ſeas called *Syrtes*.

Marmaridans bee thoſe people of *Affrica*, amõg vvhych be they that be called *Pſilli*, vvhoſe ſpeetle killeth ſerpents, as *Cato* proued vvhen he vvent againſt *Iuba*.

The hollovve parte of *Syria*, is called *Celoſyria*. *Peluſium* is the furtheſt Cittie of the coaſte of *Egipt*. *Palmyra* is a free Cittye in the confines of the *Romane* and *Parthian* kingdomes.

they call *Armenia* the great, of the whyche the Romaines take no tribute, but they receiue kings by their appointment. From *Cappaducia* and *Cilicia* to *Ionia*, is the great lande like an Ilande whiche hathe *Pontus Euxinus* and *Propontis*, and *Helespont* on the right hande, and the *Aegean*, *Pamphilian*, and *Egiptian* sea on the lefte side, for they say it maketh almost an Ilande on both sides, and as men go to the *Egiptian* Sea, there be the *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, and after them *Caria* to *Ionia*, and the *Galatias*, *Bythinians*, *Mysians* and *Phrygians*, be aboue *Euxinus*. In the midde land, the *Pisidians* and *Lydians*. So manye nations inhabite *Cherronesus*, of all the whiche the Romaines haue rule. On the other side of that sea, they gouerne the nations about *Pontus* and *Mysia* in *Europa*, and the *Thracians* that be aboute *Euxinus*. From *Ionia* beginneth the Gulfe of *Aegeo*, and the other from the sea of *Ionia*, and the narrowe sea of *Sicelie*, and the *Tuscane* sea to the pillers of *Hercules*. So great is the length from *Ionio* to the *Ocean* sea, and in that coaste, these be the Romaine prouinces. All *Grecia*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia*, and al ꝑtayne vpon *Thracia* and *Illyria*, and the nations of *Pannonia*. Then *Italie* it selfe, the longeste of them all, reaching from the *Ionian*, to the moste parte of the *Tuscane* sea, to the *Celtians*, which they call *Galatias*, and of the people of the Galls, some belong to this sea, and some to the north *Ocean*, and some at the riuer of *Rene*. And all *Iberia* and *Celtiberia*, that ende in the weast and north *Ocean*, and *Hercules* pillers. I wil declare euidently of all these Nations, when I shall wryte of euerye Nation by it selfe.

Propontis is now called *Mare di San Georgio*.

Pamphilia is in *Asia* the lesse, named as some thinke, of the plentye of trees.

Euxinus is the sea that beginneth at *Bussphorus Thracius*, and goeth easte and northe: it was first called *Axenus*, that was *Inhospitalis*, because the inhabitaunts dyd kyll and eate the passengers: but after beeing made ciuill by the *Grecians*, it was called *Euxinus*

Nowe we haue tolde with howe great borders their Empire is compassed by sea. To him that will trauaile on the land, ther is a parte of *Mauritania* that goeth towarde the Weaste to the *Aethiopians*, then the other more desert, and wylde parte of *Lybia*, to the Easte *Aethiopians*: Thys is the bordure of the Romaines in *Lybia*.

Rhenus is the floude that diuideth *Germany* from *Fraunce*.

Iberia &c. now *Spaine*.

Of *Asia*, the floude *Euphrates*, and the hill *Caucasus*, and the kingdome of *Armenia* the great, and the *Colchians* that be about the Sea of *Euxinus*, and the rest of that sea. In *Europa* two flouds *Renus* and *Hister* doth chiefly diuide the Romane Kingdome. Of

Euphrates is a floude of *Mesopotamia*.

Caucasus an hyll diuiding *India* from *Scythia*.

Hister, is the same flood in *Illyria*, that *Danubius* is in Germanie the greatest flood in *Europe*.

Daci now *Valachia*, the people where called *Daci* or *Dani* lying to the *Getes*, of whom the *Athenians* toke their names of ye mauntes in *Comedie* as *Davus*, *Geta*.

Cyclades, be the Iles in the *Aegean* Sea.

Sporades, be Iles about *Creta* in the *Carpathian* Sea.

Echinades, be big Iles next to *Acarnia*.

Tyrrenides be the lands in the *Tuscane* Sea.

Myrtoan sea, is part of the *Aegean* sea.

Brittaine now England so great as it seemeth a mayne lande.

Aristocratia is a rule of the best sort of men.

C. Cæsar.

Kinges.

Emperours.

Emperor is he that is generall of an army.

thes, *Renus* runneth to the north *Ocean*, and *Hister* into *Euxinus Pontus*. And in some place they goe beyond, and rule the nations that bee beyonde *Rene*, and the *Getes* that bee beyonde *Hister*, whom they call *Dacies*. These be their boundes by land, as neare as I coulde gather. All the Ilandes that be in the Sea, *Cyclades*, *Sporades*, *Hiades*, *Echinades*, and *Tyrrenides*, & *Mnesia*, or whatsoeuer other name they haue, about *Libya*, *Ionia*, *Aegipt*, *Myrto*, or *Sicilie*, or what otherwise they be called in the Sea: All these be subiect to the *Romanes*, and they that for their excellencie, be named of ỹ Romanes great Ilands, as *Cyprus*, *Creta*, *Rhodes*, *Lesbus*, *Euboia*, *Sicelie*, *Sardus*, and *Cyrnas*, and whatsoeuer other elle. Then passing the north *Ocean*, into ỹ Ile of *Brittaine*, which for ỹ greatnesse maye seeme an other continent, they haue ỹ best parte of it, more than halfe, the reste they passe not of. For that parte which they haue, is not fruitfull to thē. As great as al these natiōs be, was ỹ greatest labour to thē to conquere *Italy*, which they could hardly do after. 500. yeares, halfe of ỹ tyme being vnder kings.

But when they had expulsed their kings and swore that they woulde no more receiue them, they vsed the rule of the best meane, and hadde them yearely chosen two hundred yeares after the. v. C. Their Empire waxed moste greate, and they were Lordes of infinite forraine power, and subdued the most nati ōs. Thē *Caius Cæsar* getting the vpper hand, made it a sure state, he kept still the forme and name of a Commō wealth, but made himselfe a Monarchie ouer all, and so the rule hath continued in one to thys daye, whome they call not Kings, as I thinke to auoide their olde othe, but name them Emperoures, whiche is the title of them that rule armies for a tyme: but in all purposes they be Kings. And Emperoures haue continued to thys tyme aboute two hundred yeares more, in the whiche the Citty hath bin chiefly beautified, and the reuenue moste encreased, & all things being in long and sure peace, brought to perfect felicitie. For the Emperoures haue made some of these to be of their dominion by force, and haue holden in, them that reuolte. Therefore by good skill they hadde rather keepe that be moste profitable aboute the Sea, and encreace them, than to extende their dominion to barbarous nations, poore, & vnprofitable

table, of whome I haue seene Embassadoures come to *Rome*, to yelde themselues subiect, and not receyued of the Emperoure, as vnprofitable to him. To other many nations they appoint kings, bycause the Empires hadde no neede of them, some subiectes must be kepte, for a shame to forsake them, though they be poore. Greate armyes be in euery place, as in a circle, by the which they keepe so greate lande and sea, as one place. There was neuer Monarchie that was so great, or continued so long.

The state of *Grecia*, if a man will begin frō the time of *Darius* army, in the which they most flourished, vnto the time of *Philip*, *Amyntas* sonne, though he put togither the power of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Thebanes*, shall not appeare so mighty a thing, for they contended rather for dignitie among themselues, thā to get dominiō, and thought no matter so noble, as to maintaine their libertie againste strange kings that molested them. If some of them sayled as farre as *Sicelie* in hope of rule, they were ouerthrowen. If any went into *Asia*, they did little there, and returned. And to cōclude, the power of the *Grecians*, though it were cōtētious for ỳ rule, it proceded not surely out of *Grecia*, but shewed they would kēepe it from seruitude, & vnconquerable as muche as they could; but after *Philip* & *Alexander*, I thynke they haue done very euil, & vnwoorthy thēselues. The Empire of *Asia*, is not to be cōpared to the least of ỳ feates and vertue of *Europe*, for the weakenes & faintnesse of their nations, the which this present wrighting shal declare; for the *Romanes* with a few battels got so many nations of *Asia*, as now they cōmaund, although they were defended by ỳ *Macedonians*; but they had great labour about *Europe* & *Libya*; the dominiō of the *Assyrians*, *Medians*, & *Persians*, thrée of the greatest powers, til *Alexander*, *Philips* sonne, though he reckon fyue. C. yeares ỳ they cōtinued, can not cōpare with the *Romane* Empire as it is now, and ỳ greatnes of their Empire, is lesse by halfe I thinke, if it be well considered, for the *Romanes* reach frō the West *Ocean*, to the hill *Caucasus*, & the flood *Euphrates*, and to the *Aethiopians* that be about *Aegipt* and *Arabia*, to the East *Ocean*. And their boundes is, the *Ocean* of the sunne rising and setting. They rule all the inwarde sea, all the Ilands, and the *Brettanes* that be in the *Ocean*.

Grecia.

Darius the first king of *Persia*, that had *Cyrus* daughter to wyfe.

The *Athenians* were ouerthrowen in *Italy*.

The power of *Grecia*.

The rule of *Asia*.

Europe.

Asia.

¶. iij. The

Perſicus Sinus from the eaſt hath the red ſea and from the weaſt *Arabia*.

The *Medians* and the *Perſians*, when they had moſt of the ſea, it was no further than the Gulfe of *Pamphilia*, and one Ile of *Cypres*, or verie little of the *Ionian* ſea, for the ſea of *Perſis* which they had, was no greate matter.

Macedonia. *Phillip*.

The *Macedonians* before *Philippe*, had very little power, and to ſome they were ſubiects. The labour and trauaile of *Philippe*, is not to be accompted light, but it was onely aboute *Grecia*, and one region.

Alexander.

Under *Alexander*, for the greatneſſe, multitude, felicitie, and ſpædyneſſe, this dominion in a ſhorte ſpace, became infinite, and incomparable, but bycauſe of the ſhort time, it was like a bright lightning. The whiche beyng diuided into manye Prouinces, part of them continued noble a good whyle. But our kings only dyd maintaine two hundred thouſande foteimen, fortie thouſand horſemen, three hundred Elephants vſed to the warre, two thouſande armed Chariots, and ſo muche armoure as woulde ſerue three hundred thouſande. Beſides this prouiſion for the lande, they had two thouſande of the ſmall veſſels, and of galleys little and greate a thouſande fyue hundreth, with double furniture: eyghte hundred ſhippes of ſhewe, whiche they vſed for pompe, with ſtems, and ſternes of golde, ſeauen hundred and fortie talents of *Egipt*, in their treaſure, al the whiche appeareth by the Princes recordes, which be yet extant.

The power of the kings of *Aegipt*.

The ſeconde king of *Egipt*, after *Alexander*, who of al other, was moſte able to ſpende, moſt bountifull to beſtow, & moſt deſirous to get, lefte this behinde him: Other Princes were not muche inferiour, but by mutuall diſcorde of their poſteritie, which is the onely deſtruction of great kingdomes, they came to nothing.

Ptolomaus Lagus, vvas the mightieſt after *Alexander*.

But the *Romane* Empire paſſed for greatneſſe and felicitie, for continuaunce, and wiſedom in the Senate, neither wanted they manhode, nor patience, nor paineſulneſſe, til they had eſtabliſhed their power, nor gaue place to miſfortune: they laſte ſometime twenty thouſande, ſometyme fortie and fiftye thouſand at a battaile; diuerſe tymes the Citie was in daunger by famine, peſtilence and ſedition. Yet all this woulde not abate their ambition,

At *Trebbia*.
At the lake of *Perugia*.
At *Canne* novve *Barletta*.

by

by the ſpace of ſeauen hundred yeares, ſtryuing with paine and perill, till they brought their dominion, (képing ſtil one trade,) to this heigth, as they receyue moſte ample fruits of their wiſedome and happineſſe.

Theſe things many *Gretians* and *Romanes* haue put in writing, and the Hiſtorie is farre exceéding the *Macedonians*: and where as I haue conſidered their valiauntneſſe, and would ſée it in euery nation, my penne hath carried me, from *Lybia* to *Iberia*, & from *Iberia* into *Sicilie* or *Macedonie*, or to embaſſages, & confederacies of ſundrye nations, and then brought me againe as a forced man to *Sicilie* and to *Carthage*, and eftſoones carried mée away from theſe vnperfect, til I had gathered by partes, howe of tthey ſent ambaſſadours or armyes into *Sicily*, and what they did in that Iland, til they had conquered it. Thé how many ambaſſages, how many leagues were made betwéen them, what ouerthrowes on both ſides were giuen, till *Carthage* was ouercome, and *Africa* made a prouince, and then *Carthage* reſtored againe, to the ſtate that it is nowe. I haue done the like in euerye prouince, bycauſe I would know, what the Romaines did euery where, that I might ſée the manhode or kayntneſſe of al natiõs, and the vertue and fortune of them that conquered, and whatſoeuer other matter chaunced. Thinking this woulde be acceptable to other alſo, to vnderſtand the Romaines actes, after thys ſorte, I haue written of euery nation by it ſelfe, leauing to write what was done in the meane time of other, placyng them ſeuerally.

To ſet the times to euery thing I thought it too much, the moſte notable, I will expreſſe by their diſtance of time.

At the firſte the Romaines had one name, as al other: after came another, and at length, the thirde alſo was added to ſome of them, to be knowen by ſome marke of body or vertue of mind, as the *Grecians* had ſurnames ioyned to their names. Some time I wyll put all, chiefly of the noble men, that they may be the better knowen, the moſt I will name by the one or the other, as ſhal be moſte fitte. And where there be three bokes that declare the Romaines doings in *Italie*, I call them three, the Romaines

The Romaines haue diuerſe names.

The diuiſion of the vvorkes.

Actes

aces with the *Italians*, and for the multitude of matter, are thus diuided. The firſte, contepneth the reignes of the ſeauen kings, therefore I call them, *The Hiſtorie of the Romane Kings.*

Then followeth the Booke of matters done in *Italy*, beſide them that dwell in the coaſt of *Ionia*, the which Booke for a difference is called, *The Romanes warre after the Kings.* The laſt of all in that land were the *Samnites*, next the *Ionian* ſea, a nation moſt fierce and warlike fighting with the *Romanes* foureſcore yeares, till they and the *Grecians* their fellowes that inhabite *Italy*, were ſubdued; and this booke, for the difference from the other two, is called, *The Romanes warres with the Samnites.* All the other haue their ſeuerall titles, as, The *Romanes* warre with the *Galles*, the *Sicilians*, the *Iberians*, with *Hannibal*, with *Carthage*, with *Macedonia*, and ſo forthe. The order of the whiche, is after the order of the time in the which they were done, though that many other things happened by the way.

Samnites, nowe *Abruzo*, part of the Kingdome of *Naples.*

The ciuill ſeditions and warre among themſelues moſt horrible of all the reſt, ſhall be declared by their names that were chiefe doers of the ſame, as *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Ceſar*, *Antony* and *Ceſar Auguſtus*, and the killers of *Ceſar* the elder.

Then ſhall be ſhewed of *Antony* and *Ceſar*, whiche made an end of ciuill warre, when *Aegipt* came vnder the *Romanes* dominion. So all the warres are diuided into bookes of their nation, or to the names of the Captaines, if they be ciuill.

The laſt booke ſhall declare what armies they haue, what reuenue they take of euery Nation, what charges they be at with their ordinarie garriſons by ſea, and ſuche other. And ſeeing I ſhall wright of their vertue, it ſhall be fitte to beginne of their originall. Who I am that haue written theſe things, many knowe, & I haue ſhewed it before, and to tell it more playnely, I am of *Alexandria*, accepted in my Countrey, and exerciſed at *Rome* in cauſes of Iuſtice, touching the Emperoures, til it pleaſed them to thinke me worthy their ſeruice. He that will know the reſt, may learne it of the Bookes that I haue written.

Appian a counſellour to the Emperoures in ciuill cauſes.

The

¶ The *Romanes* warre with Mithridates King of Pontus: by Appian of Alexandria.



When the *Romanes* had ouercome *Mithridates* the King, after. xlij. yeares warre, they made *Bithinia*, *Cappadocia*, and other nations, bordering vppon thē, inhabiting the sea called *Euxinus*, subiecte vnto them. And in the same warre they wonne of *Cilicia*, those that were not yet of their obedience, and of *Syria*, *Phœnitia*, & *Cœlosiria*, and *Palestina*, and the middle land, to the flood *Euphrates*, not being vnder *Mithridates*, but by the violence of that victory. And to some they put tributes by and by, & to some afterward. *Paphlagonia*, & *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, and *Mysia*, ioyning to *Phrygia*, and after them *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and *Ionia*, and all the rest of *Asia*, that is aboute *Pergamo*, and old *Grecia*, and *Macedonia*, whiche *Mithridates* hadde gotten, they recouered some agayne: and to manye of them appointed tributes, that neuer had payd any. For ỹ which I thinke they call this chiefly the greate warre, and the victory of it also greate, and the Captayne of it that was *Pompey* in their proper language they name greate to this day: for the number of the nations that they toke or recouered, and the long time of fortie yeares, and the boldnesse and payneſulnesse of *Mithridates*, mightie (as appeared) at all assayes. He had aboue foure hundreth Shippes of his owne. He had fiftie thousand Horsemen, and two hundred and fiftie thousande fotemen, engines, and munition accordingly. Kings and Princes were his confederates. The *Armenian*, the *Scythian*, and *Pontus*, and the fenne of *Meotis*, and from thence to the streightes of *Thracius*. He sente to the *Romane* Captaynes that were at warre togither, and to stirre *Spayne* & gainst them, he made amitie with the French to moue agaynste *Italy*. He filled the Sea with Pirates from *Cilicia*, to the pillers of *Hercules*, whiche made, that no trafficke nor sayling could bee

Cœle is one of the partes of *Syria*, the vvhich is hollovv, for so signifyeth the vvord.

Thracius Bosphorus nevv the streightes of *Constantinople*.

from one Citie to another, and wrought a great famine in euery place. And generally, he lefte nothing vndone or vndeuised that coulde be done, to stirre vp the greatest motion among all men, from the East to the Weast. For either they made warre, or sent ayde, or robbed or vexed their neyghbours. This warre was variable, and in the end brought the *Romanes* to greatest dominions, for by this, their rule stretched from the West, to the flood *Euphrates*. It was not easie for me to deuide it by seuerall nations, being done togither, and one wrapped with another. Those that could be separated, be told particularly. The *Greekes* thinke, that the *Thracians* did serue at *Troy* vnder *Rhesus*, and that *Rhesus* was killed by *Diomedes* in the night, the whiche matter, *Homere* telleth in his Verses, and that they fledde to the mouth of *Pontus*, which is most streight to sayle into *Thracia*, and that they that wanted Shippes, did remaine there, and toke the lande named *Bebrycia*. They that had shippes, wente beyonde *Byzance*, to that part of *Thracia* called *Bithinia*, and did inhabite at the flonde *Bithia*, and being driuen by famine, returned to *Bebricia*, and named it *Bithinia* in stead of *Bebricia*, of the flood at the whiche they dwelled, and so the name not vnlike in time to be changed, because there is not much difference betweene *Bebricia* and *Bithinia*. So do some thinke. Other suppose that *Bythis* the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Thrace*, did first raigne heere, and so the name was gyuen to both the lands. This I thought good to shew firste of *Bithinia*. Of the Kings that were before the *Romanes*, in number nine and fortie in order, it is méete for me to make some mention in these matters of the *Romanes*. *Prusias* that was called the hunter, married the daughter of *Perseus* King of *Macedonie*, and the *Romanes* and *Perseus* making warre not long after, *Prusias* stode as neuter.

Rhesus King of *Thracia*. 10. Iliad.

Bebrycia in *Asia* the lesse.

Byzantium is now *Constantinople*.

Some call hir *Sera*, that was sister to *Rhesus*.

Prusias Cynigus.

Perseus being ouercome, he mette with the *Romane* Captaines, wearing a *Romane* garmente called *Toga*, and hauyng shoes after the *Italian* manner, and hys head shauen, with a cappe, after the whyche manner they goe which be made free by testamente, beeyng an euill fauoured man to beholde, and a little shorte one. Séeing with them, he spake in the *Romane* tong, *I am a freemade*

The *Romanes* were called *Togati*, and the *Greekes Palliati*.

man.

man of the Romanes, which they call Libertus. He appearing a sighte to be laughed at, was sent to Rome, where being laughed at also, he had pardon. Not long after, vering Attalus the King of Asia that is about Pergamo, he wasted hys lande in Asia. Whyche when the Senate of Rome heard, they sente to Prusias, that hee shoulde not molest Attalus, a friend and confederate to the Romanes. And when he thought muche to obey, the Embassadours sharply commaunded him to obey the Senate, and to come with a thousande horsemen to the confynes to decide the matter, and willed Attalus to bee there with as many.

The behauioure of Prusias disguised.

Libertus that of a seruant is made free.

He despising the small number that was wyth Attalus, and thynkyng he myghte entrappe hym, sente hys Embassadoures afore, as though he woulde followe with his thousande horse, but bringing all his army, went as to a battell. When Attalus and the Embassadours hearde of it, they fledde, euerye man where he coulde. He toke the carriage of the Romanes, and destroyed the towne of Nicephore, and burned the Shippes that were there, and besieged Attalus in Pergamo.

The craftie acte of Prusias.

When the Romanes heard of thys, they sente other Embassadoures, who commaunded Prusias to restore Attalus his losses. Then Prusias was afrayde, and obeyed, and wente hys waye. The payne that they put vpon him, was this, that hee shoulde presently gyue hym twentye armed Shyppes, and in time, fiftie talentes. The Shyppes he gaue out of hande, the talentes he payde in time. He was hated of his subiects for his crueltie, and his sonne Nicomedes well beloued of the Bithinians. Wherefore Prusias suspecting him, sent him to lyue at Rome. And vnderstandyng that he was well beloued there, he wylled hym to obteyne of the Senate, a releals of the money he ought to Attalus, and sent Mena to deale with him, and commaunded Mena that if he coulde gette hym discharged of the money, he shoulde spare Nicomedes, but if he coulde not, he should kill him. Hee sente to thys purpose certayne greate Shyppes, and two thousande Souldyoures. Mena, bycause the penaltie was not forgiuen (for Attalus hadde sente Andronicus to tell, that the payne was lesse than the spoyle,) neyther durst kyll the

Prusias is forced to recompence Attalus.

Prusias practiseth to kill his sonne Nicomedes

yong man, whome he sawe to be worthy to be loued and honoured, nor goe agayne into *Bythinia*. The yong man, knowing of his tarrying, came to talke with him with his good will, and conspired againste *Prusias*, and toke to their praatise the Embassadour of *Attalus*, that he should persuade him to get *Nicomedes* to the Kingdome of *Bythinia*. They met togither in *Bernice*, a little Citie of *Epirus*. In the nighte they wente into a Shippe, there they consulted what was to be done, and were secrete all nighte. When day was come, *Nicomedes* came forth of the Ship, clad with a Kings robe of purple, with a crowne on his head. *Andronicus* meeting with him, saluted him as King, and sent him forth with fiue hundreth Souldioures, which he had ready. *Mena* dissembling, as though he had not seene *Nicomedes* till then, ranne to the two thousand, as though he had bin discontented. Beeyng come to the talke, he sayde:

Nicomedes sheweth himselfe as King.

Mena to the Souldyoures.

'You haue two Kinges, the one at home, the other going on. 'You must needes forsee safetie, and coniecture your well doing, 'as in this, to establish you securitie, by well appointing, whych 'of the two you will haue raigne. The one is olde, the other is 'yong. The *Bithinians* hate the olde, but they loue the yong: and 'the chiefe of the *Romanes* loue this yong man: and *Andronicus* 'being his defendoure, hath promised *Attalus* friendship, hauyng 'a greate Kyngdome ioyning to *Bithinia*, and an olde enimie of '*Prusias*.

When he had sayde thus, and withall declared the crueltie of *Prusias*, and what mischiefe he had done to all men, and the common hatred of the *Bithinians* againste him, and perceyued that they abhorred the wickednesse of *Prusias*, he ledde them strayght to *Nicomedes*, and was the seconde after *Andronicus* that called him King, and garded him with two thousand. *Attalus* receyued the yong man gladly, and required *Prusias* to giue the yong man some Cities to dwell in, and landes to finde him. He answered, he would shortly giue him all *Attalus* Kingdome, for whose sake he had inuaded *Asia* before. When he had said thus, he sente to *Rome* to accuse *Attalus* and *Nicomedes*, and to call them into iudgement: but *Attalus* wente with his armie into *Bythinia*, to whome

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Nicæa was firſt called *Antigonia*, afterwarde *Nicæa*, of *Nicanor* his wife.

Embaſſadors to be laughed at.

Cato.

Nowe *Nicho-*, and of faylers *Comidia.*

Prusias killed.

The *Romanes* made heyres of *Bithinia* by teſtamente.

Who ruled *Cappadocia* before the *Macedonians*, I can not well tell, whether they were vnder a King of their owne, or vnder *Darius*. It ſhould ſeeme that *Alexander* left theſe nations tributarie to the rulers, when he went againſt *Darius*: and ſo it ſemeth that *Amiſus*, a Citie of the *Athenian* kind, did bring in the peoples rule, according to the Countreys manner. And it is ſayde

Amiſus a fayre towne in the confines of *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia.*

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Amiſus a fayre rovvne in the confines of *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia.*

Hieronimus was an Historie writer of *Rhodes.*

of *Hieronimus*, that he did not subdue all these Cities, but by the coast of *Pamphilia* and *Cilitia*, turne another way againste *Darius*. *Perdiccas* that succéded *Alexander* in *Macedonia*, did put to death *Ariarathe*, ruler of *Cappadocia*, eyther for that he reuolted, or woulde haue made it for the *Macedonians*, and appoynted for these nations *Eumenes* of *Cardia*. When *Eumenes* was destroyed, being iudged an enimie to the *Macedonians*, *Antipater* that after *Perdiccas* ruled the Countries that *Alexander* had gotten, sente *Nicanor* to rule *Cappadocia*. And the *Macedonians* not long after béeyng at ciuill debate, *Antigonus* gote *Syria*, and expulsed *Laomedonta*. *Mithridates* béeyng hys familiar, and of the blood royall of *Persia*. *Antigonus* dreamed that he did sowe the grounde wyth golde, and that *Mithridates* dyd carrie the golde to *Pontus*, when it was reaped, wherefore hée toke hym, and woulde haue kylled hym, but he fledde wyth syre Horse, and fenced a place in *Cappadocia*, many reuolting to hym.

Dreame of *Antigonus.*

In thys tumulte of *Macedonie* by little and little, he gotte *Cappadocia*, and the Nations confynes to *Pontus*, and greately enlarging hys Realme, hée lefte it to hys Children. They raigned one after another, tyll the fifth after the fyrste *Mithridates*, whiche made warre with the *Romanes*. Of this flocke the Kynges of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus* comming, I thynke it to bée knowen who diuided the Kingdome, some reigning in *Cappadocia*, and some in *Pontus*.

Thys *Mithridates* was firste a friend to the *Romanes*, and sente Shyppes and some little helpe agaynste the *Carthaginiens*, that was called *Euergetes*, whyche ouerranne *Cappadocia* as a straunger. And *Mithridates* hys sonne succéded, who was named *Dionisius* and *Eupater*. The *Romanes* commaunded hym to gyue place in the Kingdome of *Cappadocia* and to *Ariobarzanes*, that sought to them, and thought himselfe to be nyghe to that Kingdome, than *Mithridates*, or else bycause they suspected the Kyngdome of *Mithridates* growyng so greate, and vnder the hande, woulde diuide it into moze partes, and hée suffered it, but agaynste *Nicomedes*, that was of *Nicomedes Prusia* hys sonne, and by the *Romanes* appoynted to reigne, as in

Euergetes is beneficiall.

his

his fathers kingdome, he sent *Socrates*, brother to *Nicomedes*, that was called *Chrestus*, with an armie, & *Socrates* toke the kingdome of *Bythinia* to himself. At this time, *Mithrias* and *Bagoas*, expulsing *Ariobarzanes* whom the *Romanes* had set in the kingdome of *Cappadocia*, put *Ariarathes* into it. The *Romanes* did restore bothe *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* into their proper kyngdomes, sendyng certaine Embassadours for that purpose, whereof *Manius Acilius* was chiefe: and commaunded *Lucius Cassius* that had a litle armie in *Pergamo* in *Asia*, to helpe to it, and also *Mithridates Eupator*. But hée beyng offended with the *Romanes* for *Cappadocia*, and by them beyng put from *Phrygia*, as wée haue shewed in the Gréeke matters, did not helpe. *Cassius* and *Manius* with that armie they had, and gatheryng a greater of the *Galatians* and *Phrygians*, sent *Nicomedes* into *Bithynia*, and *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, and persuaded them bothe, beyng neyghboures to *Mithridates*, to molest hys countrey, and prouoke hym to warre, and the *Romanes* woulde be their mayntayners in it. But bothe they alyke affeared, durst not prouoke *Mithridates* fearyng hys mighty power. But the Ambassadours vrgyng them, *Nicomedes*, that had promised to gyue the Embassadours muche money for hys restitution, and to the Souldiours, which yet hée ought, and beyng in debte further to the *Romanes* for money lente hym for hys other matters, vnwillyngly hée inuaded *Mithridates* lande, spoyled as farre as the Citie *Amastris*, none resistyng hym or mèetyng with hym. For albeit *Mithridates* had hys armie ready, yet hée refrayned, to haue the more and iuster cause of warre.

Chrestus, good or profitable.

Amastris, the chiefe citie so called of a vvoman of Persia, before beyng named *Cromna*.

When *Nicomedes* was returned home with a great pray, *Mithridates* sente *Pelopida* to the *Romane* Capitaynes and Embassadours, not ignorant that they were his enimies and causes of this inuasion, yet he dissembled, & sought more manifest causes of the warre to come. *Pelopida* told them that *Phrygia* was taken frō them, and *Cappadocia*, that had alwaies bene his auncestours and left him of his father: *Phrygia* was giuen him of your general, as a rewarde for the victorie gotten of *Aristonico*, & neuertheless redéemed of the same generall with a great summe of money.

The Embassador of *Mithridates* to the *Romanes*.

Pow-

‘ Nowe you sée (sayde he) that *Nicomedes* shutteth the mouth of
‘ *Pontus*, and spoyleth his land as farre as *Amastris*, and carried a-
‘ way so great a bootie as your selfe well know. My kyng, hauing
‘ power & will, sufficiente to reuenge, doth suffer that you may be
‘ witnesses of sight of his iniuries. The which bycause you know
‘ and sée, *Mithridates* desireth you, friends and confederates, as a
‘ friende and confederate, for so do the couenants tearme vs, that
‘ you woulde helpe vs against *Nicomedes* that dothe vs wrong, or
‘ forbid him to do vs any more. Thus sayd *Pelopida*.

Embaſſadors of *Nicomedes*.

‘ *Nicomedes* Embaſſadors making aunswere to the contrarye,
‘ sayde, that *Mithridates* had long layd traynes for *Nicomedes*, and
‘ sent *Socrates* with an army for that kingdome, which would haue
‘ bin quiet, and iuſtly ſuffered his elder brother to raigne. Thus
‘ did *Mithridates* againſte *Nicomedes*, whome you (O *Romanes*) ap-
‘ pointed kyng of *Bithinia*. Whereby it is manifeſt, that theſe
‘ things be done not more againſte vs, than againſt you. By the
‘ like authoritie, it being commaunded to the kings of *Aſia*, that

Cherroneſus a land almoſt an Iland, as this was at *Pontus*.

‘ they ſhould not meddle with *Europe*, he hath taken much of *Cher-*
‘ *roneſus*, and theſe be his actes againſt you, of deſpighte, diſdeyne,
‘ and diſobedience. His great preparatiō and ſo great furniture,
‘ as to a great and notable warre, as well of his owne armye, as
‘ of confederates of *Thracia* and *Scythia*, and other nigh nations.
‘ He hath married with the kyng of *Armenia*. He hath ſente into
‘ *Egypt* and *Syria*, to allure thoſe kings. He hathe thrée hundreth
‘ armed Shippes, and is making more. He hath ſent for maiſters
‘ and gouernoures of Shippes into *Phenicia* and *Egypt*. All this is
‘ not againſt *Nicomedes*, but againſt you (O *Romanes*) done by *Mi-*
‘ *thridates*, diſdeyning euer ſince you haue commaunded hym to
‘ leaue *Phrygia*, as no right poſſeſſion, which by decepte he bought
‘ for money of one of youre Generals. Being greéued alſo that
‘ *Cappadocia* is giuē by you to *Ariobarzanes*, fearing your increaſe,
‘ and taking occaſion againſt you by vs, and if he can, to deceyue
‘ you. It is wiſedome not to tarrie, till he conſ[illegible] to make warre
‘ againſt you, but rather to loke to his actes, than to his wordes,
‘ nor to be decepued with his counterfet name of frendſhip, and
‘ to forſake youre true and firme friendes in déede, neyther to ſée

your

pour ſudgemente of our Kingdome to be deſpiſed of him that is an enimie both to vs and you. Thys ſayde *Nicomedes* Embaſſadoures.

Pelopidas came agayne to the *Romanes* audience, once more accuſing *Nicomedes* of the things that were done of old, and prayd the *Romanes* to be Iudge. Theſe things that now be done (ſayde he) he hath done in your ſight. *Mithridates* Kingdome he hathe diminiſhed, the Sea he hath ſhutte, ſpoples he hathe carryed away. This needeth no debating or conſultation, but we once agayne pray you, eyther to correct that is done, or to help *Mithridates* do that, that hath ſuffered the wrong, or laſtly (O *Romanes*) not to forbidde hym to reuenge himſelfe, but let them two trye it out. This aunſwered *Pelopidas*.

It was certayne that the *Romanes* fauoured *Nicomedes*, and for a faſhion heard their controuerſies: but ſomewhat they were moued at the wordes of *Pelopidas*. And bycauſe *Mithridates* was yet in leagüe with the *Romanes*, and ſtode in doubt what to aunſwere preſently, and hauing with wiſedome conſidered the matter, they aunſwered thus. Neyther will we haue *Mithridates* ſuffer any thing wrongfully of *Nicomedes*, neyther ſuffer warre to be made vpon *Nicomedes*, for we thinke it not good for the *Romanes*, that *Nicomedes* ſhould be hurt. When they had thus ſayde, and *Pelopidas* woulde haue made aunſwere to their ſentence ſo doubtfull, they wente from the ſeate. When *Mithridates* ſawe that he was manifeſtly iniured of the *Romanes*, he ſent his ſonne *Ariarathes* with a great armye, to reigne in *Cappadocia*, and he expelled *Ariobarzanes*, and had the kingdome. *Pelopidas* comming agayne to the *Romane* officers, ſaid thus:

The *Romanes* aunſwere.

What *Mithridates* hath borne at your hãds (O *Romanes*) being ſpoiled of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, you haue heard. What hurt *Nicomedes* hath done him, you ſee, & let it paſſe, we appealing to your amitie and leage. And as though we were the accuſers, and not accuſed, you aunſwere, that you thinke it not profitable for the *Romane* ſtate, that *Nicomedes* ſhoulde be hurte, as though he were iniured. You (O *Romanes*) are the cauſe that things be done in *Cappadocia*, againſte the ſtate of *Rome*. For thorough youre con-

tempt of vs, and your subtill aunsweres, *Mithridates* hathe done thys, and now he sendeth Embassadoures against you to youre Senate, to whome he sendeth you worde to aunswere: and that you attempt not begin any thing to kindle this warre, withoute the common consent of the *Romanes*. And that *Mithridates* hathe in his fathers kingdome conteyning in length twenty thousande furlongs, gotten many nations about hym, *Colchos* a warlike nation, and the Grekes that dwel at *Pontus*, and the *Barbarians* that be nert them. He hath friends ready to do his commaundement, *Scythians*, *Taurians*, *Basternians*, and *Sarmatians*, and all that be about *Tanais*, and *Hister*, and the fenne of *Maotis*. *Torbanes* of *Armenia* is his sonne in lawe, and *Arsaces* the *Parthian* hys friende. He hath a nauie of shippes, whereof some be readye, and some to be made, and a furniture conuenient in all poyntes. The *Bithinians* dyd not nowe saye untruely to you, of the kynges of *Egypt* and *Syria*, who be lyke, not onely to take oure parte, if warre be made, but also *Asia*, that you haue lately gotte. *Grecia* and *Libya*, and many nations of *Italy*, that can not beare youre ambition, do make an endlesse warre wyth you, whych bycause you can not ceasse, you sette *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* vppon *Mithridates* by turne. You say you are friends and confederates, and you aunswere so, but you vse hym as an enimie. Nowe then go to, if of things past you repente yée, eyther forbidde *Nicomedes* to molest your friends, and if you doe this, I promise you that *Mithridates* shall ayd you against the *Italians*, or breake that fayned friendship, or let vs goe to be iudged at *Rome*. This sayde *Pelopida*. And bycause it seemed to presumptuous, they commaunded that *Mithridates* shoulde not deale with *Nicomedes*, nor *Cappadocia*, and that they woulde sette *Ariobarzanes* in his kingdome agayne, and that *Pelopidas* shoulde depart fro their Camp, and no more returne as Embassadoure, except the king woulde stand to this order. Thus they aunswered, and sente hym awaye wyth kepers, that he shoulde corrupte none as he wente.

Eight of these furlongs maketh a mile.

Maotis the great fenne in *Scythia*.

The Embassadors make warre vvithout the consent of the Senate.

When this was sayde, not tarrying the Senates will for the warre, or the peoples consente, they gathered an army of *Bithinia*, and *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia* in *Asia*. They owne

owne armye which *Lucius Caßius* had in *Aſia* was ready, and all their confederates gathered togither, whyche they diuided into diuers Campes. *Caßius* in the middeſt of *Bithinia* and *Galatia*, *Manius* that way that by *Bithinia* was againſt *Mithridates*. *Appius* with another army at the hylles of *Cappadocia*, hauing horſe and fotemen, to the number of foꝛtie thouſand. They had a nauie of Shippes, whyche *Minutius Rufus*, and *Caius Pupilius* gouerned, kéeping the mouth of *Pontus*. *Nicomedes* came to them wyth fiftie thouſand fotemen, and fiue thouſand horſemen. So greate an army had they ready. *Mithridates* had of his owne two hundꝛeth and fiftie thouſande fotemen, foꝛtie thouſande horſemen, thꝛée hundꝛed armed Shyppes, and a hundꝛeth Gallyes, wyth munition accoꝛdingly. His chiefe Captaynes were *Neoptolemus*, and *Archelaus* bꝛéethꝛen, the greateſt parte he ledde himſelfe. His ſonne *Arcadius* bꝛought the ayd of tenne thouſand horſe out of *Armenia* the leſſe. *Dorilaus* ledde thē that were in oꝛder of the mayne fotemen, and *Craterus* bꝛoughte a hundꝛed and thirtie Chariots. So greate pꝛouiſion was on both ſides, when the *Romanes* and *Mithridates* began the warre, the CLXX. Olimpiade. In the large field at the floud *Ammeum*, did *Mithridates* and *Nicomedes* Captaines ſée one another, and pꝛepared foꝛ the fighte. *Nicomedes* ſet al in oꝛder, *Neoptolemus* & *Archelaus* the light harneſed only, and ẏ horſemen ẏ *Arcathias* bꝛought, & ſome Chariots. The fotemē wer yet cōming They ſent a few to take a ſtony hil ẏ was in ẏ playne, ẏ they ſhoulde not be cōpaſſed of the *Bithinians* which were the greater nūber. Whē they ſaw them beaten frō the hill, *Neoptolemus* fearing to be enclоſed, came to the reſcue with ſpéede, calling with him *Arcathia*. *Nicomedes* ſéeing that, ſet vpon them, and there was a great fight and ſlaughter. But *Nicomedes* fiercely following, *Mithridates* men fledde, till *Archelaus* comming on the righte ſide, did repulſe the chacers. Then they cōming all vpon him, he gaue place a little, that *Neoptolemus* & his might returne frō the fight. And whē he ſaw that to be done in déede, he ſet the armed Chariots vpon the *Bithinians*, which with their violence, did teare ſome of thē into two partes, & ſome into more. This acte did muche diſcourage *Nicomedes* hoſt, when they ſawmen cut aſunder yet bꝛeathing, oꝛ tozne in many péeces, oꝛ

The Romanes force.

Mithridates forces.

Ammius a floud.

The fight.

violently carried of the Chariots. The vnpleasantnesse of the fighte, rather than losse by the fight, disordered their battell for feare. Vpon them being thus broken, came *Archelaus* on the front, and *Neoptolemus* and *Arcathias* returning from the fyght vpon the backe. They resisting on both sides, defended themselues a good whyle, but after many of them were slayne, *Nicomedes* fledde with the rest into *Paphlagonia*, the fotemen of *Mithridates*, not being at the fight. The Camp, and the money, and many prisoners were taken, all the which, *Mithridates* vsing gently, gaue them conduct money, and sent them home, making a shew to his enimies of humanitie. This first feate of the great warre with *Mithridates*, affrayd the *Romane* Captaynes, as begunne rashly, without the common consente. For a fewe did ouercome many, without any help of the place, or fortune of the fighte, but by the vertue of the Captaynes, and valiantnesse of the Souldyoures. *Nicomedes* Camped by *Manius*. *Mithridates* wente to the hill *Scoroba*, that is, the bankes of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*. Hys scoutes being a hundreth horsemen of the *Sauromatanes*, meetyng with eyghte hundreth Horse of *Nicomedes*, toke diuers of them, whome *Mithridates* agayne suffered to goe to their Countrey with money for the way. *Manius* going backe, *Neoptolemus* and *Nemanes* an *Armenian* meetyng with him, about the towne *Pachius*, constreyned hym to fighte, *Nicomedes* being gone to *Cassius*, hauing four thousand horsemen, and tenne times so many fotemen, of whome they killed tenne thousande, and toke three hundred prisoners, whome *Mithridates* being brought to him, did let goe, to winne the heartes of his enimies. *Manius* campe was taken, he fledde to the flood *Sangaris*, and passed ouer by night, and saued himselfe at *Pergamo*. *Cassius* and *Nicomedes*, and the *Romane* legates, sette their Camp at *Leontocephale*, which is a very strong towne in the further part of *Phrigia*, and trayned the people that they had of newe husbandmen or artificers, and ioyned more to them of the *Phrygians*. And when both these people were vnwilling, they durst not meddle with men expert in battell, therefore they licenced the, and departed, *Cassius* into *Apamea* with his army, *Nicomedes* into *Pergamo*, and *Manius* to the *Rhodes*. They that kept

Nicomedes fleeth

Mithridates vseth courtesie.

Scoroba.

An other courtesie of *Mithridates.*

Pachius a towne at *Propontid.*

A third curtesie of *Mithridates.* The *Romanes* discontented. *Sangaris* is otherwise called *Coralius.* *Leontocephale.*

kept the mouth of *Pontus*, hearing of this, forsoke it, and the keys & ships that *Nicomedes* had in *Pontus*, were deliuered to *Mithridates*. Thus he at one brunt, getting all *Nicomedes* land, went to it, and set order in the Cities. Going into *Phrigia*, and comming to an Inne where *Alexander* rested, he toke it for a lucky token, that *Mithridates* might lye where *Alexander* had lodged. And he gote the rest of *Phrigia*, and *Misia*, and *Asia*, that the *Romanes* had lately wonne. And sending to the places there aboute, he got *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, and so as farre as *Ionia*, and the *Laodiceans* that inhabit about the floud *Lycus*, and resisted, for *Q. Oppius* a *Romane* Captaine hauing Horsemen and some fotemen hyred, got into the Citie & kept it. He sent his Trumpet to the walles, commanding hym to say, that King *Mithridates* did giue surtie to the *Laodiceans*, if they would bring *Oppius* to him. When they hearde this Proclamation, they lette the hired Souldiours goe frely, and brought *Oppius* to *Mithridates*, with his mace-berers in scorne: and *Mithridates* did no hurt to him, but ledde him lose aboute with him, shewing he had a *Romane* Generall in Captiuitie. Not long after, he toke *Manius Acilius*, that was best of ỳ Embassadors, & chiefe cause of this warre, and ledde him about, being set vpon an Asse, and telling them that loked vpon him, that he was *Manius*, till he came to *Pergamo*, wher he put molte gold in his mouth, reprouing the *Romanes* for taking of giftes. Appoynting rulers in the countrey, he came to *Magnesia*, *Ephesus*, and *Mitelena*, euery one receyuing him without resistance, and the *Ephesians*, throwing away the Images of the *Romanes* that were there, for the whiche they were punished afterward. Going from *Ionia*, he toke *Stratonicæa*, and punished it in money, and set a garrison in the Citie, and seeyng a fayre mayde, he made hir one of his wiues, and if any man be desirous to know hir name, it was *Monime*, ỳ daughter of *Philopanes*. The *Magnesians*, *Paphlagonias*, and *Lycians*, yet resisting, hee ouercame by his Captaynes. And thus did *Mithridates*.

Mithridates lieth in an harborough, vvhere great *Alexander* once did lye.

Lycus.

Q. Oppius.

Laodiceans betray *Oppius*.

Oppius ledde prisoner.

Manius is despighted of *Mithridates*, and cruelly handled.

Mithridates taketh a vvife at *Stratonicæa*.

Monime is made a Queene.

The *Romanes* hearing of thys first force, and inuasion of *Asia*, determined warre against hym, although they were troubled with ciuill strife incessantly in the Citie, and *Italy* was occupyed with great warre at home almost in euery place. The Consuls

Cornelius Sylla appoynted to the roome.

takyng their charge, *Asia* fell to *Cornelius Sylla*, and the warre agaynst *Mithridates*. And where they had no store of money, they enacted to sell the things, that *Numa Pompilius* the kyng had appoynted for the Sacrifices of ỳ Goddes. So great want was ther then, & so great ambition. Some of these thynges were sold, whereof was rayſed .iv. thousande pounde waight of golde, and gaue no more to so great a warre. But *Sylla* was long kept with sedition, as wee haue shewed in the ciuill dissentions. In this meane time, *Mithridates* made many shippes agaynst the *Rhodians*, and wrote secretely to all Princes and rulers of Cities, that they shoulde at the thirtie day, beyng obserued, kyll all *Romanes* and *Italians*, men, women and chyldren that were free, and when they had killed them, to caste them out vnburied, and to diuide halfe theyr goodes to the kyng *Mithridates*, and halfe to themselues. He appoynted a payne to them that buried any or hidde them, and a reward to them that bewrayed or killed them that were hidde. To seruauntes, libertie, to kill their Maisters: to debtours, halfe their debte, to kill their creditours. These *Mithridates* sente secretely to all at once. The daye beyng come, diuerse calamities were seene in *Asia*, wherof these were some.

VVant of treasure in *Rome*.

Mithridates decree of murder.

The *Ephesians* dragged them that were fledde into the Temple of *Diana*, and embraced the images, and killed them. The *Pergamenians*, shotte them to death that were fledde into the temple of *Aesculapius*, and wouldne not be pulled from the images. The *Adramiteans* killed them that swamme into the Sea, and drowned their chyldren. The *Cauneans* beyng made tributarie to the *Rhodians* in the warre of *Antiochus*, and restored by the *Romanes* a litle before, pulled the *Italians* out of their holy common place, whether they were fledde, and first killed the children before the mothers faces, then the mothers, & laste the fathers. The *Trallians*, to keepe themself from the infamie of murderers, hyred *Theophilus* of *Paphlagonia* a cruell man, to do this acte. And *Theophilus* killed them beyng shutte in the temple of peace, & cut of the hãds of some, that embraced the images there. The *Italians* and the *Romanes* suffred these calamities in *Asia*, men, women, children,

Adramitte, a citie of the coaste of *Mysia*.

Cruelty in *Asia*, agaynst the *Romanes*.

Caunus, nowe *Rose*, a towne of *Caria*.

children, free & bonde that were of the *Italian* generation. Wherin it was cuidēt that *Asia* did not this so much for feare of *Mithridates*, as for hate of the *Romanes*. But they suffred double punishment, *Mithridates* shortly after using them cruelly contrary to his fayth, and after him, *Cornelius Sylla*. The *Romanes* hated.

Mithridates sayled to *Coo*, the *Coanes* receyuing him willingly: and he toke the sonne of *Alexander* that reigned in *Aegipt*, leste in *Co* with much money of his grandmother *Cleopatra*, & brought him vp princely. And of *Cleopatras* treasure, he sent much riches, workes, stones, womens aray, and plenty of money into *Pontus*. *Co.* Ilandnovve *Lo* go.

In this time the *Rhodians* fortified their walles & their portes, & prepared al defence, some *Telmissians* and *Lycians* being confodered with thē. All the *Italians* ỹ fledde out of *Asia*, came to the *Rhodes*, among whom was *L. Cassius*, the gouernour of *Asia*. *Mithridates* cōming thither, they pulled downe their suburbes, that ỹ enimie should take no profite by thē, & prepared for the fight by sea, some at the front & some at the sides. *Mithridates* cōming with his galies, cōmaunded his men to extend thēselues into winges a flote, that by their swifte rowyng they might inclose their enimies which were fewer. The *Rhodians* being afraid of cōpassing, gaue place a litle, then turned & fledde to their porte, & shutting it with barres, they resisted *Mithridates* from the walles. He encamping at the Citie, & drawing nighe the porte, & attemptyng the same, tarried for fotemen to be brought out of *Asia*. And there was shorte and continuall skirmishing with them at the walles, in the which the *Rhodiās* hauing the better, were a litle encouraged, and had their ships at hande to encounter the enimy when occasion should serue. A great shippe of the kings passed vnder sayle, the *Rhodians* sent a litle galie against it, and either side helping other diligently, a great fight began on the sea. *Mithridates* beyng superiour in anger of minde, & multitude of shippes, the *Rhodians* with arte setting vpō his nauy, & disordering thē so, as they toke one galie with the men, & much munition & spoyle, & brought hir into the hauen: and being ignorāt ỹ a great Galie of theirs was taken of the enimie, they sent vp. of their swiftest to recouer hir, & *Damagoras* their admiral wēt with thē. *Mithridates* sent. xxv. after Of *Caria* and of *Lyria*. The vvarre of *Mithridates* a-gaynst the *Rhodes*.

him,

hym, who gaue place till it was night. Waxing darke, the kings shippes retourned, and he set vpon them and toke two, and chased other two into *Lycia*, and returned by nighte. This was the ende of the fight betweene *Mithridates* and the *Rhodians*, done against all hope to the *Rhodians*, for their fewnesse, and to *Mithridates* for his multitude. In the fight the king saying aboute to encourage his men, a shippe of *Chia*, in hys naule, crushed the kings shippe in the confusion, the whiche the kyng not dissembling, punished both the Captaine and the Maister, which offended all the *Xians*.

The Kings Shippe crushed by chaunce.

At thys time, the kings fotemē being brought in great ships, & a Pery rising vpon them, they were driuen to *Rhodes*, & the *Rhodians* quickly comming vppon them, being yet troubled with the stormе, they toke some, they crushed some, and some they burned, and toke four hundred prisoners. *Mithridates* preparyng for to fight by sea againe, and to force the towne, he made a certaine engin called *Sambuca* carried in two ships. The fugitiues tolde him, there was a side of an hill that might be scaled, where the Temple of *Iupiter Tabyrius* was, with a weake wall. He put his army in the ships by night, to other he gaue scaling ladders: He commaunded both to goe with silence, till a fire was made from the Temple, and then with a crye as loude as coulde bee made, some to assaulte the towne, and some to force the Porte, and they with silence drewe nighe. The watche of the *Rhodians* knowing this, made a fire, and the army of *Mithridates*, thinking this had bin the fire at the Temple, from deepe silence they cried all togither, as well the Scalers, as the Marriners. The *Rhodians* cried as fast chearefully, and came togither to ỹ wal, so as the kings men did nothing that night, and in the daye, were putte backe, althoughe the Sambuke, affraid the *Rodians* much, casting out once, and many dartes, arrowes and shotte, beeing broughte againste the Temple of *Isis*, and the Souldiours with many scalyng ladders, from their shippes, came forth as they woulde haue giuen an assaulte. The *Rhodians* defended themselues manfully, till the engine brake for waight, and a vision of *Isis* was thought to caste a greate fire vpon it. *Mithridates* des-

Sambuca, was an engine vsed at the siege of Cities, bycause the ropes were so stretched in it as the strings in the instrument of Musicke that is so called.

The *Rhodians* put the kynges men awaye.

Isis is a Goddesse in *Aegipt*.

pairing

paying of this enterprise, sayled from the *Rhodes*.

Being at *Patara* at siege, he cut down the holy woode of *Latone* to make engins, till he was feared with a vision: then he left the woode. Leauing *Pelopida* to continue the warre in *Lycia*, hée sente *Archilous* into *Grecia*, to winne it by force or friendship so much as was possible, and committing many things to his Captains, he trayned and furnished his army, and passed the time with his woman of *Stratonicede*. He sate in iudgement of them that were thought to watch him, or make any mutinie, or helpe the Romaines. And whiles hée was thus occupied, these thinges were done in *Grecia*. *Archelous* sayling with a great nauie well victualled, he toke *Delos* that was reuolted from *Athens* and other places, by violence and power, killing twenty thousande men, of the whiche the moste were Italians, the places he appointed to the *Athenians*, by the whyche, and by other meane they ertolling *Mithridates*, and greatly praysing hym, he brought them and other to his friendship. He sent the holy money of *Delos* to them by *Aristion* a man of *Athens*, and two thousand with him for ỹ garde of the mony, the which *Aristion* using to his purpose, played the Tiranne in his country, and some of the *Athenians* he killed oute of hand, as fauourers of the Romaines, and some he sent to *Mithridates*: yet was he a scholer of *Epicurus* learning. And not he alone in *Athens*, nor *Critias* that was before him, and they beyng professours of Philosophie with *Critias*, were tyrannes, but in *Italy* they of *Pythagoras* schole, and in the other *Grecia*, they that were called the seauen Wise men, when they had rule, they toke vpon them and vsed tyranny more cruelly, than ỹ vnlearned tyrannes. Therefore there is a doubt and suspition of other Philosophers, whether for vertue, or for pouertie, or for lacke of experience, they comforted themselues with Philosophie: Of the whiche now, many being priuate & poore, & couering nede by sapiẽce, they speake bitterly againste rich men and Princes, not for cõtempt of riches, and rule in their opinion, but rather for enuy being caried thereunto. But they that bée slaundered of them, do more wisely contempne them. This one maye thinke to bée spoken of *Aristion* the Philosopher, as by occasion of matter

Patara, a Citye of *Lycia*.

Delos an Ile in the *Aegian* sea.

Aristion by occasion of money plaieth the tyrã.

Philosophers Tirannes.

moued by him. The *Acheans*, and *Lacedemonians* did relent to *Archelous*, and all *Bœotia*, except *Thespia*, whome he beseged.

Thespia a free Towne in *Bœotia*.

At this time *Metrophanes* being sente of *Mithridates* with another armye, did make warre vppon *Eubea* and *Dimetriades*, and *Magnetia*, that resisted *Mithridates*. And *Brittius* comming from *Macedonia* with a small naule did fight with him by Sea, and sinking one greate Shippe and a foyste, he killed all that were in them. *Metrophanes* beholding it, he being afrayde, fledde, and hauing a good wind, *Brittius* could not ouertake him, but toke *Scythus* that was a receypt for the *Barbarian* rouers, he hanged vp the slaues, and cutte off the hands of the free men. Then turning to *Bœotia*, a thousand other Horsemen and fotemen comming out of *Macedonia*, at *Cherona* he foughte three dayes with *Aristion* and *Archelous*, with equall and indifferent fortune on both sides: but when the *Lacedemonians* and *Acheans* were come in ayde to *Aristion*, and *Archelous*, *Brittius* thinking himselfe to weake to match with them all, went to *Pireo*, till *Archelous* came and kept it.

Magnesia in *Ionia* *Demetriada* in *Thessalie*.

Scythius an Ile.

Cherona.

Pireo, nowe Porto Ioue, The port of *Athens*, able to hold four hundred Shippes.

Sylla beeyng chosen generall for the warre againste *Mithridates*, then toke his iourney out of *Italy* with fyue legions, and some other bandes and companyes, and arriued in *Grecia*, gatheryng money and men and victuals from *Aetolia* and *Thessalia*. When he thoughte he was sufficiente, he wente into *Attica* againste *Archelous*, and as he came, all *Bœotia* sauing a few reuolted to him, and so did the greate Citie of *Thebes*, very lightly taking *Mithridates* parte againste the *Romanes*, and nowe more swiftely turning from *Archelous*, to *Sylla*, before they came to tryall. He went to *Attica*, and sending one parte of his armye againste the Citie to beseege *Aristion*, he wente to *Pireo*, where *Archelous* was within the walles, the heygth whereof, was fortie cubites, beeyng the worke of *Pericles*, made of greate stone and square, when the *Athenians* made warre with the *Peloponesians*: and bycause he putte all the victory in *Pireo*, he made it the more strong. *Sylla* being come to the wall, gaue the assaulte forthwith, where muche hurte beeyng done on both sydes, the *Cappadocians* manfully defendyng, beeyng weery, he wente to *Eleusina*, and *Megara*, and made engines againste *Pireo*, by mountes

Thebes in *Bœotia*.

Pireus was made of pinacles, walled two myles of length.

Megara is in *Achaia*. *Eleusina* in *Attica*.

and

and rampires. Artificers, and stuffe, yron, and slings, and suche other, were broughte hym from *Thebes*. He cut downe the wodde of *Academia*, and made greate engines, and toke away the long sides, to cast stones, timber, and earth vppon the rampire.

Academia vvas a shadovvie place, a mile from *Athens*.

There were two slaues of *Athens* in *Pireo*, fauouring the *Romanes*, or foreseeyng theyr safetie if anye thing shoulde happe: they wrote in pellets of leade euer what shoulde be done, and threwe them to the *Romanes* with their slings.

Fidelitie of slaues to the *Romanes*.

Thys beeyng often done, and come to knowledge, *Sylla* hauyng regarde to the matter, founde it thus written, To morrowe, the footemen shall come vppon the face of youre labourers, and the Horsemen shall sette vppon the sydes of the *Romanes*. Therefore he layde an ambush ready, and when the enimie had thought to haue come on ẏ suddayne, he more suddaynelye dyd sette vppon them, kylled many of them, and droue the other into the Sea. And thys was the ende of thys attempte.

Nowe many greate towers beeyng sette vpon the mounte, *Archelaus* dyd make the lyke on the other side, furnished wyth weapons. He sente for more power out of *Chalcidonia*, and other Ilandes, and armed hys mariners, as he that woulde hazarde all. *Archelaus* hadde a greater armye than *Sylla*, and nowe it was muche bigger. At midnighte he issued wyth lyghtes, and burned one of the greate engines, with all that belonged to it. *Sylla* in tenne dayes made another, and sette it where the other was, and *Archelaus* erected a Tower agaynst them on the wall. Another army beyng come vnto hym from *Mithridates*, whiche *Dimoxetes* ledde, he brought them all forth to the fighte, wyth whome he mixed hys shotte, and stode vnder the wall, that the warders myghte throwe vppon the enimies. Other stode at the gates wyth fyre, lokyng for the token to sallie forthe. The fyghte was a long tyme equall, and nowe one and then another gaue place. The *Barbarians* beganne to flee, tyll *Archelaus* commyng vppon them, made them turne agayne, whyche greately afrayed the

Romaines flee and returne a gayne.

Romaines, so that they fledde from them, but *Murienas* met them and returned them, and an other bande was come from *Foragyne* with them, they that were reproued, which seeing the fighte so hotte, gaue a couragious onset vpon *Mithridates* menne, and killed two thousand of them, and droue the other into the walles. *Archelous* woulde haue tourned them backe againe, and in the fyghte tarrying long bycause of his earnestnesse, he was shutte oute, and taken in by a rope. *Sylla* released them of rebuke that were noted, bycause they had fought valiauntlye, and rewarded the Souldioures wyth gyftes accordingly.

The reproued sorte, vvere noted of some cowardlinesse, and called *vituperati*.

Eleusine.

Winter being come, hee placed hys army in *Eleusine*, and made a ditche from the highe places to the Sea, that the ennimies horsemen shoulde not easilye breake vppon them. The whyche hee worcking euerye daye, there were diuerse skirmishes sometime aboute the ditche, sometyme at the walles, the ennimyes commyng & dyng stones, dartes and pellets. *Sylla* wanting Shippes, sente to the *Rhodes*, and where the *Rhodes* coulde not passe, bycause *Mithridates* helde the Sea, hee commaunded *Lucullus* a Noble manne of *Rome*, and Generall of thys warre after *Sylla*, to goe priuilye into *Alexandria* and *Syria*, and to gather an armye of the Kynges and Citties, and to sende it to the *Rhodians*. Hee not fearing the Sea besette wyth Shyppes, toke a light vessell, and chaunging Shippe after Shippe, to be vnknowne, he came to *Alexandria*.

Lucullus diligẽce

The bewrayers at *Pireo*, wrote againe in the pellets, that the nighte following *Archelous* woulde sende to *Athens* being in want, corne vpon soldiors backes. *Sylla* laying in wayte, toke the corne and carriers.

Chalcide novve *Negroponte*, chiefe citie of *Eubœa*.

The same daye *Minutius* didde hurte *Neoptolemus* an other Captaine at *Calcide*, and killed a thousand fiue hundred, and toke moe prisoners.

Not long after in *Pireo* in ỹ night, ỹ watch being asleep, the *Romanes* brought their scales frõ ỹ next mounts, & got the wal, and killed the watch ỹ was next: wherfore some of ỹ *Barbariãs* leapt down, forsaking the wall, as though al had bene takẽ: other turning to fore, killed ỹ leader of thẽ that scaled, and flung downe

the

the other headlong: other getting out of the gates, hadde neere hande burned one of the *Romaines* Towers, had not *Sylla* come with the army, and fought wyth them all that nyght, and the day after, and with greate labour saued it. *Archelous* made an other tower at the wall against the *Romaines*, that they might fight together vpon the towers, whiche they did so oft and so furiously, as it was harde, tyll *Sylla* did caste twentye greate pellets out of his sling, and killed many, and so beate *Archelous* tower, as it was vnprofitable, & *Archelous* was fayne to lie behind the wall for feare. And they in the Citie being more & more pressed with hunger, the slaues signifyed againe in the pellets, that victuall shoulde be sent that nighte into the Cittie. *Archelous* suspecting some treason in bewraying the carying of the victuals, sente the victuall, and set some at the gates with fire, to runne vppon the *Romaines* if *Sylla* woulde force the victuall: and both happened, for *Sylla* toke them that carried the corne, and *Archelous* burned certaine of the engines.

Arathias dieth at *Tidæo*.

At this time *Arcathias Mithridates* sonne inuaded *Macedonia* with an other army, and easily ouercame the fewe *Romaines* that were lefte there, and subdued all *Macedonia*, and appointed rulers, then he marched against *Sylla*, and falling yet sicke at *Tidæo*, died. At *Athens* the citie being in great daunger of famine, *Sylla* made many forts about it, that none shoulde flee, but remaining there, be the more vexed for the multitude, and erecting the mount at *Piræo* very hygh, he planted his pieces vppon it. *Achilous* digging vnder the mount, and taking away the earth long before it was knowne, they made the mount to sincke, whiche being some perceiued, the *Romanes* toke away the engines, and filled vp the earth againe: and they vsing the like waye in undermining the wall, they met together, and fought with their short wepons as much as might be in such a darkenes. Whiles this was a doing, *Sylla* went against the wall with many engines, till parte of it fel, and made way to burne the nerte tower, and carried many lightes to caste vppon it, and commaunded the boldest men to go to the assault. Such thyng done on bothe sides the tower was burned, and *Sylla* had cast downe a parte of the wall, to the which he set a garde by and by. The foundations of the wall being cast

A fight in the night.

downe which was bound with woode: and being ful of sulphure, pitche & flare, al was sone burned, one parte fel after an other, and ouerthrew them ẏ stode vpon it. This tumult beyng sodein and great, troubled all the warders, as though that had fallen also wher vpō they were. Wherfore turning everywhere hastily, being doubtful in minde for feare, they resisted their enimies faintly. And *Sylla* came vpon thē stil being thus affeared, & cheered his owne mē, euer putting fresh to them that were weary, & he went to the assault, giuing thē courage by voyce & person, & threatning thē that were vnwilling, ẏ in this short labour they might make an end of all. *Archelom* likewise came forth with freshe men for them ẏ were afrayd, exhorting & stirring all, as by ẏ onely paine to worke their weale. The great courage & boldnesse being againe on either side, great slaughter on both sides was equall & alike, till *Sylla* comming forth & very wery, blewe the retreate, & praysed the soldiours vertue. *Archelom* by & by in the night repayred the breaches, making vp ẏ was broke, against the which *Sylla* brought his whole army, thinking he might easily beate downe ẏ which was new made & soft. But being tryed againe in that straight place, & beaten both at the face & the side, as in slipperye places, left of the getting of *Pireus* by assault, & entended to winne it by famine, & to continue the siege. And when he vnderstode that they in the citie, were in greater want, & had spent all their beastes, & sodde their skinnes & hides, and vsed the broth for meate, & that some did eate dead flesh, he commaunded his army to cōpasse the citie, that not one should escape: & when this was done, he went straight to the assault, & wonne the wall. And the weake men being fledde, he entred the Citie. And againe great slaughter & murder was in *Athens*, for they coulde not flee for weakenesse, there was no pitie, neither of children nor women, *Sylla* cōmaunding to kill euery man that they mette, for anger, that so some, without cause, they had reuolted to the *Barbarians*, & resisted him so obstinatly. In so much as many hearing the proclamation, did cast themselues willingly to be killed. A few wēt no great pace into the castle, & among them *Aristio*, the place of pastime being first burned that *Sylla* should make no matter of it, for to force the fort. He would not suffer ẏ citie to be burned, but

The assaulte of *Pireo*.

Athens gotten by assaulte.

Sylla vseth the *Athenians* cruelly.

Odeon was the name of the place, in the vvhiche they sang and daunced, & rehersed their verses, and vvente vp to it, as to a vsed Theatre.

but gaue the spoile to the soldiours. They found mans flesh ready dressed for sustenance in many houses. The nert day *Sylla* sold the seruāts to the frēmen, that escaped frō the murder by night, which were very few. He sayd he gaue libertie, and that libertie their posteritie should haue, & also in frē elections which he forbad to thē that were alive. Thus was the citie of *Athens* filled ful of miserie. *Sylla* besieged the castle, the which he easily toke *Aristion* & they ỳ were fled in with him, being ouercom with hunger & thirst. Of the whiche, *Sylla* put to death *Aristion*, & the that serued him, & such as had borne any office, or done anything cōtrary to the *Romanes* order, since the taking of *Gręce*. The other he pardoned, & appointed lawes to al the same almost that were giuen them before of the *Romanes*. He toke out of the castle xl. poūd waight of golde, & of siluer 1000. This was done at the castle a litle after. *Sylla* immediatly after the citie was take, not delaying to take *Pireo* by siege, he brought engines & munition, and many men, ỳ should vndermine the wall with their instruments and beate down many of them that kept the wall by shoting & darting vpon them, and ouerthrew the bowing part of the wall, which was moyst, & weake, being new made. Which *Archelous* thinking before, made many ỳ like within, that *Sylla* might euen haue somewhat to do, finding a new one like ỳ other. But he vsing cōtinual assault wt incessable violence, going among them, & exhorting thē to ỳ mater, as a thing of great importāce & praise, in ỳ which al the hope that they had done, did lie. They of themselues being redy inough, for ỳ glory of so great a feat as to win ỳ wal, wēt to it so fearcely, ỳ *Archelous* being astonished at their vehement motion beyond reason, left the wall vnto thē, & ranne to the strongest parte of *Pireo*, that was compassed with the sea, the whiche *Sylla* for lacke of shippes coulde not attempt. From thence *Archelous* sayled into *Thessalia* by *Bœotia*, and gathered at *Thermopyle* the rest of all his owne army, and that was brought of *Syndromichate*. He called also those that came into *Macedonia* with *Archatias* the kings sonne, a freshe bande and full, beside them that *Mithridates* continually sent, for hee neuer lefte sendyng: and this was done with great vehemencie.

Mans flesh dressed for sustenance.

Libertie giuen to the posteritie of the *Athenians* not to thēselues.

Aristion put to death.

Thermopyle is the greate hill that diuideth *Grecia*, & be the streyght of it vvith hote vvaters.

Sylla burned *Pireo*, whiche was greater labour to him than *Pireo* burned,

the

the Cittie not sparing, nauy, munition, nor other preparation and then he went against *Archelous* into *Bœotia*. Being nigh together, they went from *Thermopyle* to *Phocida*, they being *Thracians*, and *Scythians* of *Ponte*, and *Cappadotians*, *Bithynians*, *Galatians*, and *Phrygians* and al other that fauored *Mithridates*, al the which were C.xx.M. euery one had their chiefe captaines, & *Archelous* was the generall ouerall. *Sylla* hadde *Italians*, *Greekes*, and those *Macedonians* that were reuolted from *Archelous*, and some other of the borderers, not the thirde parte of the enimies number. Being encamped togither, *Archelous* setting his men in order, alwayes prouoking to the battayle, *Sylla* delayed, considering the places and multitude of the enimies, and followed *Archelous* that went into *Calcide*, expecting time and place, when he sawe him conquered at *Cheronea* in hilly places, from the whiche they that wer ouercome could not flee. He being in a plain very nigh, set his men redy, to prouoke *Archelous* to fight against his wil, the playne being for him commodious to marche forth, or to retire at his pleasure, whereas *Archelous* was beset with the hils, so as he coulde not vse his men as he would, nor altogither place them for the inequalitie of the ground. And if they should turne, the harde place woulde hinder their flight. He waying the matter with these difficulties, gaue the onset, knowing that that great multitude would litle profit *Archelous*, who did not think the *Romanes* would haue fought, therfore kept his campe negligently. Whe the battel was begon, then he felte the hardenelle of the place, and perceyued it to late, and sente his horsemen to kepe him of, but they returning, and being driuen to the hils, he sent out Ir. armed Chariots, to see if he could, by their violence, breake and cut the maine battel of the *Romanes*, the which they suffred to passe the front to the ende, diuiding themselues where they were ouerthrowen of the shot, they being vnweldy to turne again. And though *Archelous* might thus haue kepte his campe, being sone at the hils for their defence, yet he set the whole multitude in order, & came vpon *Sylla* on the sodeyne in these streight places, bycause now he was at hand. First he brought forth the horsemen with great violence, and cut asunder the *Romanes* battayle, and eastlye compassed both, for their small number.

Phocis a litle region of *Grecia*.

Cheronea.

Sylla taketh the aduantage of the place.

The armed chariots defeated.

They

They fighting very valiãtly, kept themselues in a ring. They were in greatest daunger that fought vnder *Galba* and *Hortensius*, against whome *Archelous* fought himself, and the *Barbarians* in his sight, shewed great manhode, till *Sylla* came thyther with his horsemen. *Archelous* thinkyng *Sylla* was hée that came, by the shewe of the Ensignes, and the rayſing of so much duſte, leauyng hys compaſſing, went to hys battayle. But *Sylla* brought his horsemen that were beſte, and twoo newe bandes that lay in ambushe, and charged vpon them as they were settyng themselues in order, (for they were not yet al come from compaſſing, nor in due forme at the fronte,) and brake them, so as they were confounded, and turned to flée, the whiche he followed. Beginnyng the victory thus, *Murena* in the lefte wing, furthered the same, very luſtily, and with encouraging of his men, manly followed the chace. When the wings of *Archelous* were turned, the midde battayle did not holde, but fledde also. And then all that *Sylla* had foreſéene, fel vpon the enimie, for not hauing a frée place to turne them, nor a playne to flée, at the hilles they were slayne of them that followed them: some fell into his hãdes, some that were wiſer, got to their campe, whom *Archelous*, ignorant of the feates of warre, commaunded to turne vpon the enimies, when there was no way. They obeyed readily, but wãting captaines, to set them in order, not knowing their proper Ensignes, and beeing fouly diſordered, wanting place bothe to fighte and to flée, beeing driuen into a ſtraighte by them that chaced, they were killed with eaſe: some of their ennimies, whom they could not kill againe: some of themselues, as in a cõfuſion in ſo ſtraight a place. They went againe to the gates, and there gathered together, rebukyng them that shutte them out, rehearſing theyr countrey Goddes, and other naturall familiaritie, that not ſo much of their enimies, as of their diſdayne they were deſtroyed, tyll *Archelous* ſeeyng the néede, opened the gates to late, and receyued them running in with diſorder. The *Romanes* perceyuing this, callyng one an other, with vehemencie & ſwifteneſſe gotte into the cãpe with thẽ that fled, & brought the victorie to an end. *Archelous* & the other fledde as they could, & ſaued themselues at

The ouerthrowe of *Archelaus*.

Calcide, of a hundred & .xx.M., not many more than .x.M. remayning of the *Romanes*, they say there died but .v. & two of them returned, this was the end of the field betwene *Sylla* and *Archelous* capitain general of *Mithridates* at *Cheronea*, chiefly by ỹ wisedom of *Sylla*, & the folishnesse of *Archelous*, this happe had they both. *Sylla* hauing got much armure & spoyle, & taken many prisoners, ỹ vnprofitable things gathered on an heape, being girded after the *Romane* maner, he burned to the Gods of warre. Resting his army a while, he went to *Euripus*, with ỹ light horse against *Archelous*, who wãdred the Ilandes without dread, the *Romanes* hauing no ships to folow him, & toke the coast townes. And going to *Zacynthus* he cãped, as to besege the citie: & where certen of ỹ *Romanes* cãpe, came vpõ him by night, departing in hast, he went to *Calcida*, more like a Rouer thã a warriour. When *Mithridates* heard of this losse, he was troubled againe, & afrayde, as in such a case he might, & gathered an other army of all natiõs about him in hast. And thinkyng ỹ many would now forsake him for this ouerthrow, or for some other occasion, he gathered togither all thẽ ỹ he had in suspitiõ before the warre did ware sharper. First he killed the gouernours of the *Galatians*, which were with him as frendes, & not yet subiect to him, with their wifes & chyldren except thre that fled. To some he layd traynes, some he killed in a night at a banquet, thinking none would kẽpe their fayth, if *Sylla* came, & confiscating their goodes he made *Eumachus* presidẽt of that nation. The rulers that escaped gatheryng an army of their tenaunts of the countrey, droue him & his garisons out of *Galatia*, so as *Mithridates* had nothing of that nation but money only. And being angry with ỹ *Chians*, euersince their ship crushed the kings shippe in the battaile at the *Rhodes*, he came secretely vpon them, & first sealed vpõ their goodes that were fled to *Sylla*. Then he sent to inquire of them that toke the *Romanes* parte in *Chio*. And *Zenobus* that ledde the third army, as though he would haue hasted into *Gretia*, came to the walles of *Chio* & other naked places by night & toke them, and setting a garde at the gate, proclaymed that strangers should not stirre, & assembled the *Chians*, as to say somwhat to them from the king. Whẽ he was come he

Cheronea is a towne in *Beotia* where *Plutarch* was borne.

Euripus is the streight sea that flowyth seuen times a day.

Zacynthus an Ile of the *Ionian* sea.

Crueltie of *Mithridates* against the *Galatians*.

Chio, now *Scio*.

Mithridates spite against the *Xias* for a smal cause.

sayd

sayde the king had the citie in suspition bycause they fauoured the *Romanes*. Your ease must be, to deliuer your armure & your best children for pledges. They seing they? citie already taken, deliuered both. The which *Zenobius* sente by & by to *Erithea*, commaunding the *Chians* to tarrie for the kings letters. *Mithridates* letter came to this effect. You be yet frends to the *Romanes* with whom many of your Citizens be, & you enioy the Fermes that they haue let you, for the which you pay nothing to vs. Further a Galley of yours at the fight at *Rhodes* dis shake and crushe my shippes, which fault I would put onely vpon the guyders of the ship, if you could be recouered by loue. But secretly you haue now sent your chief men to *Sylla*, & you haue accused none of thē, as doyng it without cōmon consent, nor you haue punished any of them, as not priuie to their doyngs: and whereas I might punish you by death, beyng so counsayled by my friends, as sekers of my life, and traytours to my kingdome, I punish you in two thousand talents. This was the tenor of the letter. They would haue sent Embassadours to him, but *Zenobius* would not suffer them. And when their armure was gone, & their chiefe children taken away, & so great an army of *Barbarians* at hād, with heauy hearts they toke the treasure out of the temples, & their wiues Iewels, that they might make the .iij. M. talents. Whē they had done this, & *Zenobius* finding fault with the wayght, he called thē al into ỹ Theatre, & setting his soldiours about ỹ Theatre with their weapons drawne, & the waies downe to ỹ sea side, he called thē out seuerally & put them in the ships, the men by thēselues, ỹ womē likewise, & the children by thēselues, barbarously scoffing at thē. Thus being spoyled of their countrey, they were sent into *Pontus Euxinus* to *Mithridates*. After this sort were ỹ *Chians* vsed. The *Ephesians* required *Zenobius* ỹ was come to thē, to leaue his army at ỹ gate, & to come in with a few. He did so: and went to *Philopæmena* father to *Monime*, whō *Mithridates* loued, & had made ouerseer of the *Ephesians*, & willed the *Ephesians* by proclamatiō to come togither in their assembly. They lokyng for no good at his hāds, deferred it till the nexte day. And in ỹ night gathering togither & exhorting one an other, they toke *Zenobius* & killed him

Erythea is a citie of *Asia*, not far from *Scio*, of the vvhich vvas one *Sybilla*.

Mithridates letter to the *Chians*.

The lamentable destruction of the *Chians*.

The *Ephesians* kill *Zenobius*.

in prysō. They fenced their walles, they put their people in ord-
er, they gathered in their corne, & kept all the Citie by strength.
Trallis, at the sloud Meandrus. Papene of Tri-phylia. The *Trallians*, *Papenians*, and *Mesopolitans*, and some other afrayed by the calamitie of *Chio*, did as the *Ephesiās* had done. *Mithridates* sent his army against them that reuolted, and vsed them cruelly whom he toke, and fearyng the rest, he made the cities of *Greece*, frē.
Mithridates releaseth debtes, maketh free. He proclaymed forgiuenesse of debtes, and the fermours he made Citizens, & the bondmen, frē, hoping, as it was in dēde, that the released of debt, the new made citizens, & frēmen, would be sure vnto hym, thinkyng these things could not be sure vnto them, but by *Mithridates* rule. In the meane season *Mynio* and
A conspiracie bewrayed. *Philotimus* of *Smyrna*, and *Clisthenes*, and *Asclepiodotus*, *Lesbians*, al frēndes to the king, and *Asclepiodotus*, sometime captayne of the straungers, did make a conspiracie against *Mithridates*. Of the which *Asclepiodotus* was the bewraier: & for the more credite, he brought to passe, that the kyng, vnder a bedde, hearde what *Mynio* sayde. The cōspiracie being bewrayed, they were cruelly killed. The like suspition was vpon many moe. The *Pergameneans* doyng the like, foure score of them were takē, and other, in other cities, *Mithridates* sending searchers to euery place, who finding out his enimies, killed a thousād fire hundred men, the accusers of the which, not lōg after, were some punished of *Sylla*, some killed themself, & some fled to *Mithridates* into *Pontus*. Now had *Mithridates* gathered an army of. lxxx. M. the which *Dorilus* did leade
Orchomenus at the sloud of that name. into *Grecia* to *Archelous* that had. x. M. left. *Syllas* had his army nigh to *Archelous* at *Orchomeno*, & when he saw so great a nūber of horsemen, he digged many pittes in the plaine, x. foote broade. And had his army in order to receyue *Archelaus*. And when the *Romanes* did sayntly come to ỹ fight for the multitude of horsemē, he rode about, & exhorted them, & beside threatned thē. But whē he could not so bring them to the matter, he lept of his horse and toke the Ensigne & ranne to the enimies with his garde, cryng:
The boldnesse of Sylla. If any man aske you (O *Romanes*) where you betrayed your generall, *Sylla*, say, when he fought at *Orchomeno*. The Capitaines ranne frō their bandes to hym beyng in this daunger. Then the multitude beyng ashamed, chaunged their feare into courage.

And

And when the victory began to appeare, he mounted on horse a- The victory of the Romanes.
gayne, and rode about the host, praysing them, and in euery place exhorting them, till he had brought it to end. There dyed of the enimes aboute fifténe thousande, whereof the most part were horsemen, & among them *Diogenes*, that was *Archelous* son. The footemen fledde to the Campe, and *Sylla* fearing least *Archelous* woulde flée againe to *Thalcida*, he hauing no Shippes, all that night he set watches in ỳ playne, and in the day, not fully a furlong frō *Archelous*, he cast a trench (he not comming forth,) & exhorted earnestly his army to finish the rest of al this battel, seing their enimies durst not come out, and brought them to the trēch of *Archelous*. The like mutation was among the enimies, for necessitie the Captaynes running aboute, shewing the presente daunger, and rebuking them, if they woulde not defende their Camp against their enimies that were fewer than they. Force and crye being made on eyther side, there was great might shewed on both parts. The *Romanes* couering themselues with their shields, did now digge downe a corner of the Campe, but the defendours put them backe with their shorte weapons, and none durst enter, till *Basillus* the Captayne of that legion firste lept in, The valiantnes of *Basillus*.
and killed him that resisted him, al the army followed, then slight and slaughter was made of the *Barbarians*, of some as they went, of other being driuen into a lake that was nigh, and where they coulde not swimme, made prayers in their *Barbarian* tong to the killers of them that vnderstode them not. And *Archelous* was hidde in a Fenne, where getting boates, he sayled to *Chalcida*, and gathered togither all the rest of the Kings army with diligence. *Sylla* the nexte daye gaue *Basillus* a garland, and rewarded others with giftes accordingly, and then spoyled *Bœotia* that was euer wauering. And being come to *Thessalia*, wintered, and tarried for the Shyppes that *Lucullus* hadde. And bycause he could not tell where *Lucullus* was, he made other Shippes. In this time, *Cornelius Cinna* and *Gaius Marius* his enimies in *Rome*, proclaymed him Rebell, spoyling his house and his Villages, and destroying his friends. He notwithstanding did all thinges as with authoritie, hauing an army valiant and obedient. *Cinna* chose *Flaccus* for his fellow

This garland or crowne was called *Pallaris*, which was giuen to him that first scaled the trench.

Sylla is proclaymed Rebell at *Rome*.

Flaccus.

fellow in the Consuls office, and sente him into *Asia* with two legions in the place of *Sylla* that was declared an enimie to be ruler of *Asia*, and make warre with *Mithridates*. *Flaccus* being vnexpert in the warres, a man of the Senate, of good will, and beloued of the army, named *Fimbria*, wente with him. They sayling from *Brunduse*, many of their shippes were lost by winters weather, and a naute sent of *Mithridates*, burned their Shippes, that went in espiall. All the army forsoke *Flaccus*, being a malitious, couetous, and cruell man, and part of them that were sente into *Thessaly*, turned to *Sylla*. The rest, *Fimbria* being thought of them a better Captayne, and of a more gentle nature than *Flaccus*, stayed from reuolting, and chancing that there was a cõtention for a lodging betweene him & a treasurer, and *Flaccus* leauing the matter vniudged, and somewhat touching the honor of *Fimbria*, he being disoeynefull, threatned to returne to *Rome*, and *Flaccus* appointed a successour to him for ỹ things that were to be done. Then *Fimbria* wayting him as he went to *Calcida*, first toke the maces from *Thermo*, whom *Flaccus* had made officer against him as so receyuing the charge by the cõsent of the army, & following *Flaccus* with anger, til he droue him into an house, out of ỹ which escaping by night, he fledde first into *Calcide*, & then into *Nicomedia*, and shut the gates. But *Fimbria* came vpon him, and killed him, being crept into a pitte, being Consull of the *Romanes*, and generall of the warre, where he was but a priuate mã, and was come with him as his friend at his requeste. He cut of his head, and threwe it into the Sea, his carcasse he cast out vnburied: so making himselfe Generall, he foughte diuers fightes valiantly with *Mithridates* his sonne, and droue the K himselfe frõ *Pergamo*, whither he followed him to *Pitane*, where he beseeged him, till by shippe he fledde to *Mitylene*. *Fimbria* inuading *Asia*, punished ỹ faction of *Cappadocia*, and spoyled the lands of them that woulde not receyue him. The *Ilians* being beseeged of him, fledde to *Sylla*, who promised thẽ to come, and willed thẽ to say to *Fimbria*, that they were yeelded to him. When *Fimbria* heard this, he prayed them as friendes to the *Romanes*, and desired them to receyue him as a *Romane* also, testingly shewing that the *Ilians* and

Fimbria.

Fimbria killeth *Flaccus.*

A rare crueltie of a *Romane.*

Pitane a Citie of *Aeolide.*

Ilium, vvhere Troy vvas.

the

the *Romanes* were of affinitie. Being enured, he killed all that he mette, and burned euery thing, and the Embassadors that were sente to *Sylla*, he tormented dyuers wayes, neyther sparing holy things, nor them that were fledde into the Temple of *Minerua*, whome he burned in the Temple.

Crueltie of a *Romane*.

The nexte day he bet downe the walles, and went about to see, if any thing stode in the Citie, which was worse vsed by hym a man allied, than it was in *Agamemnons* time, no house, no temple, no image being left. The Image of *Minerua* which they called *Palladium*, sent from heauen as they thinke, some suppose was vnbroken, being couered with the walles that fell, excepte *Diomedes* and *Vlisses* carried it away at the warre of *Troy*. Thys did *Fimbria* against *Iliũ*, the. CIII. Olimpiad thẽ ending, which some thinke was a thousand and fifty yeares after *Agamemnon*.

Troy worse vsed of a *Romane*.

Palladium the Image of *Minerua* sente from Heauen.

When *Mithridates* heard of the losse at *Orchomeno*, considering the multitude he hadde sente into *Grecia*, and the continuall and greate ouerthrowes, he sent to *Archelous*, to make truce in as good manner as he could, and being come to the parley, sayde to *Sylla*. *Mithridates* being an auntient friend to you (O *Sylla*) hath made warre for the couetousnesse of other Generalles. He is content to leaue warre for thy vertues sake, by the which thou wilt commaund him that shall be iust. *Sylla* for wante of Ships and money, none being sent him because of his enimies that had iudged him a Rebell, hauing gathered money of the *Pythians*, *Olimpians*, and *Epidaureans*, and giuen them, by reason for their holy things, halfe the *Thebans* land that so oft rebelled, and hauing an army valiant and experte, to leade against the Rebellion of hys enimies, he was bent to peace, and sayd:

Archelous to *Sylla*.

If *Mithridates* had bin iniured, he should haue sent Embassadoures, but doyng iniurie, he hath inuaded many lands of other mens, he hathe slayne very many, the common and holy thyngs of Cities, and the proper goodes of them he hathe spoyled, beyng a like vnfaythfull to his friendes and to vs, of whome he hathe killed many, and slayne the Princes that were at a banquet with him in the night with their wiues and children, and hath shewed to vs rather crueltie of nature, than necessitie of warre, and

vsed

vsed the *Italians* in *Asia* with all kindes of euils, destroying and murthering men, women, children, and slaues that were of the nation of *Italy*, so great an hate had he againste *Italy*. He alleadgeth now auntient amitie for a fashion, but not before he hathe lost a hundreth and threescore thousand men by me, he maketh any mention of it. Wherefore reason would, we should take him for vnfaithfull, yet for thy sake, I will vndertake to get him forgiuenesse of the *Romanes*, if he repente his doyngs: but if he dissembleth now also, loke thou wel to it *Archelae*, and consider the present state, as well for thy selfe, as for him. Consider howe hée hath vsed his friends, and how we haue vsed *Eumenes*, and *Massinissa*. Yee speaking thus, *Archelous* disdeynefull brake his tale, as spoken to proue him, and sayde, that he wouldé neuer betray the army that was committed to him, yet hope I for peace at thy hand, if thou makest reasonable cõditions. *Sylla* ceassing a while, sayd, *Archelae*, if *Mithridates* doe deliuer vnto me all the Nauie which thou hast, and deliuer our Captaines, Embassadours, prisoners, fugitiues, and slaues fledde frõ vs, and let go the *Chians* beside forth, and all other that he hath made Captiues in *Pontus*, and take his garrisons from euery place, except those which he had before the breaking of peace, and defray the charges of the warre whereof he hathe bin the cause, and conteyne himselfe within the limits of his fathers dominions, I truste to persuade that the *Romanes* will no more remember what he hathe done. Thus he said. *Archelous* by and by toke his garrisons from euery place, and of the rest sent to the King. *Sylla* to do somewhat in this vacation, spoyled the *Enetanes*, *Dardaneans*, and *Eiutians*, nations nigh the *Macedonians*, and alwayes molesting *Macedonia*, he exercised his souldyoures, and gotte money likewise. Embassadoures were nowe come from *Mithridates*, who agreed to all things, hauing then excepted *Paphlagonie*, saying that *Mithridates* mighte haue more, if he would make peace with the other generall *Fimbria*. *Sylla* was angry at that, and said, he would punishe *Fimbria* well ynough, and whē he was come into *Asia*, he would sée whether *Mithridates* hadde more néede of warre than peace. When he had said thus, he went into *Cypsela* by *Thracia*, and sent

Talke of peace.

How the people of Paphlagonia.

Lucullus

Lucullus afore to Abydus, whether he was now come, being in daunger of rouers many times. He brought a Nauie of Shyps from Cyprus and Phœnitia, frō Rhodus and Pamphilia, spoyling many coastes of the enimies, and skirmishing with the Kings Shyppes. Sylla from Cypselos, and Mithridates from Pergamo, mette agayne to talke, and commyng both into the playne with a fewe. Mithridates recorded his, and his fathers amitie and confederacie, and accused the Romane Embassadoures and Lieutenantes, whiche hadde vsed him vniustly, setting Ariobarzanes into Cappadocia, and taking Phrygia from hym, and winking at Nicomedes, that dyd hym open iniurie. And all this they did (quoth he) for money, taken as well of me as of them. In this thyng (O Romanes) are you most to be blamed, bycause you will be corrupt with money. The warre being broken by youre Generalles, what soeuer I haue done in defence, it hathe bin rather of necessitie, than of will. When Mithridates had sayde thus, he ceassed. Sylla thus answered. Although thy comming is for peace, and yet doest renue other matter, I will not refuse to speake briefely of it. When I was lieutenant of Cilicia, I sette Ariobarzanes into Cappadocia, by decree of the Romanes, and thou diddest obey. Thou shouldest then haue spoken against it, and not wrangled afterwarde, or swarued from the order. Manius gaue thee Phrygia for money. The iniustice is indifferente to you both, and by this thou doest confesse, that thou gottest it vnlawfully, by giuing of money. Manius, both in this, and other things done for money, was reproued of vs, and the Senate dissolued all that he had done, by reason whereof, they wouldo not make Phrygia tributarie vnto them, beeyng gyuen vniustly to thee, but lefte it free. Then by what reason doest thou vsurpe the things that we haue taken by warre, and wyll not yet haue thee to rule? Nicomedes accuseth thee and Alexander for woundyng hys bodye, sendyng Socrates Chrestus into his Kyngdome. He to reuenge this, inuaded thy Realme. If he dyd thee wrong, thou shouldest haue sente Embassadoures, and haue tarried for answere. If thou dyddest make spéedy reuengeance on Nicomedes, why dyddest thou inuade Ariobarzanes that hadde

Talke of peace betwene Sylla and Mithridates.

Manius actes reproued.

done thée no wrong, for when thou hadst begunne with him, the *Romanes* were compelled by their couenantes to restore hym, and béeyng restored, to defend him. Thou madest warre, béeyng thus persuaded, and in hope, that if thou diost ouercome the *Romanes*, thou shouldest reigne ouer all, making these pretences of thy purpose, of the whyche we haue thys coniecture, that before there was any warre, thou madest league wyth the *Thracians*, *Scythians*, and *Sauromatians*, and sendest to the Kings thy neyboures. Thou madest Shippes, and gatherdest maisters and mates, and the time doth bewray thyne intente. For when thou hardest that *Italy* was reuolted frō vs, wayting for our trouble, thou didst inuade *Ariobarzanes*, *Nicomedes*, the *Galatians*, and *Paphlagonia*. Thou dydst inuade *Asia* our lande, and when thou hadst got it, what didst thou against the Cities, ouer which thou madest slaues and fellowes in debt, rulers, by giuing of libertie, and releasing of debt: and agaynst the *Grecians*, of whom, for a small occasion, thou didst kill fyftéene hundreth: or the princes of *Galatia*, whome being at a feast with thée, thou didst murther: And the *Italian* nation, in one daye thou didst kill and drowne, with their wiues and childrē, not sparing them that were fledde into the holy places. Howe greate crueltie, how great impietie and extremitie of hate, didst thou shew agaynste vs, gathering euery mans money? Then didst sayle into *Europe* with greate armyes, we forbiddyng all Kyngs of *Asia*, to enter into *Europe*. When thou wert come, thou didst ouercome *Macedonia* oure prouince. Thou tokest from the *Grecians* theyr fredome. Neyther didst thou repente thée, or make *Archelous* the meane for thée, tyll I hadde recouered *Macedonia*, and delyuered *Grecia* from thy violence, and slayne a hundreth and fyftie thousand of thyne army, and taken thy Campes with theyr munition. Therfore I maruell now thou doest iustifye thy selfe in those thyngs, which thou desirest to be forgyuen by *Archelous*, whyche I being farre off, thou didst graunte, but being nigh, thou doest call into question whose tyme is past, thou making warre, and we resisting mightily, and will resist thée to the ende.

Sylla speaking this with anger, the King was afrayde, and graun-

graunted and confyrmed the conditions made by *Archelous*, and deliueryng the Shyppes, and all other things, he went into *Pontus* his fathers Kingdome onely. Thus the firſte warre betweene the *Romanes* and *Mithridates* ceaſſed.

Sylla encamping two furlongs from *Fimbria*, commaunded hym to deliuer the army whiche he helde agaynſt the lawes. He taunted him again, that he did not rule lawfully, and being beſeged of *Sylla*, and many openly forſaking him, he called the reſt to a counſell, and exhorted them to tarrie: and when they ſayde they woulde not fyght with their Countreymen, he tore his garmente, and beſoughte them: and when they refuſed that alſo, and many ſtill went from him, he went to the tentes of the Captaines, and winning ſome with money, he called them agayne to a counſell, and commaunded them to ſweare: and when the *Fenetans* cryed, that he muſt call them to ſweare by name, he called them that had bin benefited by hym, and firſt *Nonius*, that was priuie to all his doings. But when he refuſed to ſweare, he drewe hys ſworde, and threatned to kill hym, tyll a crye was made of all, and then he ceaſſed for feare, and hyred a ſlaue, for hope of libertie and money, to goe as a fugitiue and kyll *Sylla*. He beeyng about the thyng, and troubled, beyng thereby ſuſpected, was taken, and confeſſed it. And *Sylla* army with rage and diſdeyne, ſtanding aboute *Fimbria* hys trenche, dyd reuile hym, and call him *Athenion*, who a fewe dayes was a King ouer the ſeruantes in *Sicelie* that rebelled. By the which *Fimbria* deſpayring of all, came to the wall, and deſyred to ſpeake wyth *Sylla*. He ſente *Rutilius* in his place, that chiefly greeued *Fimbria*, that he would not ſpeake with him, which is not denyed to enimies, and deſired pardon, if he hadde offended, being yet a yong man. *Rutilius* ſayd, *Sylla* would let him goe quietly to the Sea, if he would giue place in *Aſia*, in the which *Sylla* was Lieutenant. He ſayde, he would find a better way, and went to *Pergamo*, and in the Temple of *Aeſculapius* kylled hymſelfe, and the wounde not beeyng ſufficiente, he badde hys Page diſpatche, who kylled hys Maiſter firſte, and then himſelfe.

VVarre betweene *Fimbria* and *Sylla*.

Fimbria is forſaken.

Nonius refuſeth to ſweare.

Athenion.

Sylla will not ſpeake with *Fimbria*.

Fimbria killeth himſelfe.

Hi bodyes gyuen to be buryed otherwyse than *Marius* vsed at *Rome*.

Thus ended *Fimbrias*, doing muche mischiefe in *Asia* after *Mithridates*, whome *Sylla* gaue to his frẽmade mẽ to bury, sayyng, he wouldo not follow *Cinna* and *Marius* in *Rome*, who kylled many men, and wouldo not suffer them to be buried, receyuing *Fimbrias* armye that came vnto hym, and sette them with hys owne, and commaunded *Curio* to restore *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, and wrote to the Senate of all thyngs, not sẽmyng he was declared a Rebell. Then setling his prouince, he recompenced the *Ilians*, the *Chians*, the *Lycians*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Magnesians*, and others that were confederates, or that for their good will, had suffered, for the whiche cause hee dismissed them frée, and registred them friendes of the *Romanes*. To the rest, he sent his army, and proclaymed that all seruantes that hadde frædome by *Mithridates*, shoulde be restored to theyr maisters. Whereof manye disobeying, and some Cities rebelling, there followed great slaughters, of frée, and bond, for diuers occasions, the walles of many were pulled downe, and made seruile people very many. They that were of the *Cappadocians* faction, both men & Cities were sharply punished, and chiefly the *Ephesians*, which did impudently reuile the *Romanes* cõmandemẽts. After this, was there a proclamation made, that the chiefe of euery Citie should come before *Sylla* at *Ephesus*, who being come into the common hall, he thus sayd vnto them.

The rewardes of the faithfull people.

The punishment of the reuolting people.

Sylla to the *Ephesians*.

Halya floud running out of *Taurus*.

We first came into *Asia* with our army, when *Antiochus* king of *Syria* did ouerrunne you, and driuing him away, and makyng *Aly* and *Taurus* the limits of his Kingdome, we toke not from you that was made ours by him, but lefte it frée, excepte some, which we gaue to *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodes* our confederates, not to be tributaries, but tenantes. In prose whereof, we toke the *Licians* from the *Rhodians*, making their complaynt. Thus did wée for you. And you did help *Aristonicus* foure yeares against vs, after *Attalus Philometer* had left his kingdome to vs by testament, till *Aristonicus* was taken, and many of you came againe for necessitie and feare. Thus doyng, and in foure and twenty yeares comming to great riches and substance as well publike as priuate, thorough peace and abundance, you wrangle agayne,

and

and wayting our trouble in *Italie*, some of you brought in *Mithridates*, and some receyued him when he came. Yee the moste cruell of all men, in one day killed all the *Italians* with the chyldren and mothers. And you did not spare them that fleede into the temples to your Goddes: For the whiche some punishment you haue had by *Mithridates*, beyng vnfaythfull to you, and fillyng you with murders and banishments, makyng diuisions of your landes, and releasing of debtes, and libertie of slaues: and to some putting tyrannes, and causing many robberies both by sea and land, that by your experience you may know, by comparison, what gouernour you haue receyued, & what reiected. The beginners of these thyngs haue bene partly punished by vs, but the payne must be publique to you that haue done the lyke, that it may be correspondent to that you haue done. But the *Romanes* will not vse wicked murders, or sudden confiscations, or risings of seruants, or other barbarous thyngs which the minde abhorreth. Regarde shalbe had to the nation and name of *Greece*, and to the glorie of *Asia*, & to the frendes of the *Romanes* for honours sake. We put vpon you the tribute of fiue yeares onely to be brought presently, and the expences of the warre which I haue bestowed. For the rest I will take order, and make the diuision accordyng to the Cities, & I declare frendshyp to them that shall kéepe these orders, and to them that will not, I appoynt punishment, as to enimies.

When *Sylla* had sayde thus, he diuided the payne to the Embassadours and sente them for mony. The Cities beyng poore & oppressed with debte, some did let to Ferme their Theatres to creditours, some their common houses, their wals and portes, and any other thing that was publique, not without despite of the Souldiours that gathered it. This money was brought to *Sylla*, and *Asia* had inough of euils: for it was full of manifest robberies, rather like to armies thã to pirates. For *Mithridates* not long before had set thẽ in the sea, when he wasted al things, as not long to kéepe it, then beyng moste aboundant, not onely troubling men on the sea, but spoyling portes, townes and cities suddenlye. *Iassus*, *Samos*, *Clazomene*, and *Samothracia*, *Sylla* being

Inconueniences in *Asia*.

Iassus, an Ile of *Caria*.

there, were taken, and the Temple of *Samothracia*, was robbed of the value of a thousand Talents. He eyther willingly, or leauing to punishe the offendoures, or bycause of the sedition at *Rome*, wente into *Grecia*, and from thence to *Italy*, with all his army, & what he did, we haue writtē in ỹ bookes of Ciuil dissentiō.

The seconde warre with *Mithridates* beganne of this occasion: *Murena* being lefte of *Sylla* with two legions that were *Fimbrias*, shewed certayne foyntes of warre for desire of Triumph. *Mithridates* being gone to *Pontus*, made warre vpon the *Colchians* and *Bosphorias*. The *Colchians* desired his sonne *Mithridates* might be giuen them for King, whome when they had receyued, they obeyed forthwith. But the king hauing his sonne in suspitiō, that he coueted the whole kingdome, sent for him, and held him with cheynes of gold, & after killed him, when he had done him muche good seruice in *Asia* against *Fimbria*. Against the *Bosphorians* hee gathered a great army, and made a great nauie. The mightinesse of the whiche preparation, raysed an opinion, that it was not against the *Bosphorians*, but against the *Romanes*, for he had not restored all *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, but kepte parte of it styll, and had *Archelous* in suspition, that he granted more in *Grecia*, than he needed to *Sylla*, in making the peace: the which *Archelous* perceyuing, and fearing, fledde to *Murena*, whome he incensed, and persuaded againste *Mithridates*. *Murena* by and by entered through *Cappadocia*, to *Comana*, the greatest Citie vnder *Mithridates*, hauing an holy temple and treasure, and killed certaine horsemē of *Mithridates*: and when the Embassadors alleaged ỹ leage, he answered he had none such, for *Sylla* did not wright it, but confirmed it by word, and so left it. Whē *Murena* had sayd thys, hee fell to spoyle by and by, not refrayning from the holy money, & wintered in *Cappadocia*. *Mithridates* sent to *Rome* to the Senate, & to *Sylla*, to cōplayne of *Murenas* doings, who in ỹ time passed the floud *Aly* that was great, and thē very deepe, bicause of ỹ raine, and spoiled .400. of *Mithridates* townes, the king not yet meeting with him, but loking for his Embassadors from *Rome*. Hauing got a great bootie, he went into *Phrigia* & *Cappadocia*, whither *Calidius* came to him from *Rome*, touching *Mithridates* complayntes, but

The seconde warre with *Mithridates*. *Colchus* is next *Pontus*.

Mithridates killeth his sonne.

Archelous fleeth frō *Mithridates*. *Comana*, a Citie dedicate to *Bellona*. *Murena* cauilleth.

Calidius commeth from *Rome* with counters fer commaundement.

but brought him no decrée, onely sayde vnto him in the midst of the hearers, that ỹ Senate cõmanded him to spare the king their confederate. When he hadde said thus, he was seene to speake to him alone. And *Murenas* ceassed not of his inuasion, but still molested ỹ land of the king, who euidently perceyuing that he was vsed as an enimie of the *Romanes*, he bad *Gordius* to take the nigh townes. He gathered many beastes of cariage & munition, & priuate men and souldyours, and camped at the flood ouer against *Murena*. Neither of them began ỹ fight, til *Mithridates* came with a great army, then was there a mighty fight at the flood. *Mithridates* by violence passed the flood, being otherwise too good for *Murena*, who fled the kings force into a strong hill, and hauyng lost many, departed by the mountaynes withoute anye way into *Phrigia*, being followed & oppressed. This victory being euident & quickly gotten, was soone spred abroade, and turned many to *Mithridates*. He putting out *Murenas* garrisons of euery place wt great spæde, did make his sacrifice to *Iupiter* ỹ warriour, after ỹ maner of his coũtrey, in ỹ top of an hil, wher they make a great pile of wood, to ỹ which the kings bring the first stick. Then they make another lesse in a circle. Vpon the higher, they put hony, milke, & wine, & oyle, & all kind of perfumes, they giue bread and meate of the best to them that be present. And they make ỹ pile after ỹ fashiõ of the *Persian* kings sacrifice in *Sardis*, the which for the greatnes, is euidently seene to many a thousand furlongs off, and ỹ one cã not come nigh the place many days after, ỹ aire is so hote. This sacrifice did he make, after the custome of hys countrey. *Sylla* not cõtent ỹ *Mithridates* being in league, should haue warre made vpõ him, sent *Aulus Gabinius*, to cõmand *Murena* not to molest *Mithridates*, and that he should agrée *Mithridates*, & *Ariobarzanes*. *Mithridates* at ỹ mæting, making sure a sonne of *Ariobarzanes* of.iiij. yeares of age, and by ỹ meane holding still that he had in *Cappadocia*, & getting more, feasted all, & put gold in ỹ cup, and ỹ meate for the iesters & singers, & al other, as his vse was, of ỹ which only *Gabinius* touched none. Thus ỹ second warre of *Mithridates* did end at ỹ thirde yeare. Being now at quiet, he subdued *Bosphorus*, & apointed thẽ his son *Macharis* for their king.

Murenas fleeth.

The manner of the sacrifice of the kings in Asia made by *Mithridates* for the victory.

Gabinius refuseth *Mithridates* gold.

He

He inuaded the *Acheans* that be aboue *Colchos*, (which seme to be of them that fledde from *Troy*, and lost theyr way) and losing two partes of hys armie with fighte and colde, and deceiptes, he returned, and sente to *Rome* to haue the league ratified. *Aribarzanes* sente also, eyther of hymselfe, or stirred of others, that hee had not receyued *Cappadocia*, but that *Mithridates* kepte yet the better parte from hym. *Sylla* commaunded *Mithridates* to gyue place in *Cappadocia*, and hee did so, and sente other Embassadours for to haue the conditions of peace registred, but *Sylla* being dead, and the Senate not to be assembled, because of the vacation, he sent to *Tigranes* his sonne in law, to inuade *Cappadocia* as of himselfe. This cautele was not vnknowen to the *Romanes*. The *Armenian* compassing *Cappadocia* as with a nette, ledde away three hundreth thousande men into *Armenia*, and made them dwell with other at a place, where he first toke the Crowne of *Armenia*, and of hys name called it *Tigranocertos*, whiche is, the Citie of *Tigranes*. And these were the doynges in *Asia*.

Cochieus, came from *Troy*.

Tigranes by persuasiō of *Mithridates* inuadeth *Cappadocia*.

Sertorius a Captayne in *Spayne*, dyd stirre it, and all the places about it, against the *Romanes*, and made a Senate of them that were with him, for to counterfeyte the *Romanes*. Two of his faction, *Lucius Manius*, and *L. Fanius*, persuaded *Mithridates* to ioyne with *Sertorius*, putting him in hope of a greate parte of *Asia*, and the nations about him. He being persuaded, sent to *Sertorius*. He ledde the Embassadoures into his Senate, and made a glorious tale, that his renoume spredde as farre as *Pontus*, and that he besieged the *Romanes* from the West to the East. He couenanted to gyue *Mithridates Asia*, and *Bithinia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*, and *Gallogrecia* & sent him a Captayne *Marcius Varius*, and *Lucius Manius*, and *L. Fanius*, that were of that counsel. With these dyd *Mithridates* begin the third and last war with the *Romanes*, in the which he lost al his kingdome. *Sertorius* being dead in *Spayne*, and Generals, sent from *Rome*, first *Lucullus* that was admiral of *Sylla*s Naule, then *Pompey*, vnder whome, all that *Mithridates* had, and all that was nigh it, to the flood *Euphrates*, by the pretence & violence of the war against *Mithridates*, did fall to the *Romanes*.

Mithridates sendeth to *Sertorius*.

The thirde warre with *Mithridates*.

Mithri-

Mithridates hauing proued so oft what the Romanes were, and thinking that this war, made without cause, and of the sodaine, would not be appeased, made al the preparation that hee coulde, as now to try the whole, and the rest of the somer, & al ỹ winter, he made shippes and armoure, he brought to the sea, if. C. M. Medimnes of grayne, and got confederates, beside hys former power, the *Chalibyans*, the *Armenians*, the *Scythians*, the *Taurians*, *Achuians*, *Heniochans*, *Leucosyrians*, and all that inhabite about the floud *Thermodon*, that was called the land of the *Amazones*.

Medimnus was a measure that contayned sixe *Modij*, & *Modius* contayned syxe *Sextares*, vvhych is commonlye called a Bushell. *Calybes* people in *Ponte* that dig yron naked. *Heniochi*, people of *Ponte* liuing by theft. *Thermodon*.

These had he gotte in *Asia*, to them he had before, and going into *Europe*, the *Sarmatians*, *Basileans*, *Iazygeans*, and *Coralleans*, and al the nations of the *Thracians*, that inhabite abonte *Hister*, *Rodope*, and *Aemos*, and the *Basternans*, a most valiaunt people.

These hadde *Mithridates* in *Europa*, he hadde gathered an hundreth and fortie thousande fotemen, and sixtene thousande horsemen, another great number of venturers, pioners, & victualers.

When the Spring was come, he viewed his nauy, and sacrificed to *Iupiter* warriour, the vsuall sacrifice, and to *Neptunus*, he did cast into the sea a Chariot of white horses, and wente to *Paphlagonia*, *Taxilus*, and *Eumolrates*, being his Generalls. When he was come, he made a solempne oration to the armye, setting forth his progenitors and himselfe verye highly, that he had enlarged his kingdome from little to great, and was neuer ouercome of the Romanes, being presente, whome he accused for their ambition and vnsatiablenesse, by the whiche, (saide he) they haue made *Italy* and their Countrey seruile. He repeated the last conditions, whiche they woulde not subscribe. Seekyng tyme to inuade him againe, and making this the cause of the warre, hee extolled his power and prouisiõ, and shewed the Romanes troubles, being molested in *Spayne* by *Sertorius*, and at home in *Italie*, by ciuil warre. Therefore (saide he) thorough their negligence, the Sea hathe long tyme beene full of Pyrates. Confederates haue they none, nor willingly anye wil be vnder them. Do you not see these noble men, (sayde hee) shewing *Varius* and the *Lucians*,) to be enimies to their Country, and friends to vs?

Mithridates to his souldiours.

When he had said thus and stirred his armye, hee wente into

Nicomedes leaueth his kingdome to the *Romanes*. *Cotta* fleeth.

Bythinia, *Nicomedes* beyng dead, without a chylde, and leauyng his kingdome to the *Romanes*. And *Cotta* that was presidēt there, a man of litle skill in warre, fledde to *Calchida* with his power, and *Bithynia* was agayne vnder *Mithridates*, all the *Romanes* fléeing to *Cotta* into *Calchide*. And *Mithridates* comming thither, *Cotta* for lacke of experience came not forth. *Nudus* his admirall, with part of the army, toke the stronger parte of the fielde, from the whiche beyng driuen, hée fled to the gates of *Chalcide*, by many hedges, with great paine. At the gate there was great thrust of them that would get in, so as no darte was caste in vayne, of them that folowed. Wherefore the kéepers beyng afrayde of the gates, they let the barres fall from the tower, and toke vp *Nudus* and other Capitaynes by ropes. The other did perishe betwéene their frendes and their enimies, holdyng vp their hāds to the other. *Mithridates* vsing the course of good fortune, brought his shippes that day to the porte, and breakyng the barre that was of yron, he burned foure of the enimies shippes, and toke the other three leare, neyther *Cotta* nor *Nudus* resistyng, kéepyng theselues within the walles. Thrée thousand were slayne of the *Romanes*, & *Lucius Manlius* a Senatour. *Mithridates* losse twentie of the *Bastetnians*, that first wente into the porte.

Nudus commeth to *Chalcide* vvhere the port coloyse is lette dovvne, & many *Romanes* slayne.

Lucullus is generall.

L. Lucullus, beyng Consull and chosen generall of this warre, brought one legion from *Rome*, and had two of *Fimbrias*, and beside them, two more, hauing in all thirtie thousand fotemen, and sixtene hundred horsemen, and encamped agaynst *Mithridates* at *Cyzico*. And vnderstandyng by the fugitiues, that the king had three thousande men, and his victuals brought by the forragers, and from the sea, he sayde to them that were aboute him, that he would take his enimies without any payne, and bad them remember it. He espied an hill very fitte for his campe, from the which he might get forage, and kéepe it from his enimie. He entended to get it, as by it to winne victorie without daunger. Beyng but one way very straight to it, *Mithridates* kepte it with strength. For so did *Taxiles* & the other Capitaynes aduise him. *Lucius Manius* that came frō *Sertorius*, and made league with *Mithridates*, *Sertorius* beyng now dead, reuolted secretly to *Lucullus*, & sayth

Lucullus espieth his aduauntage.

kayth beyng receyued, he perswaded *Mithridates*, to lette the *Romanes* go and campe where they would, for the two legions that were *Fimbrias*, would straight reuolt and come to the kyng: then what néede he vse force and slaughter when he might ouercome without fight? *Mithridates* consenting to this very vnwisely and vncircumspectly, suffered the *Romanes* to passe the streight without feare, and to encampe at the hyll, by bayng of the whiche, they might haue victuals behinde them brought without feare, and *Mithridates* beyng shut with fennes, hilles and woodes, could haue none by lande, but very litle, neyther hauyng way to do it easily, nor by force to compell *Lucullus* for the hardenesse of the passage, whiche when he had in his power, hée neglected, & winter beyng at hande, the commyng of it by Sea would kayle. *Mithridates* abused.

Which when *Lucullus* perceyued, hée put his frendes in remembraunce of his promise, and that hée spake, to bée as it were performed. *Mithridates* might then peraduenture haue passed thorough the middes of hys enimies with hys multitude, but hée lette that passe also, and gaue himselfe onely to the gettyng of *Cyzico*, thynkyng by that, to remedy bothe the wante and harde way, and hauyng plentie of Souldiours, wente aboute it by all meanes possible. His nauie hée enclosed with a double wall, and entrenched the rest of the Citie, and set vp many rampiers and engines vpon them, and towers, and rammes couered, and one called *Helepolis*, of an hundred cubites, vpon the which an other tower was set, casting arrowes, and stones, & diuerse weapons. At the portes two Gallies ioyned togither, bare an other tower, from the which, bridges were caste from the engine nigh the wall. When all this was ready, hée sente three prysoners to *Cyzicus* in shippes to the citie, holding vp their handes, and praying them to spare the people that were in daunger, till *Lisistratus* their Capitayne, came to the walles, and by a trumpette exhorted them to beare patiently their mischaunce. When *Mithridates* was deceyued of this purpose, hée brought the engine by shippes, which threwe sodenly bridges vpon the wall, and foure men ranne vpon them, at the whiche the *Cyzians* amased, for the straungers gaue place, but no more commyng forth, they toke

Errours of *Mithridates*.

Cyzico, an Iland and citie in *Propontide* of great renovvne.

Helepolis, is an engine to beate the vvall.

Lisistratus.

courage againe, and killed thoſe foure without, and threwe fire and pitch vpon the ſhippes, and made them tourne with theyr engine. This at this enterpriſe of the ſea the *Cyzians* had the better. That day the third time, he brought al his engines by lande at once, they within labouring and putting them backe for all their violence. The rammes they bet with ſtones, or put them by with collats, and braake their dint with pelres of woll. The fierie dartes, they quenched with vineger and water, and other with clothes caſt againſt them, or with ſayles wrapped togither ſtopped the throwe. They lefte nothing vndone, that menne might doe: and although they ſuffered all labour, and reſiſted the euill, yet at night parte of the wall was burned and fell: but no manne durſte enter for the heate, and their *Cyzianes* made it vp again in the night. And not long after, a great ſtorme of wind did breake the reſte of the kings engines. It is reade that this Cittie was in dowrie, of *Iupiter* to *Proſerpine*, and the *Cyziens* honour hir moſt of all gods. When their feaſt day came, that they ſhould ſacrifice a blacke cowe, they not hauing one, made one of paaſte, when as a blacke cowe came to them by ſea, whyche going vnder the barre of the hauen, ranne into the Cittie, & came to the temple and ſtode at the aulter. The which the *Cyzians* ſacrificed with good hope. *Mithridates* friendes counſelled him to go from the Cittie being holy, but he would not. He went to *Dindimus* an high hill, and made a trench from it to the Cittie, and ſet it with towers, and with mines digged the wall. He ſente hys horſes, leane for lacke of meate, and lame for labour, into *Bythinia*. *Lucullus* mette with them as they wente to *Rindacus*, and killed and toke many priſoners, of men fifténe M. of horſes fiue thouſand, and many beaſts of burden.

The vallantnes of the *Cyzians*.

A ſacrifice to *Proſerpina*.

Eumachus killeth the *Romanes Iſauri*, a people *Aſia* the leſſe.

At this time, *Eumachus* a Captaine of *Mithridates* ranne ouer *Phrygia*, and ſlewe the *Romanes* both women and children: then he inuaded *Piſidus* and *Iſauros* and *Cilicia*, till one of the Princes of *Galatia*, *Deiotarus*, ſtopped his courſe and killed manye. And this was done in *Phrygia*. Winter being come, *Mithridates* was without his victual that was wont to come by Sea. Wherefore all hys armye was famyſhed and many dyed.

Some

Some eate dead men barbarously. Other eate hearbes, and were sicke, and casting the dead bodyes vnburyed, brought pestilence with hunger. But *Mithridates* continued, hoping to get the Citie with the engines that he had at *Dindymus*: but when the *Cizicenans* defeated his purpose, and burned his engines, and made many salyes vpon their enimies, being feeble for hunger, *Mithridates* intended to flee, which he did in the night with his shippes to *Parie*, and his armye wente by land to *Lampsace*. When they came to the floud *Aesepus*, whiche was growen high, *Lucullus* set vpō them as they were passing, and killed many. Thus the *Cizicenans* did escape the greate preparation of the King, both by their owne manhode, and by the helpe of *Lucullus* that oppressed him with famine, for the whiche cause they make playes at this day, whiche they call *Lucullus* playes. *Mithridates* conueyed away his army that was come to *Lampsacū*, and besieged of *Lucullus*, and the *Lampsatians* also with Shippes that he sente them. And he committed teme thousande of the best to be guided of *Varius*, that was sente to him from *Sertorius*, and *Alexander* a *Paphlagonian*, and *Dionisio* an Eunuch: he with more, sayled to *Nicomedia*, and winter weather destroyed many of them.

Dindymus the hill of *Ida*.

Aesepus a floud in the lesse *Nisia*, flowing from the hill *Ida*.

Lucullus playes.

Whē *Lucullus* had wrought this feate by lād through famine, he gathered shippes out of *Asia*, & betoke them to Lieutenants. *Triarius* toke *Apamea*, and killed many that were fledde into the Temples.

Apamea in the coast of *Bythinia*.

Barbas toke *Prusiade*, builded vnder an hill, and *Nicea*, the garrisons of *Mithridates* fleeing.

Prusias called before *Chius*.

Lucullus toke of the enimies Shippes thirteene, at the portes of *Achaia*. He ouertoke *Varius*, *Alexander*, and *Dionisius*, at *Lemnus* a desert Ile, where the alter of *Philoctetes* and the serpent of brasse, the bowe and the brestplate, tyed about with bendes, is seene, as a shewe of his calamitie. He sayled vpon them wyth great hast and contempte. They remayning still, he sente forth two Shyppes at once, and frayd the rest, to prouoke them to come out, but they not comming out, but defendyng themselues from the land, he sayled about the Ile with other Shippes, and set fotemen a lande, whiche made them to take their Shyppes.

Lennus now *Statimene*. The monument of *Philoctetes*.

fight. But

Lucullus ouercometh three Capraynes of *Mithridates*.

But they woulde not come aflote, fearyng *Lucullus* army, but sayling by the lande, & being folowed both by lande and sea, they were hurte, and great slaughter and slighte was among them. *Varius*, *Alexander* and *Dionysius* the *Eunuche* were taken hidde in a caue, of the whiche *Dionysius*, hauyng dronke poyson, as it is thought, died by and by. *Lucullus* cõmaunded *Varius* to be killed, for it was not seemely to bring a *Romane* Senatour in triumph. *Alexander* was kepte for the pompe. And *Lucullus* wrote of his victorie, letters wrapped in Laurell to the *Romanes*, as the maner is in victories. And he wente to *Bythinia*.

Letters in Laurell.

Mithridates hath losse by sea, and is saued in a rouers barke.

As *Mithridates* sayled into *Pontus*, he had two tempestes and lost about ten thousande men, & threescore shippes, the rest were scattered as the winde droue them, his owne shippe falling in a leake, he went into a rouers barke, his frends being against it, and going with the rouers they set him safe at *Sinope*, frõ whence he went to *Amiso* to trie all, and to his sonne in law *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, and to *Machares* his sonne regnyng in *Bosphoro*, hee sente, that bothe shoulde prouide helpe. And to the *Scythiãs* that were confines, hee sente golde, and many giftes by *Diocles*: but he fledde to *Lucullus* with hys golde and his giftes. *Lucullus* goyng forwarde boldely after the victorie, ouercame euery thyng as he wente, and winnyng a wealthy countrey that had bene long without warre, a slaue was solde for foure drammes: an Ore for on: Goates, sheepe and garments, and al other things after the like value. *Lucullus* besieged *Amison* and *Eupatoria*, whiche *Mithridates* buylded nert *Amiso*, and named *Eupatoria* of himself, and made it a kings palace, and with an other army, besieged *Themiscyra*, that had the name of one of the *Amazones* at the Ronde *Thermodonta*. They lying at *Themiscyra*, sette vp towers and made trenches, and wrought so great mines, that there was fighting vnder the grounde. The *Themiscyrians* opened them a boue, and threw in Beares and other wilde beastes, & swarmes of Bées vpon the workemen. They at *Amisus* went an other way to worke, the *Amisians* defendyng themselues, and many times issuyng out, and prouokyng also to fight hande to hande. *Mithridates* sent them much victual, armure and munition from

Diocles, fleeth to *Lucullus*.

A dramme was a *Romane* penny.

Eupatoria.

Themiscyra a region of *Pontus*.

Caberis,

Cabeira, where he wintered and gathered his army. He had of fotemen fortie thousande, and of horsemen foure thousand. *Cabeira* a towne of higher *Asia*.

When the Spring was come, *Lucullus* wente against the king by the mountaynes, whyche he hadde garded to kepe off *Lucullus*, and to make continuall fires if any happe should be. A man of the kings bloud named *Phœnix*, was chiefe of his gard, who when *Lucullus* approched, made fires to *Mithridates*, but yelded himselfe and all his power to *Lucullus*, so as he without stoppe, went to *Cabeira*, and hauing a fighte of horsemen with the kyng, and being ouercome, he retired to the hilles, and when *Pompeyus*, the Captayne of his horsemen was taken, and brought to *Mithridates* wounded, he asked him what thanke he woulde giue him if he were saued. He answered, if thou art a friend to *Lucullus*, I will giue thee very great thanke, if thou beest his enimie, I will not deliber of it. Thus aunswered *Pompeyus*, and the *Barbarians* woulde haue had the king to haue killed him. The king sayd, he would not hurte vertue that was destitute of Fortune. Preparing continually to fight, and *Lucullus* refusing it, he sought a way to come vpon him on the hill. There was a certaine *Scythian*, named *Olcabas*, that hadde bin a long fugitiue with *Lucullus*, and bycause he hadde saued many at the fight of horsemen, hee was admitted to *Lucullus* table, and priuie to his counsell and secretes. He came to his tent at midde day when he was at rest, and would haue gone in by force (being girded only with a short swoorde after the manner) and being angry that he was kepte backe, saying he hadde an earnest thing to tell him, and therefore woulde haue them awake him, they aunswering, that there was nothing so good for *Lucullus* as his health, he toke hys horse by and by, and fledde to *Mithridates*, eyther meaning euill, and suspected for hys doyng, or for anger, compting himselfe dishonored. And he accused another *Scythian* called *Sobadacus*, that he woulde flee to *Lucullus*: therefore *Sobadacus* was taken. Whereas *Lucullus* woulde not goe into the playne, bycause the enimies Horsemen were the better, and could see none other way, he fond in a caue an Hunter of wilde beastes, that was expert in vnknowen wayes, by whome he passed by secret wayes, and came vpō the

Lucullus is ouercome in one fight of horsemen.

Pompey the generall of horse, brought before the King, aunswered boldly.

A princely saying of the king.

Olcabas fleeth from *Lucullus*.

Nothing so good as health of a ruler.

the head of *Mithridates*, and came downe, auoyding the fieldes, for the horsemen encamped at a flash of water, at the enimyes face. Wanting victuals, he sente into *Cappadocia* for corne, and skirmished with the enimies, and made them to flée, till the king came out of his Camp in hast, and amazed them, and made them to turne, and so afrayd the *Romanes*, as they fledde vp to the mountaynes, and did not perceyue when the enimies ceassed, but thoughte them that fledde with them their enimies, as well as they that chaced them, so greatly were they made afrayde. *Mithridates* sent letters euery where of this victory. A great part of his horsemen, and they of the best, lay in awaite for them that brought victuall to *Lucullus* from *Cappadocia*, hoping to bring thē to famine, as they themselues were at *Cyzico*. And it was a great argument so to be, bycause *Lucullus* had only from *Cappadocia*, frō the which, he might be shutte. The kings horsemen mœtyng with the first of the forragers in a streight place, and would not tarrie, till they came to an open place, they made their horses in that streight vnprofitable vnto them. The *Romanes* therefore being quickly in order by the helpe of the place, came forthe to the fighte, and killed the kings men, being holpen by the streyghte way, as fotemen, they droue some vpon their fellowes, and some they made flée by heapes, and slong them downe. A few escaping by night, ranne to the Camp, and affirmed that they onely were saued, and as the nature is, made the losse greater than it was. *Mithridates* before *Lucullus* shoulde knowe of this losse, and thinking that *Lucullus* for lacke of horsemen would'de by and by haue sette vpon him, determined to flée for feare, and told his friends in his tent. They before warning was giuen, sente away theyr geare hastily by night, and their cariage made a great thrusting togither at the gates. The whiche the armye perceyuing, knowing them that caried, and coniecturing worse for feare, and being greeued that no token was giuen, they brake vp their trenche, and fledde aboute the fielde confusedly, euery man as well as he coulde without Captaynes, or staying for warning.

The Romanes in a great feare flee.

Mithridates vvrighteth of his victory.

A fight of the Romane forragers, and the Kings horsemen in a streight.

The Kings feare.

The Kings army fleeth.

When *Mithridates* hearde of these hasty and disorderly doings, he ranne from his tent among them, and would haue sayd some-

somewhat to them, but no man giuing eare to hym, and beyng thruste of the people, he had a fall, and getting to his horse, hee fledde to the mountaines. *Mithridates is thrust downe & flyeth.*

Lucullus vnderstãding of the feate of ỹ forragers, and seeing the flight of his enimies, sent many horsmen to follow them, & bringing his footemen to the carters, and the reste that were in the campe, he commaunded them not to spoile, before they had killed al. But they seeyng the vessels of gold and siluer, and costly garments, forgot the commaundement, and where they had taken *Mithridates*, and chaũced to cut the burden that one of the Mules bare, and the golde falling out, they were so busy about it, that they let the King go, who fledde to *Comana*, and from thence to *Tigranes*, with tenne thousande horse. He woulde not see hym, but commaunded to vse him like a King in hys Townes. Wherefore *Mithridates* being in desperation of his kingdome, sente *Bacchus* an Eunuch to his Palace, to kil his sisters and his wiues, and his concubines. They wer dispatched some with the sword, some with poyson, some with halters pitifully. When the captaines of *Mithridates* garnisons sawe this, the moste parte yelded to *Lucullus*. He setting things in order, sayled aboute the cities of *Pontus*, and toke *Armasa*, *Heraclea*, and other. *Sinope* helde out lustily, and by sea fought valiantly. But whiles they were besieged, they burned their great ships, and fled with their final. *Lucullus* lefte the citye free againe, by reason of a dreame, whych was this. They say *Autolycus* didde make warre with *Hercules* againste the *Amazones*, and being driuen by tempest to *Sinope*, he toke the Cittie, and ruled there, and the *Sinopeans* had hys Image in greate veneration. The whiche when they fledde, they wrapped it in linnen, and bound it fast, to cary with them. The souldiours alwayes gyuen to spoyle. *Mithridates* fleeth to *Tigranes*, who woulde not see hym. The king sendeth to kil his sisters, wiues & daughters. A dreame of *Lucullus* saueth the Citie of *Sinope*. *Autolycus* was one that lined by theft.

Lucullus knowing nothing of this, nor hauing heard of it, hee thought he sawe hym call him, and the nexte daye, commaunding them that carried that Image, to shewe what it was, hee saide it was the same that he did see in the night. This was his dreame, and he caused *Sinope* to bee still inhabited, and *Amysus* also, oute of the whyche they fledde by sea. For vnderstanding that it was inhabited of the *Athenienses*, when they were Lords

Sinope restored to libertie.

of the ſea, and made a populare ſtate of it, it ſometime obeyed the *Perſian* Kings. And being reſtored to their libertie by *Alexander*, were ſubiects againe to the Kings of *Pontus*: and he taking pitie of them, and deſirous of honour, after the example of *Alexander*, and the *Athenienſes* nation, hée lefte it in libertie, and wyth all ſpéde reuoked the *Sinopeans* to their owne Cittie.

When he had thus reſtored them after their taking, he made league with *Machare*, *Mithridates* ſonne, king of *Boſphorus*, offring him a crowne of golde.

Then he ſoughte *Mithridates* that was with *Tigranes*, and being come into *Aſia*, whyche dydde owe the fourthe parte of the fruits that *Sylla* putte vppon them for a payne, hée toke a taxe of their houſes and ſeruauntes, and made the ſacrifices of victorye, as thoughe the warre hadde beene fynished.

Lucullus vvyth a ſmall armye againſt a greate King.

When the ſacrifice was ended, he marched with two choiſe legions, and fiue hundred horſe, againſt *Tigranes* that wouldе not deliuer *Mithridates*. And paſſing *Euphrates*, requyring anye money of the Barbarians, he wente on. The men made no warre vpon him, as they that thought not good to intermedle betwéene *Tigranes* and *Lucullus*.

Telling of truth cauſed reuvarded.

No man durſte tell *Tigranes*, that *Lucullus* was commyng: for he that tolde it fyrſte was hanged, as one that troubled hys Cities.

But when he hearde it, he ſente *Mithrobarzanes* wyth two thouſande horſe, to ſtoppe *Lucullus* courſe. Hée appointed *Manceo* to kéepe *Tigranocerta*, the whiche Cittie, as I haue ſayde, the king builded in his owne honor, to the whiche he called his nobles, and appointed a paine, that whoſoeuer broughte not hys goodes thither, ſhoulde be confiſcate. Hée made a wall aboute it of fiftye cubites hyghe. The bottoms of whyche, were full of ſtables for horſe, and in the Suburbes, hee hadde builded hys Pallaice, and Gardens verye faire, with Parkes and fiſhe pondes: and harde by, hee made a ſtrong Forte, all the whiche committing to *Manceo*, he rode aboute his countrey to gather men.

Manceus keepeth the chiefe Cittie.

The defence of *Tigranocerta*.

Lucullus

Lucullus at the firſt conflict ouerthrewe *Mithrobarzane* and chaſed him. And *Sextilius* ſhut *Mancæus* in *Tigranocerta*, ſpoylyng all the places that were without wall, and entrenched the Fortе and the Cittie, and broughte his engines, and vndermined the wall. Thus was *Sextilius* occupied.

Tigranes, gathering two hundred fyfty thouſand fotemen, and fyftye thouſande horſemen, ſent fiue thouſande horſe afore to *Tigranocerta*. They paſſing thoroughe the Romanes, carried away the Kyngs Concubines that were taken. The reſt of the armie, *Tigranes* ſente agaynſte *Lucullus*. Then *Mithridates* commyng fyrſte into hys ſight, counſelled hym not to fyghte with the Romaynes, but to range with hys horſemen, and waſte the countrey, to driue them to famine, if he coulde, by the which meane, hée was vſed of *Lucullus* at *Cyzico*, and leſte hys fæble armye.

Tigranes laughed at this counſell, and came forth in order of battaile: and ſæyng the little number of the Romanes, ſayde: If theſe bée Ambaſſadors they be to many, but if they be ennimies, they bée to fewe.

Tigranes laugheth at *Mithridates*.

A quicke ſaying of *Tigranes*.

When *Lucullus* hadde perceiued a lytte hill beyond *Tigranes*, he commaunded hys horſemen to giue a charge on the front, and then to tourne and giue place of purpoſe, to bring the army oute of order. He in the meane tyme ledde his fotmen to the hill, not perceyued. And when he ſawe the ennimye diſordered, and rumpyng by partes as thoughe they hadde the victorie, and all their carriage vnder the hill, he cried: We haue gotte the victorye (my fellowes.) And firſte hée ſette vppon the carriage.

Lucullus vvinneth an hill.

They flæyng with confuſion, ranne vppon the fotemen, and the fotemenne vppon the horſemenne, ſo as there was a fowle flæyng oute of hande. And they that were gone farre to purſue the Romaynes, were killed of them tournyng vppon them, and the other diſordered with the carriage, that they came as driuen among thē, al being afflicted, & none knowing ẏ truth, how the ouerthrow began, there was excéding ſlaughter, without anye ſpoile, for *Lucullus* had forbiddē that with threats. Therfore treading vppon bracelets and chaines, they continued ẏ murder an hundred & twenty furlōgs, til night came vpon thē.

Lucullus hath the victorye.

then in their returne they ſpoyled, for *Lucullus* was contente.

The valiantnes of the Greeke ſouldiors.

After this victorie, *Mancens* that was lefte at *Tigranocerta*, vnarmed al the Greeke mercenarie ſouldiours as ſuſpected. They fearing to be taken, got them ſtaues and went togither, and wer quiet.

But when *Mancens* came vpon them with the Barbarians armed, they wrapped their cloakes aboute theyr armes in ſtead of tergates, and with courage fought againſt them, and euer as they killed any, they kepte their armoure, and diuided it betwen them. And when they thought they had got ſufficient, they toke ſome of the little Tents, and called the Romanes, and receyued them in. Thus was *Tigranocerta* taken and ſpoyled, being verye riche, and new builded, and inhabited moſte honorably.

Tigranes and *Mithridates* went about gathering another army, of the whyche he made *Mithridates* Generall, the other thynkyng it fytte, beeyng taught with his owne loſſes. Hee ſente alſo to the *Parthians*, requiring aide of them. And when *Lucullus* ſent his Ambaſſadors alſo, requiring the kyng eyther to help him, or not to medle with either, he ſecretly promiſed both, but performed with none.

A policie of the Parthian King.

Mithridates gathered armour in euerye Cittie, and had in a manner all the *Armenians* in Campe, of the whyche hee choſe threeſcore tenne thouſande fotemen, and halfe of the horſemen, and lette the other go. Theſe being diuided into bands and companies after the *Italian* diſcipline, he toke them to be trayned of his men of *Pontus*. *Lucullus* comming towarde them, *Mithridates* helde all his fotemen, and halfe his horſemen vpon an hill. The reſte of the horſemen *Tigranes* ledde, and meeting wyth the Romaine forragers, was ouercome: after the whiche the Romanes forraged more ſafely, euen in the places next *Mithridates*, and encamped there.

By rayſyng of muche duſte, it was perceyued that *Tigranes* came, whoſe purpoſe was to haue ſhutte *Lucullus* in the middſt of them both. Which when he perceyued, he ſent his beſt horſemen, to encounter with *Tigranes* as farre off as they coulde, and to compell him to leaue his raungyng, and keepe his campe.

He

He prouoked *Mithridates* to fight, and encamped about him, but he could not moue him, tyll famine oppressed him, and disolued al their purpose. *Tigranes* went into the furthest parte of *Armenia*, *Mithridates* into *Ponius* with the rest of hys owne army, hauyng foure thousand, and as many of *Tigranes*. *Lucullus* folowed him, being driuen also for want. *Mithridates* outgoing him, he mette with *Fabio*, that was lefte there of *Lucullus*, and ouerthrew hym, killing fiue hundred: *Fabio* taking fresh seruauntes that were in the campe, foughte againe the whole day, and the fighte was doubtfull, till *Mithridates* was hurt on the knee with a stone, and vnder the eye with a darte, and was caried away with spæd, and many dayes the one refrayned from fight, for feare of the kings health, the other, for the multitude of them that were hurte.

Tigranes and *Mithridates* flyeth.

Mithridates ouerthrowveth *Fabius*.

Fabius ouerthrowveth *Mithridates* vvhich is sore hurt.

The *Agarians* a nation of *Scythia*, did cure *Mithridates*, vsing the poyson of Serpents for their medicines, and for that cause be euer about the king. To *Fabius* came *Triarius* another Captaine of *Lucullus* with his owne army, and receyued the power and authoritie of *Fabio*: and not long after *Mithridates* and he comming to the fight, there was such a winde as neuer was felt. It tore the tentes of them both, it beate the beastes abroade, and stroke downe some men, and thus both went backe. When it was told that *Lucullus* was comming, *Triarius* desirous to fight before he came, he set vpon the former watch by night, and the fight being equall, the king with his wing, got the better, and dispersed the enimies, driuing the footemen into a foule mire where they wer killed, because they could not stirre. The horsemen he sent to be chased in the playne, vsing valiauntlye the brunt of the victorie: til a Captaine of a *Romane* band, running by him as his seruant, gaue him a great wounde on the thyghe, because he thought hee could not strike through his harneste on the backe. They that were nert, streight killed him. *Mithridates* was carried out to ỹ hinder part. The kings frends caused their retreat to be blowē, the soldiours hauing a manifest victorie, and folowing it regrely, and because it was straunge to be called from it, they wer much troubled, and in feare leaste some other inconuenience hadde bene.

Agarenes the kings phusitions.

A marueious vvinde, breaketh the fight.

Triarius for hast is ouerthrovved

A *Romaine* capetaine, like a seruant, vvoūdeth the king.

Timotheus that was the kings Phisition, stopped the wounde, & shewed the king vnto thē, from aboue, that were come into the field & stode thronging aboute his bodye, euen as *Alexander* in *India*, when the *Macedonians* were afrayde for him, shewed him selfe to be cured in a shyppe. When *Mithridates* came to hymself, he blamed them that caused the fight to ende, & that daye led his army against the Romaynes campe. They were fled from it fearfully. Whē ỹ dead were spoiled, thē were found. xxiiij. Tribunes, & .Cl. *Centurians*, such a number of Captains as seldome hath bin found slaine in a Romaine army. *Mithridates* went in to *Armenia*, which the Romaynes call *Armenia* the lesse, taking with him the victuall that coulde be carried, and that that coulo not, he burned, that *Lucullus*, whome he thoughte did follow hym, shold haue none of it. A Romane Senator named *Atilius*, fled from his countrey, bicause he was condemned, and in great credite & fauor with *Mithridates*, was then taken as one that would betray him: & bicause he was a Senator, the king would not put him to the torture, but killed him. They that were of his coūsell he tormented cruelly. His frē made men he suffred al to departe vnhurt, bicause they did but their maisters cōmandement. *Lucullus* now was encamped nigh to *Mithridates*, when the Lieutenāt of *Asia* sent about & proclamed to the army, that the Romaynes accused *Lucullus*, bicause he made war longer than he oughte to do, & that his army shold go from hym, they that didde not obey, to haue their goodes confiscate. Whiche bēing tolde, the armye went al away saue a fewe, which being very poore, & not fearing the paine, tarried stil with *Lucullus*. Thus the war betwēne *Lucullus* and *Mithridates*, not surely ended nor finished, was broke vp. For *Italy* being rebelled, & they molested, & the sea being full of thēues, & they with famine oppressed, they did not thinke it good for them to take another so great a warre in hande, till they were deliuered of those incommodities. When *Mithridates* heard of this, he went into *Cappadocia*, & fortified his own kingdome, the Romanes winking at hys doings, till they had scoured the seas: whiche when it was done, and *Pompey* that was ỹ worker of it, was in *Asia*. The war with *Mithridates* began againe, & *Pompey* was sent to be the General. Therfore bicause ỹ acts that *Pompey*

The Kyng is shewed to the souldiours.

The Romaynes forsake their campe.

A great number of Romayne captaines slaine.

Atilius is killed of suspition.

Dissentiō vvyth the Romaynes.

Lucullus is lefte alone.

did in the sea, before hée came againste *Mithridates*, is a parte of *Pompeis* feats, and can be put into none other proper writing. I will shortely repeate & run them ouer. When *Mithridates* made his firste war againste the Romanes, and ruled in *Asia*, and *Sylla* was busied about *Grecia*, thinking he should not long holde *Asia*, he spoyled euery place, as I haue saide, and set Pirats in the sea, the whiche at the first with a fewe litle boats, vexed such as they met. As the war grew, they were more, & had gotten great ships, & taking of great gaine, they did not ceasse, though *Mithridates* were ouercome, & had made truce, or was fled. For they ỳ had losse their liuyngs and countries thorow the war, and were fallen into extreame pouertie, left the land, & sought commoditie by ỳ sea: and first with brigandines & foists, then with litle galleys they roued, the Archpirats being their leaders as generals of an army, vnwalled Cittes they spoiled, them that were walled, they vndermined or beate downe, or got by siege & destroyed. The best men they brought to the sea for their raunsoms: and to auoide the infamy of their rauine, they called themselues hyred souldiours, in stead of sea-rouers. They hadde workemen in chaines to do their businesse, & carying matter of wode, braſſe, & yron, they neuer rested. Being prowde of their gaine, & not thinking to leaue their piracie, they thought they were lyke Kings & Tirans or gret generals, & supposed ỳ if they gathered togither, they shold be vncõquerable, they made ships & all kind of armor, specially aboute *Cilicia*, that is called (the hard,) the which they made their common receptacle, or vsed it, as their campe, hauing manye forts & towers, & voyde Ilands & shipping in euery place. Their chiefe trade was at *Cilicia* the harde, beyng without ports, & ful of great hills, of the which, by a common name, they were called *Cilices*, the whych euill begun there, of the hard part of *Cilicia*, brought vnto them *Syrians*, *Cyprians*, *Pamphilians* & *Pontians*, and almost al the nations of ỳ East, the whiche in the time of *Mithridates* war, rather chosing to do, than to suffer, they vsed the sea for the lãd, that in short space they were many thousãds, and they were not Lords only of the east seas, but all that which is within the pillours of *Hercules*. For they had ouercome some of the Romane Admirals in sea-fight, and some in *Sicelie*.

Mithridates filleth the sea with Pyrats.

The myshappes of the Rouers.

Cilicia, full of rockes ond Mountaynes on the coaste.

Cilices were compted rouers.

In

In *Sicilia*, no mã durst saile, & the land wanted their labourers, bycause of their robberies, and the Cittie of *Rome* found this inconuenience mosse of all, all their subiectes being in want, and they, for their great multitude, in grieuous famine. This matter seemed great and harde vnto them, to dispatch so many armies of men and shippes, diuided by the whole circle of the lande and sea, easie to flee with their prouision, and not to be set vpon from their countries, or euident places, not hauing any house or property, but al that euer came to hande. So that the consideration of this warre was farre beyond the rest, hauing no certentie, no suretie, nor euidẽce, it wrought a doubt with a fear. *Murenas* being sent against them, did nothing, nor *Seruilius Isauricus*, after *Murena*: but nowe they were come to the coaste of *Italy*, and the rouers were bragge at *Brunduse* and *Toscane*, and had taken noble women, and two armies with their ensignes. Therfore the *Romanes* no longer suffering this losse nor shame, did chose by law, *Pompey*, a man of so great fame, to be chiefe Admirall for three yeares, of al the Seas within the pillours of *Hercules*, and foure hundred furlongs of lãd from the sea, they sent al kings, princes & Citties to helpe *Pompey* with all things, & gaue him authoritie to gather armies & money. They sent also a great army of their owne ordinarie, and as many shippes as they had, and fiue M. talents of *Athens*. So great & difficult a thing did they thinke it to be, to ouercome so many armies in so great a sea, lurking in so many holes easily, and fleeing safely, and appearing againe of the sodain. Neuer was there man before that, was set with such a power as *Pompey* was. To whom an army was giuen of cxx. thousande fotemen, fiue thousande horsemen, shippes with smal vessels two hundred lxx. and ministers, whiche being of the Senate, they call legats, xxv. to whome *Pompey* deuided the sea, and gaue them Shippes, and horses and fotemen and ensignes of war. So was euerie man an absolute ruler of that parte that was committed to him: and he as king of kings, went about to see if they kepte the order that he appointed: neyther woulde he haue thẽ chased so, as they should be carried from one to another without profitte, but to mete with them, as they mighte

Murenas. Seruil. Isaurus.

Pompey chosen admirall against the Pyrates.

seruе

ſerue one anothers turne, and ſhut them vp within the compaſſes. *Pompey* hauing thus ordered all, he appointed *Tiberius Nero*, to *Spaine* and the pillers of *Hercules*, & with him *Manlius Torquatus*: *Marcus Pompeius*, to the *Ligurian* and *Celtican* ſea: *Lentulus Marcelinus*, and *Publius Attilus*, to *Lybia*, *Sardu*, *Cyrnus*, and al the nigh Ilands aboute *Italy*. He appointed *Lucius Gellius*, and *Gaius Lentulus*, *Plotius Varius*, and *Terentius Varius*, to *Acarnania*, and to keepe *Sicelie* and the *Ionian* ſea. To *Lucius Cinna*, *Peloponeſus*, and the coaſt of *Attica*, with *Eubœa*, *Theſſalia*, *Macedonia* and *Bœotia*. To *Lucius Cullio*, the Ilandes and all the *Aegean* and *Hell ſpont*. To *Publius Piſo*, *Bithynia*, *Thracia*, and *Pelopida*, and the mouth of *Pontus*. To *Metellus Nepos*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cyprus* and *Phœnitia*. Thus he appointed his Captaines to make their courſes and their onſets, and to keepe their places, and to receiue, when they ſledde from the other, that in their chaſe, they ſhould not exceed too far, nor be caried aboute in their fighting, that it might be ſpedily done: and he ſayled to them all, and hauing ouerſeene all in the Weaſt in fortie dayes, he came to *Rome*, and from thence to *Brundiſe*, & from *Brunduſe* into the Eaſt, ſo long a way, he afrayde them all with his ſodayne and quicke paſſage, and great preparation, and feare of his glory, inſomuche as the Pirates that hoped to haue bin too good for him, or truely to haue put him to paine ynoughe, beyng afraid by and by, left their expugnations of other citties, and reſorted to their wonted holdes and holes. So that the Sea was ſcowred by *Pompey* without any fight, and the Rouers were taken of the Captaines in euery place by parts. He wente into *Cilicia*, with a great army and many engins, thinking he ſhould haue hadde manye fyghtes and beſiegings, at their rocky Towers: but he needed none, for his glory and greate power, making them afrayde, and thinking that if they came not to fyght, they ſhoulde finde the more gentleneſſe: for ſtreight they deliuered *Cragus* and *Anticragus* the greateſt forts they had, then the mountaine men of *Cilicia*, and in order all yelded themſelues, and alſo muche armour, ſome ready, ſome to be made readye, they deliuered: and ſhippes, ſome vpon the ſtocks, ſome apte to ſayle: braſſe and yron gathered for that purpoſe, and ſailes, cables and other

The maner of the appoinmẽts.

The diligence of *Pompey*.

The Pirats gyue ouer.

Cragus and *Anticragus*, hilles of *Lycia*, parte of *Taurus*.

diuerse matter, and a number of prisoners, some being in bands for their ransome, and some for to worke. Their stuffe *Pompey* burned. Their ships he toke. The prisoners he sente into their Countreys, of the which, manye founde their graues made, bycause they were thought to be dead. The Pirates that seemed to come to this warre, not of malice, but for lacke of liuing, hee commaunded them to inhabite *Mallus*, *Adana*, *Epiphanea*, or any other place, desolate, and voyde of men, in the hard parte of *Cilicia*: some of them he sent to *Lyma* in *Achaia*. Thus the Pyrats warre that was thought to be most daungerous, was ended in fewe dayes of *Pompey*. Of shippes he toke. xxij. Of the that were deliuered three hundred and fyre. Of Cities, Fortes, and other strong places. 120. Of the Pirates were slayne in fighte. 10 0. These things being done spedely, and beyonde opinion, the *Romanes* highly extolling *Pompey* being yet in *Cilicia*, chose him the Generall of the warre against *Mithridates*, with like authoritie of a ruler alone, where he would inuade, and make warre, and to make frients or foes of *Rome*, whome he thought good, and of all the armye that was out of *Italy*, gaue him the authoritie, whiche was neuer so giuen to none before him, and peraduenture for this, they called him Great, for the warre of *Mithridates* was now ended by other Captaynes.

Many restored beyond hope.

The Pirates appoynted to inhabite hard places in the coast of Cilicia.

The large commission that *Pompey* had.

Pompey gathering hys armye out of *Asia*, dyd encamp in the confynes of *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* hadde a choyce army of hys owne, of thirtie thousande fotemen, and three thousande horsemen, and he defended the place, whiche being walled before by *Lucullus*, he had want of victuall. Wherfore many fugitiues wēt from him, some of the which, he threwe downe headlongs, some he pulled out their eyes, and some he burned, therefore the fewer fugitiues wēt frō him for feare of punishmēt. He was cōmuned with want, & therfore he sent Embassadors to *Pompey*, to knowe with what condition he might make peace: he answered, If thou deliuer our fugitiues, and commit thy selfe to vs: which when *Mithridates* heard, he asked ꝑ fugitiues what they thought, and whē he saw them afraid, he sware, he would neuer make peace with the *Romanes*, for their couetousnesse: and he deliuered none,

Answere of *Pompey* to *Mithridates*.

wor did nothing, but they were prpupe to it. Thus didde he.

Pompey laying an ambushe of horsemen, bad other go to the front of the Kings battaile, and prouoke them. And if they came forth, to gyue place as thoughe they were ouercome, and Fight of horsemen. bryng them to the place of the ambushe, at the whyche, they retournyng, they mighte gette into the Kynges Campe with them that fledde: Whyche hadde beene done in deede, if the King fearyng it, hadde not broughte oute hys footemen: and so they retired.

Thys was the ende of the fyrste attempt of the horsemen betweene *Pompey* and *Mithridates*.

The King being molested with want, was compelled to go backe, and suffer *Pompey* to come into that parte, thinking that being in that wasted place, he shoulde suffer many inconueniences: but he had prouided victuall to come behind hym, & going eastwarde againste *Mithridates*, made many Towers and trenches againste him, and compassed him in the space of fyue hundred Furlongs, that he coulde not nowe easilye come by victualls. And the King did not stoppe his entrenching, eyther for feare, or for ignorance, or for that all enils were nowe to come vppon him: and being oppressed againe wyth want, he kylled all beasts of cariages, onelye horses he spared, whiche scarcelye The King fleeth. serued for fyfety dayes, in the night he departed with great silence by harde wayes, whome *Pompey* coulde hardly ouertake in a day, sauing the tayle. Then the King being counseled by his friends to set hys men to the battell, would not fight, but with his horsmen onlye kepe backe them that approched, and in the night hyd himselfe in thicke woodes. The day folowing, he toke a rocky place, to the which, was one way only to come, and there he was kepte with foure bandes. And the Romanes kept on the contrary side, that he shold not escape. The nexte daye, eyther of thē armed their men. The forewarders of either part, at the side of the hyll skirmished, and the horsmen of the Kings were commanded to help their fellows without horses. Upon whom, whē ỳ Romanes came with their horsmen, ỳ kings mē ran on heaps to ỳ cāp, to get their horses, & to match with ỳ *Romanes* egallye.

A discomfiture vpon an errour.

They that were aboue and armed, seing them come running with shout, and not knowing what was done, but thinking they hadde fledde another way from the Campe that was taken, threwe awaye their armoure and fled, and the place being hard, one fell vpon an other in the throng, til they fell from the rocks. Thus the army of *Mithridates*, through the lacke of them that woulde without order take vpon them to helpe their former felowes, falling into a confusion, was losse. The reste of the matter was easy to *Pompey*, killing and taking the vnarmed, and beyng shut in the rockes, of the which feme thousand were slain, and all the Campe with the treasure of gold was taken. *Mithridates* with his guarde onely, fleing throughe the rocky places, met with some of the hyred horsemen, and three thousande foteSinoregia. men. They conducted hym to *Sinoregia* a castle, where he had laid vppe muche money, and giuing gyfts and a yeares wages to the companions of his flight, he carried with him fyue thousande talents, and wente to the fountaines of *Euphrates*, minding to goe from thence to *Colchos*: and vsing continuall speed, passed *Euphrates* the fourth daye. Cotenians. Tarrying there three dayes, he toke them that were with him, or came to him, and wet to *Chotena* of *Armenia*, there ouerthrowing the *Cotenians* and *Iberians* that kepte hym off by slings and darts, he wente to the floude *Apsares*.

Hiberians of Armenia & Spaine.

These *Hiberians* of *Asia*, some say were the progenitors, & some the posteritie, of the *Hiberians* of *Europe*: and some say, they were onely of one name, for their maner and tongue is nothing like. *Mithridates* wintred at *Dioscuride*, which Citie they of *Cholcide*, thinke to bee a Monument of the trauaile of *Castor* and the *Argonants*: and though he were yet fleeyng, he conceyued no litle matter in his mynde, but to goe aboute all *Pontus* in a circle, and the *Scythians* beyond *Pontus*, and the Fenne of *Meotis*, and attempt *Bosphorus*, and to take the kingdome of *Machares* his sonne, as vnprofytable to him, and then to make open warre againste the Romanes, and to begin it from *Europe*, they beeing in *Asia*, and to put *Pontus* in the middest, whiche some thinke to be called *Bosphorus*, of *Io* swimming ouer, when she was made a Cowe, and fled the telousie of *Iuno*.

Dioscurias a citie in Colchide, vvhere somes tyme occupyed three hundred nations of dyuers language.

Pontus.

Io.

Thys

Thus muche beyonde all reason didde *Mithridates* thinke to bring to passe. He passed by the *Scythian* nations both that were enimies or otherwise, eyther by perswasion or violence. Thus fleing, and in miserye he was honoured and feared. He passed by the *Heniochians*, they receyuing him. The *Achæans* that wold haue resisted hym, he put to slight. They as it is saide, came frō *Troy* to *Pontus*, beyng driuen by tempest, and there suffred muche of the *Barbarians*, bycause they were *Grecians*. And when they sent into their countrey for shippes, and were denied, they so hated the *Greekes*, that as *Scythians*, they sacrificed as many *Greekes* as came fyrste all for anger, then the fairest onely, at laste, them to whome it fell by lotte. *Achaians of Troy*

A sacrifice of men.

And thus muche of *Achæans* and *Scythians*. *Mithridates* comming to *Meotis*, of the which were many Princes, they all receiued him, and sent to him for the glorye of hys actes, kingdome, and power, yet worthy to be honored, bringing him many gifts and sending others. He made lignage with them, thinking to do straunge feats, as to go from *Thracia* to *Macedonia*, from *Macedonia* to *Pannonia*, and so to *Italy*, and the mountains of the Alpes, and made marriages for his daughters, with the mightiest of his confederateurs.

When his sonne *Machares* hearde that he had come so gret a way in so little time, thorowe so many fierce nations, and the places called the Locks of *Scythia*, that no man had gone before, hee sent certaine Ambassadors vnto him, to excuse hym, that for necessitie, he obeyed the Romanes. And when he sawe his anger extreame, he fledde into *Ponto Cherronese*, burning his shippes that hys father shoulde not folow him. But he sending other to take hym, he kylled himselfe. *Mithridates* killed all his friendes that he betoke to him, when he went to that kingdome. The familiars of his sonne, that were come by priuate friendshyp, he lette goe vnhurte. Thus did *Mithridates*. *Machares* killeth himselfe for feat of his father.

Pompey followed hym fleeyng as farre as *Cholcos*, not thinking good to follow him any further, nor to passe aboute *Pontus* or the Fenne of *Meotis*, nor supposing, that in that case he woulde attempt any great matter, he went to *Cholcos*, to see the historie of

Argonautis, were the Gentlemen that went with *Iason*.

Argonaute, and *Castor*, and *Pollux*, and the iourney of *Hercules*, and chiefly to see the passion of *Prometheus*, which they say he suffered at the hyll of *Caucasus*. There be many springs that runne from *Caucasus*, that carry shredds of gold that can not be seene: and the inhabitants put fleeses into the streame, where it is deepest, and so gather the gold sand that is conteyned. And peraduenture such a one was the golden fleese that *Aetes* bare on hys backe. Whilest *Pompey* was beholding this story, other nations that were nigh, sent vnto him: but *Oazes* the King of *Albania*, and *Artocus*, the king of *Iberia*, with 70. thousand, lay in wayt for him at *Cyrus*, the flood flowing into the Sea of *Caspij* with twelue mouthes, many riuers running into him, & *Araxes* greatest of all. When *Pompey* heard of the trayns, he passed the flood, and droue the *Barbarians* into the thickest woodes. They are good fighters in woodes, hiding themselues, and appearing suddainely agayne. He compassed the wodde with his army, and burned it, and chased them that fledde, vntill all sent hostages & giftes, of whom he triumphed in *Rome*. Amõg the hostages and prisoners, there were found women, hauing no lesse woundes than men, and they were thought to be *Amazones*, eyther because the *Amazones* that be a nation therby, were come to help them, or for that the *Barbarians* call all warlike women *Amazones*. *Pompey* going from thence, encamped in *Armenia*, accusing *Tigranes* for helping of *Mithridates*, marching to *Artazata* wher the kings pallace was. *Tigranes* would not haue warre. He had children by *Mithridates* daughter, of the whiche *Tigranes* killed two, one in fight making him warre, the other, because he would not take him vp when he had a fall at hunting, and because he did set the crowne on his head. The third, because he lamented his father in that hunting, was crowned of him, but rebelling shortly after, he was ouercome of his father, and fledde to *Phraates*, king of the *Parthians*, that now succeeded in the Kingdome to his father *Sintrico*. When *Pompey* was at hande, conferring with *Phraates*, and he agreeyng, and seeking priuate friendship with *Pompey*, the yong man humbly fledde to *Pompey*, being *Mithridates* daughters sonne. But great was the estimatiõ of *Pompey* among the *Barbarians*, for iustice and faithfulnesse, to the which,

Artocus lyeth in wayte for *Pompey*.

Pompey destroyeth the enimies in a wodde.

VVomen found wounded.

Amazones were the women that cutte off one of their breastes.

Tigranes killeth two of his children.

Pompey in great honor for iustice

which, his father *Tigranes* also trusting, came vnto him, without sending any messengers afore, submitting himselfe & all his, to *Pompey*, and the iudgement betweene him and his sonne. *Pompey* sent his chiefe Captaynes, commanding them to meete ỳ king with all honour: they that were with *Tigranes*, bycause they had not sent before, fledde, but *Tigranes* wẽt on, & honoured *Pompey* as the better, after the *Barbaria* fashion. Some say, he was brought by ỳ sergeants, whom *Pompey* had sent to fetch him. Howsoeuer he came, he made an accompt of his doings, and gaue to *Pompey* fiue M. talents, & to euery common Souldioure. 50. drammes, & to a Captayne of a band a M. and to a collonell tenne M. *Pompey* forgaue all ỳ was passed, and agreed him with his sonne, and appointed him to reigne in *Sophene*, and *Gordene*, (these be now *Armenia* the lesse) and his father, in the rest of *Armenia*, in the which his sonne should succeede him. The land that he had conquered, he commanded him to leaue, and he left *Syria* frõ *Euphrates* to the Sea, for *Tigranes* had this, and a part of *Cilicia*, putting out *Antiochus* that was called the dutifull. The *Armenians* that forsoke *Tigranes*, when he went to *Pompey*, remayning in suspition, persuaded his sonne, being yet with *Pompey*, to entrappe hys father. He was taken and bounde, and in that time stirring the *Parthians* against *Pompey*, was brought in triumph, & dispatched. *Pompey* thinking all warre had bin ended, builded a citie, where he ouercame *Mithridates*, and of ỳ acte, called it *Nicopolis*, & it is in *Armenia* ỳ lesse. He restored ỳ kingdome of *Cappadotia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and added *Sophene* & *Gordene* which he had giuẽ to *Tigranes* sonne, the which now be subiect to *Cappadocia*. He gaue him also *Cabala* a citie of *Cilicia*, & others, ỳ which kingdome *Ariobarzanes* gaue vnto his sonne whiles he was aliue, in the whiche was manye mutations, till *Augustus* time, in the whiche it was made a prouince as other kingdomes were. *Pompey* passing ouer ỳ hil *Taurus*, made war vpõ *Antiochus Conagemus*, til he was accepted to peace. He ouercame *Darius* ỳ *Median*, either bycause he holp *Antiochus* or *Tigranes* before. He ouercame ỳ *Arabians*, ỳ be called *Nabathei*, *Areta* being their king, and ỳ Iewes ỳ reuolted frõ their king *Aristobulus*, and tooke *Hierusalem* ỳ is ỳ most holy citty to thẽ, & the rest of *Cilicia* ỳ was not yet subiect to *Rome*,

Tigranes submitteth to *Pompey*.

The munificence of *Tigranes*.

Tigranes sonne is taken, & caried in triumph.

Pompey buildeth *Nicopolis*.

Arabians.

Pompey taketh *Hierusalem*.

and

and that parte of *Syria*, that is aboute *Euphrates*, which is called *Cœle*, *Phœnice* and *Palestina*: and the *Idumeans*, and *Itureans*, and al other names of *Syria*, he brought vnder the Romanes dominion, without any warre, hauing no matter againste *Antiochus* the pittifull, being present and suing for his fathers kingdome, but bycause he thought, that it being taken from *Tigranes*, who had put out *Antiochus*, it might wel be iudged to the people of *Rome*.

A straight interpretation of right.

Whiles he was aboute these matters, Ambassadors came vnto him from *Phraates* and *Tigranes*, that were at warre. They that came from *Tigranes*, desired helpe as of their frende. They that came from *Phraates*, desired to be receyued into amitie with the Romaines. And *Pompey* not minding to make war vppon the *Parthians* without the decrè of the Senate, sent arbitrers to reconcile them. And thus he did.

Mithridates had nowe gone about *Pontus*, and hauing taken *Panticupæon*, that is the chiefe citie of Marchandise in *Europa* at the entrie of *Pontus*, he killed his sonne *Siphares* at *Poro*, for his mothers faulte, whiche was this:

Particupæon a citie at Bosphorus Cimeris. *Mithridates* kylleth his sonne.

Mithridates had a castle, in the whiche were hidde vnder the grounde in brasen vessels bounde with yron, muche treasure secretely. *Stratonice*, one of *Mithridates* wiues or women, whyche had the gouernement and kéeping of this Castel, whiles *Mithridates* went about *Pontus*, deliuered the Castle to *Pompey*, and reuealed the treasure that was vnknowne. Onely wyth this condition, that if *Pompey* toke his sonne *Siphares*, he should saue him. He hauing the money, promised to saue his sonne, and gaue his leaue to carie awaye his owne things. When *Mithridates* knew what was done, he killed *Siphares* at the narrowe sea, and threw his boyde vnburyed, his mother séeyng it on the other shoare.

Thus he killed the childe, to be reuenged of the mother.

He sent Ambassadors to *Pompey* being in *Syria*, & not hearyng whither he were aliue or dead, that hee might enioy his fathers kingdome, and pay Tribute for it to the Romaines. *Pompey* bad him come, and speake for himselfe as *Tigranes* had done. That he saide he woulde neuer doe, being *Mithridates*, but hée woulde sende some of his children and friendes.

Thus

Thus he sayd, and withall gathered an army togither of free and bond, bringing much armour, shot, and munition, sparing no mans wodde, nor labouring Ore, to make strings. He sette taxes vpon euery man, though he were but of small substance, the collectors whereof did much spight, which he knew not of. And being sick in his face of a bile, he was healed of ỳ Eunuchs, and only sene of thē. When he was whole, and his army gathered, there was three score choyce bandes, with fyre hundred in a company, and there was another great multitude, and shippes, and places which his Captaynes had got whilest he was sicke. He sent a part of his army to *Phanagorea*, whiche was another mart towne at the mouth, that he might haue his entries on both sides, *Pompey* being yet in *Syria*. *Castor* of *Phanagorea* beeyng iniured of *Triphon*, an Eunuch of the Kings, he killed *Triphon* as he entred, and called the people to libertie: and they bycause the Castell was holden of *Artaphernes*, and other sonnes of the Kings, did bring wodde, and burned the tower, by the whyche feare, *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*, *Ozethres*, and *Eupatra*, *Mithridates* children, gaue themselues to be taken. *Artaphernes* was about fortie yeares olde, the other were faire yong men. There was another daughter of *Mithridates* called *Cleopatra*, who tarried still, whome the father louing for hir noble heart, sent diuers Foysses, and toke hir away. Other Castels there about lately taken of *Mithridates*, following the boldnesse of the *Phanagoreans*, reuolted from *Mithridates*, *Xerroneſus*, *Theudosia*, *Nymphæon*, and all other that were fitte for the warre aboute *Pontus*. He seeing these many reuoltings, and hauing his army in suspition, not faithfull, being compelled to serue of necessitie, and for the great tributes, and the infidelitie of armies always toward the Generalles that be in miserie, he sent his daughters by his Eunuchs, to be married to the princes of *Scythia*, requyring an army to be sente him with speede, sending fiue hundreth Souldyoures with them. They, being not very farre off, *Mithridates*, killed the Eunuchs, bycause they were euer iniured of the Eunuchs, that might do most with *Mithridates*, and led the maydes to *Pompey*. *Mithridates* being spoyled of so many children,

Mithridates sick in the face.

A mutenie at *Phanagorea*.

The kings children taken.

Cities reuolte.

The Kings Eunuchs be killed.

Castles, and of his whole kingdome, and not fitte nowe for to make battell, nor loking for anye helpe of the *Scythians*, yet not conceyuing any small matter, as one that was in calamitie, but sent to the Frenchmen, whome he hadde made friends long before, intending to go to them, and inuade *Italy* with them, thynking many of *Italy* were weery of the *Romanes*, and hearing that *Annibal* began the warre in *Spayne*, and was most fearefull to the *Romanes*. He knew that of late almost all *Italy* rebelled from *Rome*, and kepte a long warre with them, and that *Spartacus* a swoordplayer, was stirred vp of them, a man of no regard. With this opinion he marched toward *France*. This most bold enterprise the army disappoynted, being not content with so great a boldnesse, nor so long a iourney, to be ledde into a strange countrey, against men, whom they could not ouercome in their owne countrey, thinking *Mithridates* to be in despaire of all things, and would in labour and like a king end his life, rather than in rest. Yet awhile they abode, and were quiet, for he was no small king, and not to be contemned euen in aduersitie. They standing thus, *Pharnates* that was most deare to him of al his sonnes, whome he had many times declared to be the successour of his kingdome, eyther for feare of his kingdome by this army, being yet like to obteyne pardon of the *Romanes*, but if his father shoulde make warre in *Italy*, like to lose all his heritage, either for other causes and reasons, and desires, he laide wayte for his father. The conspiratoures being taken, and put to the racke, *Menophanes* persuaded *Mithridates* not to kyll his sonne that was so much esteemed now in his voyage, for (sayde he) suche mutations happe in warre, whyche beyng ceassed, they be slayed also. He being persuaded, granted pardon to his sonne: but he fearing the remembrance of it, knowing the army was weery of the iourney, in the nighte went to the fugitiues of *Rome* that serued next his father, and shewed what daunger they shoulde be in if they wente into *Italy*, whiche they euidently sawe, and promising them many benefites if they woulde tarrie, brought them to rebell from his father. When he had persuaded them, *Pharnates* sente to the other that were next in the army, they also,

Pharnates the kings sonne.

Menophanes persuadeth *Pharnates*.

The army reuolteth from the King, by the practise of his sonne.

con-

consenting, the fugitiues were the firste that departed in the morning, that forsoke the king, and other that were euer nerte, made a great shoute, and the Nauie aunswered them, not being all alike disposed peraduenture, but readye to mutations, and despising him that was in aduersitie, alwayes hoping for better at euery change. Other being ignorãt of that was done, & thinking all other to be corrupted, and that they alone shculd be despised of the more part, for feare and necessitie, rather than of good will, agreed to theyr purpose.

Princes forsake in calamitie.

Mithridates being stirred by the crye, sente some to knowe what they meante by theyr crye, they not dissembling, sayde, they required the sonne to reigne for the father, a yong man for an olde, that was ruled by his Eunuches, and that had killed so many children, Captaynes, and friends. Whiche when *Mithridates* hearde, he came forthe to say somewhat to them, and euen then a number of his gard fledde to the fugitiues. They sayde they would not accept them, vnlesse they did some notable feate, and withall shewed *Mithridates*. They killed his horse, and now as obteyning their purpose, saluted *Pharnaces* King, and one brought a broade paper out of the Temple, and crowned hym with it in stead of a diademe. Whiche when *Mithridates* did see from aboue, he sente one after another to *Pharnates*, to requyre safe flighte, no man of them that were sent returning, fearing least they should be giuen to the *Romanes*. He prayeng the gard, and such frends as yet tarried with him, sent them to the new king, and the armye killed some of them without anye cause, he takyng out of hys sworde a poyson that euer he dyd carrie aboute hym, tempered it. Two of hys daughters, named *Mithridates* and *Nissa*, espoused to the Kyngs of *Aegipt* and *Cypres*, that were brought vppe with hym, desyred they myghte take the poyson fyrste, and were verye instante, and would not lette hym drynke it, tyll they hadde taken it: and the potion sone dispatched them, but it woulde not worke vppon *Mithridates* hymselfe, though hee walked fast for the purpose, bycause hee vsed to eate other medicines, whyche he tooke euer agaynste the violence of poyson, whyche

The kings horse killed by his gard.

A crowne of paper in stead of golde.

Two of the kings daughters die constantly before him.

The poyson would not worke in the king, bycause he had vsed dayly medicines against poyson, which of hys name be called *Mithridatum*.

medicines at this day be called *Mithridatum*. Being then one *Bitaton*, a Captaine of the Frenchmen, he saide vnto him, I haue had much profite of thy right hand against mine enimies, I shall now receyue greatest pleasure, if thou wilt take me away, that am in danger to be carried to the pomp of a triumph, that haue bin a ruler and a king of so many and so greate a dominion, and can not dye of poyson, bycause of the continuall receits of other medicines. But the greatest and most ready poyson whiche kings alwayes feele, is the treachery of armye, children, and friends. I did not foresee, but all things, concerning my dyet, I did foresee and keepe. *Bitatus* weeping, obeyed the necessitie of the king. Thus *Mithridates* dyed, the eleuenth after *Darius* last king of *Persia*, and the eyght from *Mithridates* that forsoke the *Macedonians*, and possessed the kingdome of *Pontus*. He liued eyght or nine yeare aboue threescore, and had reigned fiftie and seauen yeares: for being yet an Orphane, the kingdome came to him. He subdued the nigh nations of the *Barbarians*, and ouercame many of the *Scythians*, and made a sharpe warre against the *Romanes* fortie yeares, in the whiche he ofte conquered *Bithinia* and *Cappadocia*. He ouerranne *Asia*, *Phrygia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Macedonia*, and sayling into *Grecia*, did manye greate actes, and was Lord of the sea from *Cilicia* to *Ionia*, till *Sylla* shutte him againe within his fathers kingdome, ouerthrowing 140. ships, and after so great a tolle, rennen the warre eatily, fighting with the best Captaynes. Being ouercome of *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, he had many times the better hande of them. *Lucius Cassius*, *Oppius Quintus*, and *Manius Acilius*, he toke prisoners, and ledde them about with him, til he killed him that was the cause of the warre, and the other he deliuered to *Sylla*. He ouerthrew *Phimbria*, *Murena*, and *Cota* the Cheefest, and *Fabius* and *Triarius*. He had a vnquenchable great heart, and euen in his miserie was mighty and spyrytefull. He left nothing vnattempted against the *Romanes*, no, not when he was ouerthrowen. He was confedered with the *Martians* and *Scuthi*, and sente to *Sertorius* into *Iberia*. He was wounded many times in his person of his enimies and others by treason, yet neuer telling them, though he were olde. Neyther

The wordes of *Mithridates* before his miserable ende.

Treachery the greatest poyson to Kings.

The actes of *Mithridates*.

The courage of the King.

was

was any of the conspiracies hidde from him, no not in his last dayes, but where he willingly let it passe, he was destroyed by it, so unthankefull a thing is malice obteyning pardon. Bloudy he was, and alwayes cruell. He killed his mother and his brother, and of his children three sonnes and three daughters. Hys body was bigge, as his armoure do declare, whiche he sente to *Nemea* and *Delphos*. He hadde good strength, and euen to the last, could ride and throw his dart. He ranne in one day a thousand furlongs by changing of horses. He guyded a chariot with .xvj. horses. He was learned in the Greeke letters, and thereby dyd understand the Greeke Ceremonies. He loued musicke. He was temperate and paynefull in all things, and onely he was ouercome of pleasures with wome. Thus *Mithridates* called *Eupator Dionisius* dyed. When the *Romanes* heard of it, they made great ioy, as deliuered of a sore enimie. *Pharnaces* sente his fathers corpse to *Sinope* to *Pompey* in Gallies, and them that toke *Manius* & other many pledges, as wel of *Grecia* as *Barbaria*: he desired his fathers kingdom, or to be king of *Bosphorus* only, the which kingdome *Machares* his brother had of *Mithridates*. *Pompey* gaue allowance for the burying of *Mithridates* body, and appointed them that loked to it, to burie it royally, and to place it in *Sinope* amõg the kings Sepulchres, louing him for his noble heart, as a king most worthy in his time. He made *Pharnaces* that had deliuered *Italy* from great trouble, friend and confederate of the *Romanes*, and gaue him *Bosphorus* for his kingdome, *Phanagorea* excepted, which he left free, and of their owne iurisdiction, which were the first that resisted *Mithridates* after he renued force, and had gotten ships, and another army, and places of receipt, and were leaders of rebellion to other, and causes of his destruction. He in this one war ouerthrew the pirats, and subdued the mightiest kings, and being brought to fight without the warre of *Pontus*, the *Cholcans*, *Albanians*, *Iberians*, *Armenians*, *Medians*, *Arabians*, and *Iewes*, and other nations of the East, he subdued, and limited the Empire of the *Romanes* vnto *Aegipt*, into the whiche he would not enter, though they were at deuotion, and the king calling him, and sending him giftes, and money, and garmentes, e-

Malice obteyning pardon vnthankefull.
A cruell King.
Nemea the place where teates were shewed in the honor of *Hercules*.
The strength of the King.
The learning of the King.
He loued Musicke.
The body of the King buryed at the charges of the *Romanes*.
Phanagorea free.

to all his armye, eyther fearing the greatenesse of that kyng-dome yet flourishing, or anoyding the hate of his enimies, or oracles, forbidding it, or for other reasons whiche I will shewe in the story of *Aegipt*. Of the nations that he wanne, some he left free, because they were of the *Romanes* amitie. Some he made subiect to the *Romanes*, some he gaue to be kingdomes, as *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, *Bosphorus* to *Pharnace*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, with the rest that I spake of. He committed *Seleucia* to *Antiochio*, *Comagineſa*, and al the other that he had got in *Meſopotamia*. He appoynted *Tetrarches* of *Gallogrecia*, whiche be nowe *Galatians*, borderers vpon *Cappadocia*, *Deiotaro*, and others. *Attalus* had power ouer *Paphlagonia*, and *Ariſtarchus* of *Colchus*. He appoynted *Archelaus*, the holy minister of the Goddesse in *Comagena*, which is as good as a kings dominion, and declared *Caſtor* of *Phanagorea*, a friend to the *Romanes*, and he gaue to other muche land and money. He builded Cities in *Armenia* the lesse, *Nicopolis*, because of his victory, in *Pontus*, *Eupatoria*, whiche *Mithridates Eupator* builded, and named it of himselfe, and destroyed it, because it receiued the *Romanes*, and *Pompey* erected it againe, and called it *Magnopolis*. In *Cappadocia* he restifyed *Mazaria*, that was vtterly destroyed, and others that were decayed or afflicted he restored. In *Pontus*, *Paleſtina*, and *Caloſyria*, and *Cilicia*, where he placed the Pirats. The Citie that of old time was called *Sole*, is now *Pompeiopolis*. In *Talauris*, which Citie *Mithridates* had as a storehouse for his munition, were found two thousande cuppes made of precious stone, bound about with barres of golde, and pottes, & cannes, & lauers, beddes, and chayers most rich. There were bridles, saddles, and caparisons for horses, beset with golde and precious stone, the whiche were so many, as thirtye dayes was spent in the deliuerie of them. Part of them were giuen by *Darius Hiſtaſis*, some of ye king *Ptolomei*, which *Cleopatra* gaue to ye *Coans*, and they to *Mithridates*, and made and gathered more, desiring desirous of precious apparell. At the end of Winter *Pompey* distributed gifts to his army, to euery man fiue Drachmes of *Athens*, and to the Captaines accordingly. They say the summe came to xvi. M. Talents. He went to *Epheſus* and ſayled ſoutely,

Aegipt not touched.

Pompey appointeth kings and princes.

The minister of *Comagena* equall to king.

Caſtor.

Cities builded of *Pompey*.

Magnopolis.

Pompeiopolis.

Talauris full of treasure.

Gifts to the army.

and

and from thence went to *Rome*, leauing his army at *Brundusi*, and sending euery man home: whiche acte being accepted to the people, made the *Romanes* to wonder. There came to mæte hym by seuerall companyes, the yong men furthest of, then in order as euery man could for age, last the Senate, extolling his actes, for there was no man that had ouerthrowen so many enimies, nor taken so many nations, and measures the *Romane* Empyre with the flood of *Euphrates*. He triumphed most gloriously as euer did mã at the .xxxv. yeare of his age, which continued two dayes of many nations, from *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Celicia*, and all *Syria*, of *Albania*, *Heniochia*, *Achaia*, and *Scythia*, and the East *Hiberians*. And he brought into the portes seauen hundred found shippes, and to the pompe of his triumph Chariots, and Cartes wrought with gold, and other full of diuers treasure, as a bedde of *Darius Histaspis*, and the chaire and Scepter of *Eupater*, and an image of golde of eyght cubites to the breastes, of siluer coyned seauen thousand millions, fiue hundred and ten, an infinite number of cartes with armoure, and stemmes of shippes, and a multitude of prisoners & pirates, none bound, but clad after their countrey. Before *Pompey* went the Captaynes of the kings that were ouercome, or their children or generalls, some being captiues, some giuen for hostages, in number three hundred .xxiiij. Then was there *Tigranes*, sonne to *Tigranes*, and fiue of *Mithridates*, *Artaphernes*, *Cyrus*, *Oxathres*, *Darius*, & *Xerxes*, and two daughters, *Orsabaus* and *Eupatra*. There was brought *Olthaces*, sceptre bearer of *Colchos*, and *Aristobulus*, king of the *Iewes*, and the Tirans of *Cilicia*, and women of the kings blood of *Scythia*, three Dukes of *Iberia*, and two of *Albania*, and *Menander* of *Laodicea*, that was generall of the horsemen to *Mithridates*. The Images of them that came not, were brought: of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* fighting, being ouercome, and fleeing: of *Mithridates* the beseeging, and the night, when he was fledde was represented, and the silence, and last it was shewed howe he dyed. The Virgines that chose to dye with hym were figured, and descriptions of hys Sonnes and Daughters that dyed before hym, the pictures of the *Barbarian* Goddes, and the ornã-

The receyuing of *Pompey* of *Rome*.

The triumph of Pompey.

Here a Million is ten thousande.

700 Shippes
he brought
7510. mill of Silu
322. prison
Aristobulus King of the Iewes
3 Dukes
2 of Alb

ornamentes of their countrey. There was borne a table shewing these things. The Shippes that were taken, were eighte hundreth, with beakes of brasse. Cities builded, eight in *Cappadocia*, in *Cilicia* and *Celosyria* twentie, and in *Palestina*, that whiche is now called *Seleucus*. Kings ouercome, *Tigranes* of *Armenia*, *Artaces* of *Hiberia*, *Orizes* of *Albania*, *Darius* of *Media*, *Aretas* of *Nabathea*, *Antiochus Camagenus*, all these did the picture shew. *Pompey* himselfe was in a Chariot full of precious stones, hauing on the cloke (as they saye) of *Alexander* of *Macedony*, if it may be beleeued, that by like he had it in *Mithridates* Garderobe, being brought to *Coo* by *Cleopatra*. The Captaynes of the confederates followed the Chariote, some on horse, and some a foote. Being come to *Capitolio*, he killed none of the prisoners as other in triumphes had done, but sent them to their Countreys with the common expences, except the Kings, of the which only *Aristobulus* was streight killed, and shortly after *Tigranes*. This was the triumph.

The glory of Pompey.

Pharnace besieged *Phanagorea*, and the borderours of *Bosphorus*, till the *Phanagoreans* driuen by famine came forthe and foughte, & were ouercome, of whome he hurt none but toke pledges, and went his way.

Pharnaces maketh warre.

Not long after he toke *Sinope*, and coueting *Amisus*, he made warre with *Caluisio* the Lieutenant, at the which time *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were at debate, till *Asander* his priuate enimie droue him out of *Asia*, the *Romanes* being otherwise occupyed.

Asander.

He made warre with *Cæsar* after he had ouercome *Pompey*, returning from *Aegipt* at the hill *Scotio*, where his father ouercame *Triaro*, and being ouercome, he fledde to *Sinope* with a thousand horsemen. *Cæsar* hauing no leysure to follow him, sente *Domitius* against him, to whome he deliuered the Citie, and vppon conditions of peace, went away with his horsemen, whose horse he killed, they being much greeued at it. Being conueyed by shippe, he fledde to *Pontus*, and gathering some *Scythians* and *Sauromatians*, toke *Theudocia* and *Panticapæa*. His old aduersarie *Asandro* comming againe vpon him, and his horsemen wantyng horse, and not vsed to fight on foote, they were ouercome, *Pharna-*

ces alone fighting valiauntlye, till he was wounded, and died when he was fiftye yeares olde, and xv. yeares king of Bosphorus. This Pharnaces losse his kingdome, whiche C. Cæsar gaue to Mithridates of Pergamo, that had holpen hym well in Aegipt. Nowe they be free, but to Pontus and Bythinia, a president is sent euery yeare. Pharnaces slaine by a priuie foe.

The other coūtries that Pompey had giuen, although Cæsar blamed them for taking Pompeys parte against him, yet he let them haue it, sauing the spiritual office of Comagene, which he translated from Archelaus to Nicomedes: but not long after, bothe these and those that C. Cæsar and M. Antonius gaue to other, wer made prouinces of the Romaynes, by Augustus Cæsar, when he hadde wonne Aegipt, the Romaines taking lighte occasions againste euery man. Therfore their dominion encreasyng by thys warre of Mithridates, into Pontus Euxinus, and to the landes of Aegipt, and the floude Euphrates from the Hiberians that be at the pillers of Hercules, it maye wel be called a greate Victorie, and Pompey the Captaine euen so. They haue also Affrica to Sirene, which Appion the king of the house of Lagida, being base, gaue them by his Testament: only Aegipt was left for the compasse of their inwarde sea. Spiritual office of Comagene.

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The ende of the Romaine ciuill vvarres vvith King Mithridates.

¶ The *Romanes* warre with the Spanyardes: by Appian of Alexandria.



THe mountaynes of *Pyrene*, stretche from the *Toscane* sea to the North *Ocean*. The *Celtes* which now be called *Galles*, do inhabit part of them toward the East. The *Iberians*, and *Celtiberians* from the *Toscane* Sea also, to the pilloures of *Hercules*, and the North *Ocean*, be towarde the West, so as *Iberia* is compassed with the Sea, except the mountaines of *Pyrene*, which be the greatest and highest hilles of *Europe*. The nations make a nauigation with this compasse, and come to the pillers of *Hercules*. They doe not go by the winter and West *Ocean*, but to passe into *Brittayne* whyche they doe, by the commoditie of the tydes going and comming: and this passage is made by sayling halfe a day. Other places of this *Ocean* neyther the *Romanes* themselues, nor none of their Empire haue passed. Therefore the greatnesse of *Iberia*, which now is called *Spayne*, being considered as one prouince, is almost incredible, for the breadth of it is tenne thousand furlongs, and the length as muche. Many nations inhabite it, and be diuers in names, and there be many nauigable flouds in it. What people did inhabite first, or who got it after, and suche other matter, I am not minded to shew, but only so much as may appertayne to the *Romanes*. Only this I will saye, that I suppose the *Celtes* passed the *Pyrenian* hilles, and dwelled among the other inhabitants of the Countrey, of the whiche it is manifest, that the name of the *Celtiberians* came: and the *Phœnitians* long before, sayling often thither, I thinke did inhabite a part of it. Likewise other *Grecians*, that sayled to *Tartessus*, to *Arganthonius* king of the same, did stay in *Iberia*, for as I suppose, *Arganthonius* reigned then in *Spayne* at *Tartessus*, whiche was then a Citie at the Sea coast, that is nowe named *Carpesse*. And I beleeue that the Temple of

Iberia that parte of *Spayne* on eyther side of *Iberus* the flood nowe *Ebro*. *Celtiberia* that part whiche nowe is called *Arragon*.

Brittayne nowe *Englande*.

Spayne a great region. Eight furlongs maketh a mile.

Tartessus nowe *Taressa* in *Germania*. *Arganthonius* lyued a hundred and fifty yeares.

of *Hercules*, was builded of *Iphenia*, in that place which is called the pillers, in the whiche at this day Ceremonies be vsed after the manner of the *Phœnitians*, and he that was borne at *Tirus*, not he that was borne at *Thebes*, was counted the God of that Countrey. But we leaue this to them that haue care to search antiquities.

There were diuers *Hercules*, whereof one was of *Tirus* borne of *Asteria* another of *Thebes* borne of *Alcumena*.

This coast so plentifull and rich, the *Carthagies* deuised to get before the *Romanes*, and subdued one parte, and vexed the other with continuall inuasions, till the *Romanes* put the out, & possessed al their places. Other tolnes afterward came to their Empire by mucke labour and long time, whiche reuolting diuers times, were againe subdued by the *Romanes*, who diuided that region into three parts, and sent so many presidents to it. How they got euery place, and what warre they kepte with the *Carthagies*, and then with the *Iberians* and *Celtiberians*, I will shew in this volume. The *Romanes* firste made warre with the *Carthagies*, but bycause that warre was made for *Spayne*, I must nedes shew it in this historie, whiche I wright of *Spayne*, and for that cause I haue comprehended in the booke of the warre of *Sicelie*, what adoe was betweene the *Romanes* and *Carthagies* for that Islande, and that was, when the *Romanes* sayled into *Sicelie* to subdue that place.

The first warre of *Carthage* for *Sicelie*.

The first warre with the *Carthagies* was in *Sicelie*, for the dominion of that Island.

The second was in *Spayne*, for the possession of it, at the whiche tyme, eyther of them inuaded others lands with greate armyes and Nauie. The *Carthagies* destroying *Italy*, and the *Romanes Libya*.

This warre begamne aboute the CCL. Olimpiad, when the *Carthagies* had broken the truce that was made in the warre of *Sicelie*, the cause whereof was this. *Amilchar* surnamed *Barcha*, promised great rewards to the *Celtes* and *Libyans* that were with him in *Sicelie*, the whiche rewardes being required of *Amilchar* when he was come to *Carthage*, was the cause of the warre with *Affrike*, in the whiche the *Carthagies* suffered muche hurte, for they delyuered *Sardinia* to the *Romanes*,

The olde accompt of yeares was by the *Olimpiades*, which were playes made euery fiue yeares, in the honour of *Iupiter*, institute of *Hercules* at *Olimpia*, a Citie of *Elide*. *Amilchar Barche*.

for the iniurie they had done to the *Romane* Merchantes in that warre. For these causes, when *Amilchar Barcha* was accused of the contrary faction, as by whome came so greate detriment of the Citie, he, by the fauoure of them that gouerned the common wealthe, whereof *Hasdruball* called the Greate, was one, to whome he had giuen his daughter in marriage, and well beloued of the people, was not only pardoned, but also chosen a Captayne, togither with *Hanno* that was called Great, against the *Numidians*, the accusation yet depending, by the whyche, *Amilchar* muste gyue an accompte of his doyngs in the warre.

In the first warre with the Carthagies.

Hasdruball.

Hanno.

When the warre of *Numidia* was ended, and *Hanno* called to *Carthage* for certayne complaynes, *Amilchar* remayned Captayne of the army alone, hauing with hym *Asdrubal* hys sonne in lawe. And with thys armye, he sayled to *Gades*, and did molest the *Iberians*, spoyling theyr lande, not that they hadde deserued anye such thing, but that he soughte occasion to be absente from hys Countrey, making that warre, to winne the fauour of the people. For deuiding the pray, he gaue parte of it to the Souldoyoures that were with him, and parte hee sente to *Carthage*, and parte he gaue to the chiefe of the Citie that fauoured hym.

Gades nowe *Cales*. They bee two Ilands in the furthest part of *Granata* next the streighte of Gibraltar.

Whilest he dyd thus, certayne of the greate men, and others of *Iberia*, conspired togither, and killed hym thus.

They sent certayne Cartes laden with wodde, whyche they followed with theyr armoure. At thys the *Carthagies* laughed at the fyrste, not perceyuing the policie, but when it was perceyued, and the fyghte begunne, the *Iberians* sette the Cartes on fyre, whereby the Oxen were dryuen vpon the *Numidians*. And when the fire was dispersed euery where, and the Oxen ramne hyther and thyther, it muche disordered the *Affricanes*, and brake their aray, whereby the *Iberians* came vppon them, and killed *Amilchar Barcha*, and the rest that fought: but the *Carthagies* beyng allured by the pray of *Iberia*, sente another armye to *Asdruball* that was *Barchas* sonne in law, and committed the rule of that army to him. He ioyned to him *An-*

Stratageme of the *Iberians*.

Amilchar is slayne.

Asdruball.

nibal

niball that was sonne to Barcha, as his Lieutenant, and his wiues brother, who after got so great a name by his valiant actes, being very yong, but expert in the warre, and accepted to the soul- dyoures. Annibal.

He wanne manye places of Iberia by fayre wordes, as he was verye apte to persuade, and when any thing was to be done by force, he did vse the seruice of the yong man. By this meane, he wente ouer Spayne, from the Occidentall Sea, to the floud Iberus, and made all subiect to the Carthagies Empire, the which floud diuiding Spayne in the middest, floweth into the Ocean towarde the North, fiue dayes iourney from the Mountaines. Iberus runneth from Segoy, to the sea of Marioca &c.

But the Saguntines, an olde inhabitance from the Zathinians, which be in the middest, betweene the mountaynes and the floud, and all other that were come of the Greekes, aboute the place called Emporio, and all other that inhabited any part of Iberia, being afrayd, sent foure Embassadors to Rome, wherfore the Romanes not willing the power of the Carthagies to growe too much, sent Embassadors to Carthage, where it was agreed, that Iberus should be the end of the Carthagies dominion in Spaine, and that the Romanes should not make warre vpon their subiects beyonde that floud, nor the Carthagies to goe beyonde that floud to moue warre, and that the Saguntines, and other Greeke people which were in Iberia, shoulde be free, and liue with their owne lawes, all the whiche were expressed in the league, that was made betweene the Romanes and the Carthagies. When this was done, a slaue killed Asdruball, whose maister he had cruelly kylled before, whilest he was taking order for that parte of Iberia that obeyed Carthage, and gone a hunting, whome Annibal after tormented most cruelly, and kylled. The army made Annibal Barcha their Captayne, a very yong man, and welbeloued of them. Sagunt was beyond the floud Iberus, nowe Murviedro, or Nostiendro. Zathinthi, of an Iland of the Ionian sea. The conditions. Asdruball killed.

The enimies of Amilchar Barcha in the Senate of Carthage agreed to it, who fearing the power of Asdruball and Amilchar, did laughe at Annibal as a yong man, and beganne to molest in lawe, the friendes of them, accusing them of

the same faults that they accused the other that were deade, vsing the peoples fauour, whiche hated them for the losses they had, in the tyme of *Barcha* and *Asdruball*. They required those gifts that *Barcha* or *Annibali* sent to them, being of the spoyle of the enmimies. They sent to *Annibali* for helpe, shewing that he also would be despised of his fathers enmimies, except hée hadde nowe some regard of them that might defend his matters there. This was not vnknowne to *Annibali*, for he knew well enough that the beginning of deceyts would be vppon him, and thought it not good to suffer suche enmities continuallye with feare, as his father and grandfather had done, nor to liue all his lyfe, after the lightenesse of the *Carthagies*, vsing them vnthankefullye that were of their syde, and hadde done well for the common wealth.

Annibali was sworne in his youth to bee an enemye to the Romaines.

There was a rumor, when *Annibali* was a childe, and at hys fathers commandement, ỹ he brought hym into the place where hée made sacrifices, and made hym laye his hand vppon the Altare and sweare, that so some as he had any rule in the common wealth, he shoulde bée a mortall enmimie to the Romanes. Therfore he purposed to put his country to great and continuall dangers, that by that feare, he might preserue hys own & his friends matters from perill. Therfore, when he saw that *Affrica* was in good state, and the *Iberians* that were vnder the *Carthagies*, lyke to continue in obedience, he thoughte he shoulde winne immortall fame, if he made warre agayne vppon the *Romanes*, by the feare whereof, the *Carthagies* shoulde be occupied, and mighte, by good fortune, subdue to hys Countrey the Empire of all the worlde. For hée hoped, that if the Romanes were broughte downe, that none shoulde be able to matche with hym, but if it chaunced otherwise, yet hys enterprise shoulde be honorable. And that the beginning myght breede his estimation, if he passed the floude *Iberus*, he caused the *Forbolcianes*, whyche be nexte the *Saguntines*, to come & complaine that the *Saguntines* had made rodes vpõ them & done them other hurtes: Which being persuaded by him, he sét theyr Ambassadors to *Carthage*, and he wrote letters priuilye, in the whiche he signified that the Romanes practised with the *Iberians*

Annibal picketh a quarrel against *Sagunt.*

berians, of the *Carthage* iuriſdiction, to reuolte from them, and that the *Saguntines* didde procure the ſame from the Romaynes, and that there was no deceit left vndone. And of this he wrote many letters, till the Senate appointed him to do with the *Saguntines* that ſhoulde be profitable to the common wealth. Hee hauing got this occaſion, practiſed with the *Torboletans* agayn, that they ſhould come to him and complaine againe of the *Saguntines*, who alſo ſent fiftéene Ambaſſadours to hym. And when *Annibal* wylled them to declare their controuerſies, and they anſwered, they woulde make the Romanes their Iudges, they were commanded of *Anniball* to go out of hys campe. And that night paſſing the ryuer, he inuaded that lande, and ſet hys artillerie againſt their Citie, which, when he could not take, he compaſſed with ditche, wall, and trench. Then placing many garriſons, he continued the ſiege, and in fewe dayes, wente and came diuerſe tymes. The *Saguntines* being in great feare, with theſe ſodaine euils, ſent Ambaſſadours to *Rome*, to whome the Senate ioyned their Ambaſſadoures, and ſent firſte to *Anniball*, to put him in remembrance of the league, who, if he would not obey, they ſhoulde go to *Carthage*, and accuſe hym. Wyth theſe Ambaſſadoures they went to *Iberia*, and when they came from their Shyppes to the Campe, they were commanded of *Annball* to go no further: Wherefore they went to *Carthage* wyth the *Saguntine* Ambaſſadors, where they ſhewed that the league was broken.

Sagunt beſieged.

The Romaine Ambaſſadoures forbidden to enter *Anniballs* Campe.

They on the other ſide accuſed the *Saguntines*, and ſaide they had done hurte to their Subiectes. The *Saguntines* on the contrary ſide, called them to the iudgement of the Romanes. They ſayde the iudgement was in vaine, when the matter muſte bee tryed by force.

Whiche when the Romaines vnderſtode, ſome thought apte to bée ſente out of hande to the *Saguntines*, ſome denyed it, affyrmyng the *Saguntines* not to be comprehended in the league, but lefte free. So as bothe the beſiegers and the beſieged, muſte vſe their own lawes, whiche ſentence preuailed.

The *Romaynes* helpe not the *Saguntines*.

But the *Saguntines* being deſtitute of the help of the *Romanes*,

and

and oppressed of famine, and continuallye assaulted of *Annibal*: for he (hearing the Cittie was riche and full of golde) gaue them no time to rest: they commaunded all the golde and siluer both publique and priuate to be broughte into the market, and mixed it with lead and yron, that it shoulde bee vnprofitable to *Annibal*. And because they hadde rather dye by swoorde, than by hunger, at mydnyght, when it was most darke, they came out, and assailed the watch of the *Carthagies*, looking for no such thing, and killed many of them whiles some slaught and some putte on their armour. The fight was long, many *Carthagies* were slaine, and all the *Saguntines*, whose decay beyng seene from the wals, some of the women leapt from the top of their houses, some hanged themselues, some killed first their little children, & then themselues. This was the end of *Sagunt*, which was a great & mighty city. When *Annibal* vnderstoode what was done with ỳ mony, he tooke as many of the youth as was left, whom he tormented and killed. And not thinking it good for a Cittie situate at the sea, and in a fertile soyle, to be vnhabited, he made it an inhabitation of *Carthage*, whiche nowe, as I thinke, they call *Carthage Spartagena*. The Romaines sent Ambassadours to *Carthage*, whiche shoulde require *Annibal* as a breaker of league, vnlesse they wold confesse it to be done with ỳ common consent, & except they wold deliuer hym, to denounce the warre presently. They dyd so, and where the *Carthagies* would not deliuer *Annibal* they gaue the defyaunce, and they saide it was done after this sorte. The *Carthages* scorned the Romane Ambassadour. Hee tooke vppe the skirt of his gowne, and saide: In this garment, O *Carthagies*, I bring you warre and peace, chose which you wil. They answered, giue vs which thou lykest, he giuing warre, they cried all with one voice, and we receiue it: & by & by they sent to *Hannibal* to ouerrun all *Iberia*, for the league was broken. Wherfore he raunging euerye where, got some by flattery, some by threats, and some by force. He gathered many souldioures, not shewyng to what purpose he didde it. Hys meaning was to goe into *Italy*, to sende Ambassadors to the *Galles*, to search the way of the Alps, to carry his army to *Rome*, & leaue *Asdrubal* in *Spaine*. The

Annibal, nameth *Segunt Carthage Spartagena.*

The manner of the Romaines defiance to the *Carthages.*

Romaynes thinking they muſt make warr with the *Carthagies* in *Spaine* and *Affrica*, not once ſuſpecting their comming into *Italy*, ſente *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* into *Affrica* with one hundred, threeſcore and two ſhips, and two legions. What *Sempronius Longus* and other Generalles didde in *Libya*, all is ſhewed in the booke of the *Libyan* warres. They ſente into *Spayne*, *P. Cornelius Scipio* with threeſcore Shyppes, and ten thouſande ſouldiers and ſeauen hundred horſemen, to whome they ioyned for lieutenant, his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. But one of them, that is, *Publius*, when he heard of the Marchants of *Maſſilia*, that *Annibal* was comming into *Italy*, and had paſſed the Alpes, being afraide he ſhoulde haue taken the *Italians* vnprouided, he deliuered the army to hys brother, and in a Galley ſayled into *Aetruria*. What he or other Captaynes did, that ſucceeded hym in thys warr, tyll *Annibal* was driuen out of *Italy* after ſixteene yeares, it is ſhewed of vs in the booke that followeth, wherein alſo we ſhewe all *Annibals* actes, and therefore name the booke by *Annibals* name.

Publius Scipio ſente into Spayne.

Maſſilia, Maſſilles in the prouince of Narbonne France, an auncient Citie, and ſometime a famous ſeminary vniuerſitie

Cneus in this warre of the *Romanes*, didde nothing worſt by ſtayinge, till his brother returned vnto hym. For when hys tyme was expired, the *Romanes* ſent the Conſulls for hys ſucceſſors, to make the warre againſte *Annibal*, and he was vnderconſull to them, and ſent againe into *Spaine*. And ſo the two *Scipios* didde make warre againſte *Aſdrubal* in *Spaine*.

The *Carthagies* being prouoked to fight, of *Syphax* kyng of *Numidia*, they called home *Aſdrubal* vo part of his armye, whereby the *Scipios* did eaſily gette the reſte of *Spaine*, and manye Cities yelded freely. For they were apte to gouerne armyes, and alſo by perſuaſion, to winne Cities to their obedience. The *Carthagies*, compounding with *Syphax*, ſente *Aſdrubal* into *Spaine* wyth more menne, and wyth thyrtye Elephantes, ioyninge other two Captaines to them, that is, *Mago* and *Aſdrubal*, *Gyſgons* ſonnes.

After that tyme, the *Scipios* had ſharpe warre, and yet were ſuperiors, of the whiche, manye ſouldiours of the *Carthagies* and Elephants were conſumed, till the winter beyng come, the *Carthagies*

thagies went to winter at the *Turditanes*. And *Pub. Scipio* stayed at *Castulone*, and *Cneus*, at *Orsonæ*. To whom, when it was shewed that *Asdrubal* was comming, he went out of the Citie with a fewe, to see his enimies power, but going too far vnaduisedlye, he was circumuented of the contrary horsemen, and killed, and al that were with him. *Cneus Scipio*, not knowing the chaunce of hys brother, sent hys souldiors to fetche artillerie, with whom the *Affricanes* made a fraye. Whiche *Cneus* vnderstanding, came forth in haste with the light harnessed to helpe hys men, wherof the former being killed and putte backe, *Scipio* was driuen into a Tower, the whiche they sette a fyre, and burned hym and hys companye. Thus the two *Scipios* were killed, men certainly of great worthinesse & greatly loued and lamented of the *Spaniards*, that had committed themselues for their sakes, to the Romaine obedience.

Pub. Scipio killed.

Cn. Scipio killed.

When this was knowen at *Rome*, the Romanes toke it very grieuously, and sent *Marcellus*, which a little before was come out of *Sicilie*, and with him *Claudius*, with a nauy and ten thousande footemen, two thousand horsemen, and mony and victuall sufficient to make warre in *Spaine*. Of the whiche, no notable thing being done, the *Carthagies* encreased very much, for nowe they had wellnigh gotten all *Spaine*, the Romanes being driuen into a little streight, so as they were caste to the *Pyrene* hils.

The whiche when they at *Rome* hearde, they were more grieued and afraide, least, whiles *Annibal* walked those Regions, whiche were at the sides of *Italie*, the other army shoulde inuade another way: therfore thoughe they woulde neuer so muche, they coulde not leaue *Spaine*, fearing the warre of *Spaine* woulde stretch to *Italy*. Therefore they appointed a day to determine a Generall for the war in *Spaine*.

To the whiche prouince, when none nowe offered hymselfe, they were in more trouble and feare than before, for all the Senators were still for feare, till *Cornelius Scipio*, sonne to *Publius* that was slaine in *Spaine*, a yong man of .xxiiij. yeres of age, but wise, & accompted noble in mind, did step forth & boldly spake lamentably the harde happe of hys father & vncle, affirming that he

Cornelius Scipio offereth his seruice in a time of feare.

he alone was left to reuenge both their deaths, and other things he added with great eloquence and vehemencie, so as it were by a diuine inflamation, he promised to restore, not onely *Spaine*, but also to take *Carthage*: wherefore he was thoughte to boaste too muche lyke a young man, but he got the fauoure of the people, whiche was stroken with greate feare. For they that feare, when better hope is promised them, they be comforted. And so *Spayne* was decreed vnto hym, as by a foresyght, that he would do some thing worthy the noblenesse of hys mynd, which the antients did not call greatnesse of minde, but rashnesse rather of courage. The corasie of *Scipio*.

Which when *Scipio* perceyued, he spake to the people again, after that sorte that he spake of himself before, adding this, that his youth should be impediment to no man. He exhorted the Elders to take that prouince, if any of them would: he willingly gaue place. But whē no man was found to take it, he went with the more estimation and admiration of all men into his prouince, into the whiche hee led with him. xiij. fotemen, and fiue hundred horsemen. For *Annibal* vexing *Italie*, a greater number could not be spared. He had mony for their wages, and other furniture, with eightēne Galleis, wyth the which, hē sayled into *Spaine*, where retayning the fotemen and horsemen that were left, he putte them to other, and mustered and purged his whole army, and then spake to them very nobly, so as hys fame wente shortelye ouer all *Spaine*, whiche was wearye of the *Carthagies* rule. The modestie of *Scipio*.

The vertue of the *Scipians* stucke in their mindes, and they thought the house of *Scipio* was sent to them, by the will of God. Whiche thyng *Scipio* vnderstanding, pretended he did all things by diuine instigation.

And when he vnderstoode that hys enimies were lodged in foure sundrye places, and that in euery campe was fiue & twenty thousande fotemen, and two thousande horse, and further, that al mony, & munition, as well for Sea as land, and also the captiues and pledges of *Spaine*, were in the Cittie that beforē was called *Sagunt*, and nowe named *Carthage*, and that *Mago*

was there to kéep that treasure with.x.M.mẽ, he thought good to make his first attempt there, being mooued by the small number, the great abundance, and the seate of that Cittie to be as a Forte and a receipte of the warre both by sea and land, against *Spaine*, & the shorter passage into *Libye*. By these considerations, conferring with no man, he marched at the sunne set, riding all night toward this *Carthage*, & by daye he was there, and made a ditche and trenche about it, the *Carthagies* being amazed, and the same daye prepared to giue the assaulte. He sette engins & scales against al parts, but only one, where the wall was very lowe, but compassed with a pole & the sea, wherefore that place was negligently kepte of the souldiors, but ỳ they made it strong in ỳ night with arrowes and stones. *Scipio* toke the streightes of the Porte, that the enimies ships should not escape, as hee that trusting in his vertue, haped to take the Cittie. Before day he commanded part of the souldiors to mount the engines, & to throwe vpon the enimies from aboue, & other to run the engines at the wall by lowe, by force. Of the other side, *Mago* placed.x.M.men at the gates, which taking their occasion, should sally with their swords only: bicause in those streights thei could not vse spears: other he cõmaunded to kéep the wals and towers, and they there with their engines stones, darts & arrowes boldlye abyd ỳ fight. The alarm being made, both parts omitted no endeuor, whiles the stones or arrowes were cast from hands, or engines. Some vsed slings, and euery man did his best in that kinde of armoure that he coulde handle. A band of *Scipio* was hardly handled, for ỳ *Carthagies* that kept ths gates, issued with their swords, & made a hotte frap with them that brought the engines, and did as much hurt as they toke, till the Romaynes, whose courage encreaseth in perils, made them to retire. they that defended that wall, beyng tyred, and they that fought without sweng, the Romaynes mighte easilye sette their engines to the wall. Agaynst whom, they that hadde skirmished, wente vppe to the wall, and so againe the Romaynes were putte to fighte. *Scipio* that loked aboute him, and exhorted them in all places, perceiued toward ỳ south, ỳ place where the wall was low, and that ỳ water did fall from

The diligence of *Scipio*.

Scipio beseegeth newe *Carthage*.

frō it, according to the course of the sea, so that ỹ was before to the breast, was now but to the mid legge. Whiche thing being perceyued, and the matter diligently examined, he spent the rest of the day, that the sea did encrease, by going aboute, and encouraging his souldyoures to doe it. My Souldyoures (sayde he) nowe is the time, and whilest the help of God commeth to vs, scale the wall on this side, where the Sea openeth a way vnto vs, I will goe before you: and saying thus, he toke the ladders first, with the which he beganne to mount before any other, but his gard and others staying him, and the souldyoures taking the matter in hand, the *Romanes* got vp, whome, when he perceyued to be vpon certayne towers, he badde the trumpetours and drummes goe vp the wall, and encourage the *Romanes* with their noyse. This thing affraying the enimie, they fledde as the Citie had bin taken, some of the *Romanes* fought with them, some ranne, and opened the gate to *Scipio*, who entred with his army. They of the Citie fledde into houses, and other places. *Mago* broughte his souldyoures into the market place, whiche beyng some ouercome, fledde into the Castell with a few, which when *Scipio* assaulted, he not being able to defend it, all his men vtterly discouraged, he yelded to *Scipio*. This so greate a Citie beyng taken in one day, which was the fourth day after his comming, he was extolled with infinite prayse of all men, beleeuing that he did all things rather by the councell of the gods than of men, and so he perswaded himselfe, the which opinion he maintayned all his life, taking beginning at this time. For this cause hee would many times goe alone into the Capitoll, and shutte the doores, as to be taught of God. Wherefore at this day, only *Scipio* image is broughte out of the Capitoll, whereas all others are taken from the common place. Then *Scipio* hauing taken the Citie whiche shoulde be as a receptacle, and a storehouse of all things for warre and peace, in the whiche greate plentie of armoure, shotte, and engines, and furniture for the Saute, and thirtie and three shippes, and corne, and manye other things were layde vp as in a common market, beside yuorie, golde, and siluer, as well coyned, as vncoyned, and the pledges of *Spayne*,

Newe *Carthage* is taken.

Mago yeeldeth.

An opinion of *Scipio*, that he did all things by inspiration from God.

and the captiues of *Rome*. He made sacrifice to God, and ỳ next day triumphed. Then after he had prayſed his ſouldyoures, hée turned his tale to the townesmen, renuing the memorie of the *Scipios*, and deliuering all them that were in bondage, that wyé they came to their countreys, they mighte winne them to hym. These things being thus done, he rewarded him moſt liberally that firſte mounted the wall, and to the ſeconde he gaue halfe ſo much, and to the third, and others by like proportion. The ryche, golde, & ſilner, that was left of the pray, he put in ſhippes, and ſent to *Rome*, where thrée dayes togither holy dayes were made, bycauſe it ſeemed, that the Citie was reſtored to the auntiente dignitie, after ſo manye euils. All *Spayne*, and the *Carthagineans* were aſtoniſhed with the great acte that was done ſo valiantly, and ſo ſpédely. *Scipio* leauing a ſtrong garriſon in the Citie, commaunded that parte of the wall that was next the ſenne, to be made higher, and he went to ſubdue the reſt of *Hiberia*, which he did by going himſelfe to ſome of them, and ſending his frends to other, and taking them by force that reſiſted. Of the *Carthagies* the Captaynes being both *Aſdrubals*, the one ſonne of *Amilcare*, and hauyng an army of ſtrangers in the furtheſt part of *Spayne*, the other, the ſonne of *Giſgo*, exhorted the Cities that remained in the *Carthagies* obedience, to continue in the ſame, for a greate armye ſhould come ſhortly to help them. He ſent another *Mago* into the nert places to gather men, and he entred the Countrey of *Lerſanes*, which reuolted from the *Carthagies*, to beſiege a Citie. But *Scipio* comming vpon him, he wente into *Granata*, and ſet his Camp at the Citie, where the nert day he was eaſily ouercome, for *Scipio* put him from his Campe, and got all *Grannata*. *Mago* was occupyed in gathering of Souldyoures, which were yet in *Spayne* at *Cerbona*, that with all his power, hée myght encounter with the *Romanes*. Many *Spanyardes* ioyned with *Mago*, and many *Numidians* being commaunded of *Maſſiniſſa*. *Aſdruball* kepte in his Campe with the footemen of theſe nations. *Mago* and *Maſſiniſſa*, with the horſemen, had their camp before the army. They being thus, *Scipio* diuided his horſemen, and ſent one part with *Lelio* againſt *Mago*, and he went againſt

Reuvards of the *Romanes* to him that firſte mounted the wall, a grounde of golde vvas giuen.

Lerſani.
Beſica.
Granata.

Cerbona.

Maſ-

Maßiniſſa. The fight was long, ſharp, and dangerous, the *Numidians* ſetting on, and going backe, and comming againe to the fighte with their ſhotte. But when *Scipio* gaue a token to hys Souldyoures, that the *Romanes* ſhoulde follow them, and fyghte with them with their ſpeares, the *Numidians* being deſtitute of ſhotte, were putte to flight, and retired to their tentes. *Scipio* encamped tenne furlongs from them, in a ſtrong place as he deſired. The whole ſtrength of the *Carthagies* was. lxx. thouſande fotemen, fiue thouſande hoꝛſe, and thirtie Elephants. *Scipio* had not the third part, therefoꝛe he was doubtfull a while, and durſt not ioyne with the whole battell, but continued with ſkirmiſhing, whoſe victuall bꝛing almoſt ſpent, and the army beginning to lacke, he thought it vnhonoꝛable to departe and doe nothing, therefoꝛe making ſacrifice, and bꝛinging his armye where he mighte well be hearde, framing his countenance and loke, as though he had bin inſpired of God, he ſaid, his accuſtomed Angell hadde bin with him, and exhoꝛted him to fighte, by reaſon whereof they ſhoulde rather truſt in the power of God, than in the number of men, chiefly bycauſe his other attemptes were bꝛought to good effect, by the power diuine, and not by the multitude of Souldyoures. To make credite to his woꝛdes, hée cauſed the ſouthſayers to ſhew them the ſacrifices. And whiles he ſpake thus, hée eſpyed certayne birdes flẽyng, vnto whome turning hym ſelfe, he badde the Souldyoures beholde them, ſaying that God dyd ſende them that token of victoꝛy alſo, and that way the birdes flewe, he turned hys bodye, as one rapte with a diuine furie, and wyth hys eyes fired, cryed. Wherfoꝛe all the armye turned with him hither and thither, and euerye man exhoꝛted other, as to a certayne victoꝛy. When he ſawe the thing comẽ to paſſe as he woulde, not ſuffering the courage of the ſouldyoure to relent, he made no delay, but as one taken with all one diuine furie, the tokens and ceremonies of theyr good lucke being ſhewed, he ſayd, it muſt be obeyed, and ẏ battell muſt be made. Whẽ the Souldyoures had refreſhed thẽſelues, he cõmanded to take armoꝛ. He cõmitted ẏ hoꝛſemẽ to *Sillano*, the fotemẽ to *Lelio* & *Martio*, *Aſdruball*, *Mago*, & *Maßiniſſa*. Whẽ they ſaw

The valiantnes of *Scipio*.

Scipio taketh occaſion of euery thing to encourage the Souldyoures.

saw they were taken of the suddaine of *Scipio*, being but tenne furlongs betweene the Campes, they blew the alarme, not without confusion and tumult: therefore the battell being begunne, the *Romane* horsemen vsing their old arte, were superiours, following hard their enimies, and beating the with their speares, though they fayned to flie, and turne againe, for the *Romanes* being continually at their backes, kepte them from their shooting, bycause they were so nigh.

The fotemen being ouerlayd with the *Libyans*, continued all day, and although *Scipio* ranne aboute and exhorted them to the fight, they would neuer giue any fierce onsette. til he delyuering his horse to his squire, take a foule foures target, and wente alone into the middeft betweene both armies, crying, helpe *Romanes*, help your *Scipio* in this perill. Therefore they that were nigh, seing him in so great perill, and they that were further off, hearing him, all being moued, both with shame, and danger of their Generall, exhorted one another, and went against their enimies with great vehemence, which when the *Affricanes* were not able to abide, they turned their backes, therfore partly wearie with fight, and partly weake with famine, the nighte being at hand, they were vtterly ouerthrowen. This was the ende of the fighte at *Cerbona*, in the whiche the victorye was doubtfull: eight hundred *Romanes* were slaine, and tenne thousand fiue hundred of the enimies. From that time, the *Carthagies* made haft to be gone, *Scipio* followed. and endamaged them al wayes that was possible, but when they were come to a place strong and well watered, and full of their necessaries, so as the matter required a seige, *Scipio* left *Sillanus* to hold them in. and he wente to winne the reft of *Spaine*.

The courage of Scipio.

Scipios victory at Cerbona.

The *Carthagies* that were beseeged of *Sillanus* remoued, and went to *Cales* to passe the Sea, and when *Sillanus* had done them as much hurt as he could, he returned with his army to *Scipio*.

Asdruball, *Amilchars* sonne, whiche was gathering of men at the North Ocean, was called of his brother *Annibal*, to come into *Italy* so sone as he could. The whiche, that he might doe vnknowen to *Scipio*, he passed the *Pirenian* hilles that were nerte

Asdruball passeth the mountaynes.

the

the North, with the *Celtiberians* that he had, and so the *Romanes* being ignorant, *Asdruball* came to *Italy* with great iourneys.

In the meane season, *Liuius* comming from *Rome*, tolde *Scipio*, that the Senate minded to make hym Captayne of the warre of *Carthage*, which thing *Scipio* loked for, and trusting it woulde be so, sent *Lælius* with fiue Shyppes to King *Syphax*, with many giftes, to remember vnto him the friendshyp that had bin betweene him and the *Scipios*, and to aske him, if he came into *Africa*, whether he would be friend to the *Romanes*, whiche *Syphax* promised to doe, and receyued the giftes, and sente *Scipio* others. When the *Carthagies* vnderstode that, they sente Embassadors to *Syphax* also, to remember him of societie and league, which *Scipio* vnderstanding, and minding to preuent the *Carthagies*, bycause it was a matter of greate importance, with two Gallies onely, and with *Lælius*, wente vnto him, and when he came to the porte, the *Carthagies* whiche were come before him, brought out their Gallies, vnknowen to *Syphax*, against *Scipio*, but he hauing the benefite of the winde, with full sayle, entred the port before them. *Syphax* receyued them both courteously, and talking priuately with them, and giuing his faith, sent them away. He commaunded the *Carthagies* that layd new traynes againste him, to be stayd. This perill *Scipio* escaped, when he came to the coast, and when he went from thence. And it is said, that whileste *Scipio* was with *Syphax*, he sate at the table wyth *Asdruball*, who when he hadde asked him many questions, he greatly wondered at the sight and modestie of him, and turnyng to his friends, sayd, that he was a man to be feared, not onely in the warre, but also at a table.

Scipio in danger in going to *Syphax*.

The opinion of the *Carthage* Embassador of *Scipio*.

At this time, some of the *Iberians* and *Celtiberians* did yet serue vnder *Hanno*, with whome *Martius* did encounter, and kylled a thousande fiue hundred of them, the reste fledde home, other seauen hundred horsemen, and seauen thousand footemen, being with *Hanno*, *Martius* droue into an hyll, where wanting all necessaries, they sent to *Martius* for composition, whome he commaunded to delyuer their Captayne *Hanno*, and the fugitiues, and then tell their message: so they toke *Hanno* that was bearing

ring of matters, and deliuered him, and the fugitiues to *Martius*: he required also the captiues, whome, when he had receyued, he commaunded the Souldyoures to bring a certaine summe of siluer into a playne, because it was not fitte for them that aske pardon, to keepe highe places: whiche when they were descended, *Martius* sayde vnto them, you are well worthy deathe, for where as euery of you haue youre countreys subiect to vs, you had rather make warre against vs, than oure enimies, yet I am content, and giue you leaue to goe safe, putting off youre armour.

The victorie of *Martius*.

Whiche when they hearde, being all greeued with it, and denying to do it, a sharp fight was made, in the which, halfe of them were slayne, the other halfe escaping to *Mago*. He not long before, was come to *Hannos* Campe with sixtie Shippes, but hearyng of hys calamitie, he returned to *Gades*, where beyng in wante, he was put in greate feare, and there hée rested.

Souldyoures will not deliuer their armoure.

Castaces.

Sillanus was sente to the Citie of *Castaces*, where, when hée was receyued as an enimie, he sette hys Campe before the Towne, and made *Scipio* to knowe of it, who sending afore what was fytte for the séege, followed, and by the way gotte the Citie of *Illiturga*, the whyche in the tyme of olde *Scipio*, was friende to the *Romanes*: and when hée was slayne, they reuolted priuily, and pretendyng to receyue the *Romanes* armye as a friende, delyuered it to the *Carthagies*. Wherfore *Scipio* béeyng angrie, ouercame it in foure houres, and toke it.

Illiturga.

Scipio vvounded.

Héere *Scipio* hadde a wounde in hys necke, but not so greate, as hée woulde departe from the fyghte, tyll hée hadde gotte the Citie, for thys cause, the armye despising the pray, kylled women and children, and vtterly destroyed it.

When they came to *Castace*, he beséeged it in three partes, but dyd not assaulte it, that hée myghte gyue the *Castaces* tyme to repente, because he heard they were aboute suche a matter. And when they hadde kylled the Captain of the garrison which resisted, they deliuered the Citie to *Scipio*: he leauing a certayne honest man of the Citie to kéepe it, wente towarde *Carthage*, sending

The *Castaces* yeelde to *Scipio*.

ſending *Sillanus* and *Martius* to the Sea, to ſpoyle and waſt all that they could.

There was a Citie called *Aſtapa*, whiche was alwayes of the *Carthagies* deuotion. When they ſawe they were beſæged, and knewe that if they came vnder the *Romanes* power, they ſhoulde be ſolde as ſlaues, they brought all theyr goodes and riches into the market place, and compaſſing the ſame wyth wodde, they badde their wiues and children goe vp to it, and ſware fiftie of the chiefe of the Citie, that if the Citie were taken, they ſhoulde kyll their wiues and chyldren, ſette the wodde on fyre, and burne them and themſelues. *Aſtapa.* The deſperatiō of the *Aſtapeans*.

When they badde called the Gods vnto witneſſe of the ſame, they iſſued vppon *Martius*, loking for no ſuche thyng, with the whyche violence, the ſhotte and the horſemen were putte to flighte. The footemen ſtayd. The *Aſtapeans* fought valiantlye withoute hope of remedye. The *Romanes* were more in number, but the *Aſtapeans* were not inferioure in vertue, who, when they were all ſlayne, the fiftie whyche were in the Citie, kylled all the women and chyldren, and then kindled the fyre, and lepte into it. *Martius* maruelling at the vertue of them, refrayned from burning their houſes.

After theſe doyngs, *Scipio* fell ſicke, and *Martius* ruled the army, and ſo the ſouldyoures that had ſpente all vppon pleaſure, and thought they badde not receyued worthy rewardes for theyr ſeruice, becauſe they badde nothyng lefte, and to whome *Scipio* aſcribed the glory of all hys noble actes, they reuolted from *Martius*, and badde their Campe by themſelues, and manye of the garriſons and nygh Caſtels ioyned vnto them, and ſome were ſente of *Mago* with money, to perſuade them to him. *Scipio* ſicke. The *Romanes* ſouldioures mutine.

They receyued the money, but makyng Captaynes and officers of themſelues, they did all thyngs of their owne authoritie, and bounde them to it by oth.

Scipio hearing of thys, wrote vnto them that were authoures, and ſayde, hée coulde not yet rewarde them as The prudence of *Scipio*.

The prudence of *Scipio*.

they were worthy, because of his sickenesse, and to other he wrote, to appease them that were in rage, and wrote to all generally, as though they had now bin reconciled, that he woulde shortly reward them all, and willed them so sone as might be, to come to *Carthage* for forage. These letters being redde, some suspected some euill, other thinking no hurt, thought good to giue credite to them, and agreed to goe to *Carthage*, whither when *Scipio* vnderstode they were comming, he commanded all the Senatoures that were with him, that eache one of them should goe with one of the Authoures of sedition, and receyuing them into their tentes in shewe of friendshippe, to take them priuily. Then he commaunded the Tribunes of the souldyoures, that the next morning, euery of them with their most trusty friendes, with their swordes, shoulde goe priuily, and place them in diuers partes of the citie, and when they had fitte places, not loking for any other commaundement, shoulde immediately kill them, if they made any stirre while he spake hys Oration.

When it was daye, he called all the Souldyoures to an assemblie, and caused himself to be borne to the Generalles seate. They hearing the sounde of the trumpet, being ashamed not to awayte vppon their Generall, being sicke, and thinking they shoulde haue receyued their rewardes, came from euerye place, part without swordes, part couered with a little coate, because they had not time to make them ready.

Scipio to the souldioures that made the mutinie.

Scipio hauing a garde secretely aboute him, did firste rebuke them for their déede, then said, he would put all the blame in the authors of the sedition, whome O Souldyoures, by your helpe I will punish.

The authors of seditiō punished and the multitude pardoned.

Then he commaunded the officers to remoue ỹ multitude further, which being done, the Senatoures brought the authors of seditiō forth, who crying, and praying their fellowes of help, the Tribunes that were commanded, killed them that durst once make any noyse. The multitude when they saw them thus handled, and the other armed, they were sorrie, and helde their peace, *Scipio* commaunding them to bée fyrste killed,

killed, that cried, the other he bound to the pale and beate them with roddes, and after beheaded them. To the reste of the multitude he signified by the Trumpet, that he forgaue them, & by this order the army was reformed.

Indibilis a certaine Prince, that before obeyed *Scipio*, during the sedition of the souldiours, raunged the dominion of *Scipio*, he being followed, would not refuse battaile as a coward, and killed a thousande two hundred of the Romane souldiours. But losyng twenty thousande of his men, he was compelled to aske peace, whome *Scipio* punished by the purse, and receyued hym to grace. *In histo.*

Maßinißa, vnknowen to *Asdrubal*, sailed into *Spaine*, & made amitie with *Scipio*, and promised if he came into *Affrica*, to be his aider. Thus he did being otherwise a cõstãt man for this cause. *Asdrubal*, that ledde him with hym, had espoused his daughter to him, whome *Syphax* loued. Whereof the *Carthagies* thoughte it nedefull for them, to holde *Syphax* agaynste the Romaynes, and gaue the maide in marriage vnto him withoute *Asdrubals* priuitie, whiche thing being done, *Asdrubal* was ashamed, and kepte it secreate from *Maßinißa*. Whiche when he vnderstode, he made league with the *Romanes*. *Maßinißa* allieth with the Romaines because the Carthagies had euen so, before sailed vnto *Syphax* his enimies.

Mago the admirall of the *Carthagies*, despayring of the state of *Spaine*, went into *Gallia* and *Liguria*, and gathered men with al his mighte. This is parte of Fraunce and *Liguria* of Italy.

The *Romanes* toke *Gades* being lefte of *Mago*, and from that time, beganne to send yearely officers to gouerne *Spaine* a little before the. CVL. *Olympiade*, which in peace had the office both of a Captaine and a Iustice. In the which with no greate army, *Santio* was broughte into the forme of a Cittie, whiche of the name of *Italie*, was called *Italica*, and after, was the Countrey of *Adriane* and *Traiane*, who were chosen to the rule of the Romaynes. Hee returned to *Rome* wyth a nauie well furnished and and filled with Captines, mony and spoyle of al sorts, and was receyued of the people of *Rome*, wyth all Ilandes, especiallye of the North, for the greatnesse and maruellous expedition of his doynges. And euen they that firste enuied him, and noted him *Santy*, the countrey of *Adriane* and *Traiane*. *Scipio* honored of all sortes.

of boasting, confessed the thing to be brought to a glorious end.

Indibilis is killed

Indibilis after *Scipios* returne, reuolted agayne. Wherfore the lieutenaunts of *Spaine*, gathering the ordinarie garrisons togyther, and other of the prouince, killed hym, and condemned the authors of the rebellion, and confiscated their goodes. Them ỹ were priuie to the mutinie, they punished in money, spoyled them of their armoure, and toke pledges of them, and put greater garrisons in their Townes. These things were done streight after *Scipios* departure.

This is *Gallia Togata*, that did inhabite the place called nowy *Lombardie*.

This was the ende of the *Romanes* first warre in *Spaine*. After the whiche tyme, the *Romanes* making war with the *Galles* that dwell aboute *Po*, and with *Phillip* king of *Macedonie*, the state of *Spaine* beganne to be troublesome againe. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Claudius*, and after thē *Minutius*, were chosen Generalls, and after, when there was greater stirre, *Cato* was sent wyth a greater army, a young man, but seuere and painefull, and very notable for hys wysedome and eloquence, insomuche, as of the people hée was called another *Demosthenes*, who was the principall Oratour of all *Grecia*.

Emporium. *Cato* compared to *Demosthenes* his courage.

When he was come into *Spaine*, to the place called *Emporium*, and vnderstode that the enimies were togither in a place to the number of fortie thousande, he kepte hys Souldioures certaine dayes in exercise, and when he determined to fighte, he sent the ships which he had with hym to *Maßilia*, admonishing the souldioures that it was not to be feared though the enimie was more in number, seeing the vertue of the minde is muche more of price, than the multitude. And that he had therfore sent away his shippes, whereof they had no nede, nor were kept, but for them that ouercame. And when he had saide thus, he gaue a fierce onset vpon the enimye, and afraying his Souldioures, rather than exhorting them, as other were wonte to doe, when the fight was begunne, he ranne to euery part, and encouraged the souldiors. The fight continued doubtfull till night, manye falling on both sides, and when he wyth three thousand had bēn vpon an hill, to see al partes of the fight, and saw his men were compassed of the enimie, he came downe with haste, offring himselfe

Cato rather rebuketh than chydeth his host. The valiantnes and diligence of *Cato*.

selfe to pe'll with the foremost, & so crying & fighting, he brake the enimies aray, & laid the first foundation of victory. He chased ỳ enimy al night, he got their camp, & killed an infinite multitude. As he returned, al mette with him, embraced and congratulated with him as the Authour of victorie. These things beyng done, he gaue rest to the armye, and made destribution of the spoyle. Ambassadors came to him from al people, of whom he receyued pledges. Besides he sent letters sealed to the Cities, commaũding the bearers to deliuer al in one daye, appointyng the daye, as by coniecture he considered the distance of place, as they might make their iorny to the furthest Cittie: He cõmanded the rulers of euery citie, to pul down their wals, & threatned destruction to them ỳ made any delay. Al obeyed, being mindful of ỳ losse they had receyued, & seuerally they durst not resist, thinking it had bin cõmãded to them only & not to other, and if it were to other, they were afraid if other did obey, they should be punished, if they did disobey. And if they alone did obey, it was a matter of no greate moment. There was no respite for them to send to their neighbors, & of the souldiors that brought the letters, they were vrged to it: wherfore euery citie, to saue themselues, pulled down their wals, and that they might haue thanke for their quicke obedience, they did it with great spẽde. By this meane all the Cities that be about the flood *Iberus*, did cast downe theyr walls in one day, by the only wisedome of their Captaine, & they were quiet to the Romanes, for the space of foure *Olympiades*. But after the CL. *Olympiade*, great parte of *Spaine* rebelled from the *Romanes* bicause they wer in wãt of al necessaries for food. Wherfore the matter comming to light, *Fuluius Flaccus* Consull, ouercame them, and manye fled to their possessions. But they that were in most want, and got their liuing with robbing, assembled al togither at *Complega*, a Citty new made & wel defenced, that had encreased in a short time: frõ hence they many times molested the *Romanes*, and set to *Flaccus*, that he shold leaue a cloake, an horse, and a sword for euery one that he had killed, and flée out of *Spaine* before worse hapned vnto him. *Flaccus* answered, he would bring many souldiors coats, & folowing their messẽgers, cãped at ỳ city.

The victory of *Cato*.

A people of *Cato* pulling down the vvals of al Cities at once.

Fiue yeres vvas betvveene the *Olympiades*.

Fulvius hath victory.

Compolega.

The vvord it *Segum* vvhich is cote that souldiours vvere in vvarre.

They

They not doyng any thing accoyding to their great crakes fledde, and dayly spoyled the Countreis. They vse a certaine garment double, of thicke woll w̄ a buckle fastned like a cloke, and that they count a Souldiours coate.

Carabis. Surrendreth.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, succæded *Flaccus*. The *Celtiberians* besieged *Carabis*, a Cittie friend to the *Romaynes* wyth twentye thousande souldioures, and thought to gette it quickly. Wherefore *Gracchus*, comming to helpe them, and not hauing any mean to signifie it to the besieged, a certaine capitaine of a bande, named *Cominius*, tolde *Gracchus* what he had deuised with himselfe, he put on a *Spaniardes* coate, and wente among the flanes of the campe, and as a *Spaniard* came with them to the Campe, and from thence into the Cittie, and tolde them that *Gracchus* was at hande with helpe. Wherefore they abode the siege valiauntly, and within three dayes *Gracchus* came, and so the *Celtiberians* left the siege.

The exployt of Cominius.

A craft of the Celtiberians put a shed vvith the like.

One daye twenty thousande came from *Complega*, bringing braunches of Olyue lyke petitioners, asking pardon, whiche comming nighe the Romanes Generall, gaue a violent onsette on the Romanes, and put them in great daunger. *Gracchus* went from the Campe of purpose, and made as thoughe he fledde, and whiles they were aboute the spoile, he returned, and sette vpon them and killed many of them, and got *Complega*. He appointed their lande and the neighbors to them that had nede: and made league with the inhabitants of that countrey, with certaine conditions, whereby they were receiued into the *Romanes* amitie, to the whiche he bounde them by othe. These conditions were much desired in the wars that followed, and for these things, the name of *Gracchus* was greate bothe in *Spaine* and *Rome*, where he triumphed gloriously.

Conditions of Gracchus.

A felwe yeares after, great warre was renewed in *Spayne*. There was a Cittie in the borders of the *Celtiberians* that is called *Belli*, named *Segeda*, great and mighty comprehended in the league of *Gracchus*. This Cittie enticing other little Townes to it, builded their walls, the compasse whereof was forty furlongs. Their example induced the *Titthians*, an other nation

of

of the *Celtiberians* to do the lyke. Whyche thing the Senate vnderstanding, forbadde them the building of their wal, and required the tribute appointed by *Gracchus*, and commanded them to goe to warre with the Romanes, to the whiche they were also bounde by the league of *Gracchus*. They aunswered, that touching their walles, they were bound by *Gracchus*, not to builde any newe Cities, but not, that they should not defend their olde. As touching tributes and seruice in war, they were released by the Romanes, and so they were indeede, with this condition, so long as it shoulde seeme good to the Senate and people of *Rome*, wherefore *Q. Fuluius Nobilior*, was sent against them with an army of thirty thousande.

Segetanes.

The *Segetanes* hearing that he was comming, their walls not being yet finished, desired the *Araschians* to receiue them, and so they fled to them. They made their chiefe Captaine, *Carus*, whom the *Segetanes* thoughte to be a man expert in war. He three daies after he was created Generall, laide an ambushe of twentye thousande footemen, and fyue thousande horse in a shadowy and woodly place, and from thence gaue a charge vpon the Romanes. The fight was doubtfull a greate while, at length *Carus* hadde a noble victorie, for he slewe fiue thousande Romaines, whiche was a great losse to the Citie,

Araschains.

Carus.

Carus victorie of the Romaines.

But when they vsed the victory rashlye and too proudlye, the Romaines horsemen that garded the carriage, set vppon them, and slew *Carus* fighting valiantly for himselfe, and fiue thousand with hym, tyll the fyghte was ended by the darkenesse of the night.

Carus is slaine.

This was done the same daye that the Romaynes kepte the feaste of *Vulcane*. After that daye, none of them woulde come to fight, but by compulsion. The *Araschians* assembled that night at *Numantia*, which is a very strong citie. They chose *Arathon* and *Leucon*, Captaines of the warre. *Fuluius* came thither the thirde daye, and camped foure and twenty furlongs from the citie, to whom, *Massinissa* had sent three hundred horsmen, and thirtye Elephants, which being come, he went straight to the fight. He placed the Elephants at the backe of the army, and when

The feast of *Vulcane* vvas in *Auguſt.*

Arathon, *Leucon.*

Fuluius vvinneth and looseth.

the fight was begonne, opened a way for the Elephants, whom when the *Celtiberians* sawe, they and their horse, were afraid, and fled to the walles. The Romayne had the Elephants shoulde be brought to the wal. There was a fierce fight, till one of the Elephants being hurte in the heade with a stone from the wall, beganne to rage and be unruly, and with furie turne upon his fellows, thrusting and treading downe euery one he met, no difference betweene friend and foe: and the rest of the Elephants being made afrayde did the lyke, and trode and thruste downe the Romaine souldiours. The whiche thing the Elephants, when they are in feare, are wonte to doe, taking euerye man for their enimye: wherefore for this falshode, they are called common enimies. Therfore the *Romanes* without order fled away, which when the *Numantines* sawe from the walles, they came forth and chased them, and slewe foure thousande of them, and toke three Elephants, and muche armour, and many ensignes. Of the *Celtiberians* two thousand were killed. When *Fuluius* hadde gotten from that slaughter, he besieged *Axenium*, which was as a common market for the enimyes, for there was all thinges to sell. Where, when he did no good, but lose his men, he retired by night to his campe. Wherefore hee sente *Blesius* the Capitayne of the horsmen to a nation that was nigh and his friend, (for he wanted horsemen) with a bande of horse. In the way, they fell into an ambushe of *Celtiberians*, whiche beyng knowne, the friendes fledde, and *Blesius* fought and was killed, and many *Romanes* with him.

An Elephant hurt loseth the victorie.

Elephants common enimies.

The flight of the Romaines.

Axenium.

Blesius killed.

For the whiche losses and ouerthrowes, *Ocile*, a Cittie in the whiche the *Romanes* had their treasure and munition, yelded to the *Celtiberians*.

Ocile in *Galacia.*

Then *Fuluius* distrusting himselfe, and afraid of al things, kepte within his campe that winter, defending it as well as hee coulde, and getting victuall; yet was greatly troubled for lacke and for bitternesse of colde, wherfore many Souldyours partly goyng for wood, partly for the sharpnesse and great colde, did perishe.

The mountains be the cause of colde in hote countries.

The yeare following, *Claudius Marcellus*, came in *Fuluius* place,

Claudius Marcellus.

place, bringing eight thousande fotemen, and .v.C. horsemen, againste whome, when the enimies likewise had laide traines, he, by another crafte, auoyded them, and went streight to *Ocile*, & there camped with all his power: and fortune fauouring hym, toke the Cittie at the firste assaulte, whome he pardoned, receiuing some pledges, and thyrtie talentes of golde. When thys modestie was heard, the *Nergobriges* sente messengers to *Marcellus*, to know what they might do to haue peace. He commaunded them to sende him an hundred horsemen. They promised so to doe, yet they folowed the tayle of the armye, and toke some of the cariage. Notwithstanding, they came after, and brought a hundred horsemen, and saide, their hurte in the carriage, was done by the erroure of some, that knewe not the couenauntes.

Ocile taken and pardoned.

Nergobriges vse craite.

Marcellus made the hundred horsmen prisoners, and solde their horses: then he ranged their lande, and gaue the pray to the souldioures, and encamped at their Cittie, where, when they sawe their engines brought, and their trenches made, they sente oute an Heraulte wearing a Wolfs skinne, to aske pardon, whiche he denyed to giue, except the *Aruacceans*, *Bellans*, and *Titthians*, woulde serue for them, the whiche those nations did willinglye, praying that a reasonable payne beyng putte vppon them, they mighte be broughte to the league of *Gracchus*. Some of them denied that, because they hadde bin at strife. *Marcellus* sent the Ambassadoures of both parts to *Rome*, there to dispute their controuersies, and secretly wrote to the Senate to compounde the matter, for he desired the war might be ended in his time, thinking it would be for his glory.

The war was ended by him that brought a rodde called *Caduceum* wherof embassadours of peace are called *Caduceatores*.

The Ambassadoures of the friendes were receyued into the Cittie, they of the enimies were lodged without the Cittie as the manner is.

Embassadors diuersely vsed in Rome.

The Senate would haue no peace, being grieued they were not brought into ȳ *Romanes* power, as *Nobilior* would haue done, that was Generall in *Spaine* before. Therefore the Senate answered the Ambassadors, that *Marcellus* should declare their pleasure there, & forthwith sent an other army into *Spaine*. And then was the firste time that souldiors wer take by lot, & not by choice,

Souldiours take by lotte.

as had bene before. For manye did reproue the Consulls, as not vsyng themselues truely and sincerely in the choise of soldiors, that they might sed to lighter enterprises as cause required. Therfore it seemed good then, to take their soldiors by lotte, of whome *L. Lucullus*, was made Generall, to whom *Cornelius Scipio* was lieutnant, that shortely after gotte *Carthage*, and *Numantia*.

Lucullus. Scipio.

Whiles *Lucullus* was comming, *Marcellus* proclaimed warre againste the *Celtiberians*, to whome he rendred their pledges, they requiring them, yet he deteyned hym long with him that went Embassadoure for them to *Rome*, for what cause it is vncertaine.

There was a suspition then, which was beléued much more, by a thing that happened, that is, that he persuaded these people to committe their matters to him, for he didde what he could to make an end of the warre before *Lucullus* came. For after those controuersies, there were fyue thousande *Aruacceans*, that toke *Nergobrigem*, and *Marcellus* wente to *Numantia*, and encamped within fyue myle of the Citie, and drone the enimies into it.

Marcellus procureth peace.

Wherfore *Linteuon* Captain of the *Numantines*, cried and said he woulde deale with *Marcellus*. And being come in to talke, hée saide he would leaue the *Bellans*, *Titthians* and *Aruacceans*, whom when *Marcellus* had accepted willingly, he commaunded money and pledges to be deliuered, which when he had receyued, he let those people go frée.

Linteuon.

This end had the warre of the *Bellans*, *Titthians*, and *Aruacceans* before the comming of *Lucullus*.

But *Lucullus*, partly for desire of glorie, and partly for néede, (for he was poore) ledde his armie againste the *Vacceans*, whiche be a people in *Celtiberia*, next to the *Aruacceans*, notwithstãding the Senate determined nothing of them, nor they had euer bin enimies of the people of *Rome*.

Lucullus needie. *Vaccei* people of the Iland of neather *Spaine*.

Therefore when he had passed the floude *Tagus*, he came to the citie of *Cauca*, and there encamped. They of the towne asked why he came, & for what purpose he molested them that were in quiet & rest. Who, when he had answered that hee came to helpe the *Carpetanes*, whom they had iniured, they returned into ỹ city.

Tagus, the floud *Tasa* in *Lusitania*.

Carpetanes dwyel at the floud *Tajo*.

And

And when the *Romanes* wente for forrage, they kylled many, which being vnderstode, the army was brought forth, and they mette and fought. The *Cauceans* a while had the better, til their shotte fayled them, then they fledde, not being good at a firme battell, and so thrusting together at the gate, there were three thousand slayne. *Cauceans* slayne at their Citie.

The nexte day, the olde men came forth, and besought *Lucullus* to tell them what they might doe, to kepe the *Romanes* fauour. He required pledges & an C. talentes of siluer, and ỳ their horsemen shoulde serue with him: which when it was graunted, he saide, he woulde put a garrison in the Citie, and they did not denye that. He put two thousand choyce souldyoures into the citie, whome he commaunded to take the walles, whiche beyng done, he brought in all his army, and killed all without respect of age, and thus by extreame cruelties, they were all slaine, calling vpon the Gods, and the faith of the oth, by the whiche the *Romanes* had sworne, and charging the *Romanes* with infidelitie, by the which they had murthered twenty thousande, a fewe except, that were in the strong and rocky places. *Lucullus* spoyled the Citie, and gaue the prey to the Souldioures, purchasing an immortall infamie to the name of *Rome*. All they of the Countrey assembled, and came out of the playnes into the hils, and into the strong townes, carrying so muche with them as they could, burning the rest, that *Lucullus* shoulde haue no profite of them. Extreame iniurie done to the *Romanes* by *Lucullus*.

When *Lucullus* had made a long iourney by the hard and deserte way, he came to a Citie that is called *Enderacia*, into the whiche, more than twenty thousand fotemen were fledde, and two thousand horsemen. *Lucullus* (suche was his folishnesse) inuited them to composition, to whome, they obiected the calamitie of the *Paeceans*, & asking, if he woulde exhorte them to suche amitie. *Lucullus* being angry for their obiection (as the manner is of them that do naught, whereas they should rather be angry with themselues) wasted their land, and besieged their Citie, made many trenches, and continually prouoked them to fight. One of them very faire in armour, came many times *Enderacia.*

forth on horsebacke, and prouoked any *Romane* to fighte hand to hand: and when no man answered him, he laughed, and scorned the *Romanes*, and wente leaping, and reioycing home. Doyng this very oft, it greeued *Scipio* that was a yong man, who came forthe, and toke the matter in hande, and by the benefite of fortune, ouercame the greate straunger, he being but of small stature, which gaue courage to the *Romane*. But in the night, they were diuersly affrighted, for all the horsemen of the *Barbarians* whiche were gone a foraging before the *Romanes* came, and coulde not get into the Citie, ranne vpon the Camp with great alarms, and they of the Citie did the like with greate vehemence, sore troubling the *Romanes*, who being afflicted wyth watche (for all that night they were compelled to watche in armoure) and not accustomed to the meates of that countrey, and hauing neyther wyne, salte, nor oyle, nor vinegre, and did eate sodden wheate and barlie, and muche fleashe of Dere and Hare without salte, they fell into fluxes, of the whiche, many dyed. Thus they continued, tyll they hadde brought their trenches to due height, whiche being done, they beat downe one part of the wall, and entred the Citie, but being valiantly repulsed in their retire, vnawares they fell into a fenne, where a greate parte of them perished. The *Barbarians* the night following, made vppe theyr wall, but at length, when both sides was oppressed wyth famine, *Scipio* promised them, that there should be no fraude in their treatie, to whome faith was giuen for the opinion of hys vertue. This was the ende of thys warre, that they shoulde deliuer tenne thousande Sculdioures coates, a certayne number of caitell, and fiftie, pledges. The gold and siluer, *Lucullus* could not haue, for whose cause he made the warre, thinking *Spayne* had bin full of it, for those people hadde it not, neyther doe these *Celtiberians* much esteeme suche things.

Scipio fighteth a combate, and killeth a *Spaniarde*.

Romanes made afrayde.

VVant of salte.

Romanes perish.

Celtiberians esteeme not gold.

After this, he wente toward *Pallantia*, whiche was a Citie of greater name and power, into the whyche, many were fledde: therefore many counselled him to leaue it, but he, bycause hee heard it was wealthy and riche, did not followe their councell. When he went to forage, euer he had the *Pallantine* horsemen vpon

Pallantia a Citie nigh the *Vaccæans*.

vpon him, so as for lacke of victuall, he was fayne to remoue his Camp, and so ledde his army in a square battell, the *Pallantines* euer following, till he came to the floud *Orius*. Then they went away at midnight, and he returned to the *Turditanes* land, and there wintered. This end hadde the warre whiche *Lucullus* made with the *Vacceans* without the authoritie of the Senate. Therfore that he shuld not come to iudgemēt being accused. &c.

Orius.

Turditani, people of Granata.

¶ Notwithstanding, another part of *Spayne* called *Lusitania*, lyuing after their owne lawes, with a certayne Captayne of *Affrica*, did spoyle the Countreys that obeyed the *Romanes*, and whē they had ouerthrowen *Manilius*, and *Calphurnius Piso* the *Romane* Captaynes, they killed fyre thousande of them, beside *Terentius Varro*, that was treasourer, by the whiche thing, the *Affrican* being proude, did runne ouer all the Countreys, to the *Ocean* sea, and ioyning the *Vettones* vnto him, besieged the *Blastophenicians*, that were subiect to the *Romanes*, with the whyche, they say, *Annibal* did mingle some of the *Carthage* generation, therfore they were called *Blastophenicians*. Thys Captayne was hurte on the head with a stone, and dyed, and in hys place succēded another called *Cessaro*. Hē foughte wyth *Mummius* that was come from *Rome* wyth another armye, of whome being ouercome, and *Mummius* chacing hym, he returned vppon them that followed disorderly, and kylled tenne thousande, and recouered all hys prey, and hys owne Campe whyche hē hadde lost, and besyde spoyled the *Romanes* Campe, and toke theyr Ensignes, the whyche they shewing throughout *Spayne*, made a laughingstocke of the *Romanes*.

Lusitania, now Portugall.

The *Romanes* killed.

Vettones in hither *Spayne*, of whome the hearde *Betonie* is named.

Captaine killed.

Blastophenicians.

Cessaro.

The *Romanes* ouerthrowen vnder *Mummius*.

Mummius nowe Campyng in a strong place, exercised the Souldioures whyche he hadde lefte, whyche were fiue thousande, and durst not bryng them into the playne, tyll they hadde recouered theyr courage. The *Lusitanes*, albeit they inhabite the other syde of the floud *Tagus*, yet they toke armes, and wasted the *Cuneans* that were tributaries to the *Romanes*, *Canchenus* beyng theyr Captayne, and toke *Cunistorges* theyr greate Citie, and passed the Sea at the pillers of *Hercules*, so as some of them wente into *Affrica*, and

Cunistorges in *Celtiberia*.

and ſome beſeeged the Citie of *Ocilis*. *Mummius* followed them with nine thouſand ſotemen, and fiue hundred horſemen, and killed of them fifténe thouſande that waſted the Countreys, and many of the other, and deliuered *Ocile* from the ſege, and then méeting with them that raunged ẏ Countrey, he deſtroyed them all, ſo as not a meſſenger was left. The prey that coulde be carryed, he diſtributed to the Souldioures, the reſt he burned in the honor of the Gods that be the rulers of warre, for the which things, he triumphed at *Rome* at his returne. *M. Atilius* ſucceeded him, which in one rode, killed ſeuen hundred *Luſitanes*, and deſtroyed a great Citie called *Oſtrace*, and toke all the countrey aboute, yéelding for feare, in the whiche, ſome were of the nation of the *Bottanes*, but ſo ſone as *Atilius* departed to hys winter ſtation, they reuolted, and beſeeged certayne of the *Romanes* tributaries, whome when *Seruius Galba*, ſucceſſor to *Atilius*, would haue put from the ſege of the ſodayne, when he had gone in one night and a day, fiue hundred furlongs, he ſhewed himſelfe to the *Luſitanes*, and put his ſouldioures wearie of their iourney to the fight forthwith, and when he had put the enimie to flighte, and foliſhly followed them with his Souldioures weake and wearie, the *Barbarians* ſéeing them ſcattered, and manye times reſting them for faintenelle, turned, and gaue a charge vpon them, and killed ſeauen thouſande of them. *Galba*, with the horſemen about him, recouered himſelfe at the Citie of *Carmena*, where he gathered all them that eſcaped, and when he had twenty thouſand of the tributarie ſouldyoures, he went into the borders of the *Cuneans*, where he wintered at *Cuniſtorge*. *Lucullus*, who made warre with the *Vaccéans*, withoute the authoritie of the *Senate*, comming that time into *Turditania*, vnderſtoode that the *Luſitanes* made warre vppon their neighbours, therefore he ſent ſome of his beſt Captaynes, and killed fifténe hundred of them as they paſſed a water, and others that were fledde into an hill, he compaſſed with trenches and mountes, and killed a great multitude. Then entring *Luſitania*, he waſted one parte, and *Galba* another. Some, that ſente Embaſſadors to confirme the league made with *Atilius*, and broken of them,

Victorie of *Mummius*.

Oſtrace.

Bottanes.

Seruius Galba taketh too much of his vvearie ſouldyoures, and loſeth.

Carmena.

Cuneans.

Lucullus.

he

he receyued into friendship, and compounded the matter with them. Also he sayned that he was sory for them, and beleeue that they, for continuall wante, were driuen to spoyle, and so breaking league, made warre. I know (quoth he) that you were cõpelled to it by the barrennesse, and want of your Countrey, but I will put you into a plentifull soyle, and diuide you into three seuerall places full of abundance. They being allured by this hope, went from their owne houses, whome being diuided into three partes, he shewed them a playne, where he had them stay till he came to shew them the place, where they shoulde buylde their Citie. When he was come to the firste, he willed them to leaue their armour as friends, which they did, then he enclosed them with ditches and trenches, and sent in his souldyoures, and caused them all to be kylled, not one escaping, they calling vpon the Gods for the breach of faith. He did the like to the seconde and thirde, before one vnderstode of anothers calamitie: and thus he reuenged fraude with fraude, following the *Barbarians* vse: no respect he had to honor of *Rome*. A few escaped, among whome was *Viriatus*, who after was Captayne of the *Lusitanes*, and did greate feates, and killed many *Romanes*. Those things that were done afterwarde, I will shewe in the other bookes.

Another manifest iniurie of *Lucullus*.

Viriatus.

But *Galba*, who passed *Lucullus* in couetousnesse, distributed a fewe things among the souldyoures, and toke the rest to himselfe, although he was most riche of all the *Romanes*. He was a man that in peace where profite appeared, would not refrayne from periurie and lies. And when he, being hated of all men, was accused, yet for his riches, whereof he had great plenty, he was euer quitte and discharged. Not long after, as many as remained of the vnfaithfulnesse of *Lucullus* and *Galba*, gathering togither to the number of tenne thousande, wasted the lande of *Turditania*. Agaynste them, *M. Vettilius* with another armye wente, and ioyning to him all other that were in *Spayne*, whych was tenne thousande, he wente agaynste them that wasted *Turditania*, and kylled many of them, and droue the other into a Castell, in the which, if they woulde tarry, they muste perishe for hunger, if they departed, they muste fall into the *Romanes*

Galba described

handes, so narrow was the place: wherefore they sent Embas-
Vettilius. sadoures to *Vettilius* in humble wise, desiring to haue a place to inhabite, that they from henceforth with all these, might be tributaries to *Rome*: whyche he accepted, and they ready to come forth. But *Viriatus* that had escaped from *Galbas* crueltie, and
The policie and hardinesse of *Viriatus.* was then with them, put them in remembrance of the *Romanes* falsehode, and tolde them how oft they hadde bin decepued by colour of promise, and that all the *Romanes* army was nowe lyke vnto the deceytefulnesse of *Galba* and *Lucullus*: but if they woulde be ruled by hym, he woulde tell them how they might all escape safe. They beyng moued with hys wordes, and conceyuing good hope, chose hym theyr Captayne. Therefore when he hadde placed all the horse in the front of the battell, as though he woulde fyghte, he commaunded the other, so sone as he toke hys horse, to diuide themselues, and by diuers pathes
Tribola. to flée ouer the hylles, as well as they could, to *Tribola*, and there to tarry hym tyll he came. He kepte wyth hym choyce Horsemen, of euery number, and then he lepte on Horsebacke, and the other fledde with spéede.

Vettilius, afrayde to followe them that were thus separate, and diuided to many partes, stayed to sée what *Viriatus* woulde doe, who abode still. He with hys swifte Horse nowe commyng vpon the *Romanes*, now going backe from them, and now comming agayne vppon them, spente so that whole daye, and the nexte also, goyng on, and comming of from that playne. And when by coniecture, he thoughte them that were gone, to be come to a sure place, at midnighte wyth moste spéede, by diuers hard wayes, he got to *Tribola*. The *Romanes* coulde not ouertake hym, partly for the weight of their armoure, partly for the ignorance of the way, and partly for the diuersitie of theyr Horses. Thus *Viriatus* saued hys men that were in desperation of themselues. Thys policie wanne hym greate fame ouer all the places aboute, and so they came vnto hym in great numbers.

He kepte warre wyth the *Romanes* thrée yeares together, and it is well knowen, that this warre muche troubled the same,

and

and in the ende, was very daungerous vnto them. And if there were any other ſtirre in *Spayne*, that was the cauſe that it continued the longer. *Vettilius* followed, and came to *Tribola*. *Viriatus* layde an ambuſhe in an hyll, whyther when he knewe that *Vettilius* was come, he fledde. And when *Vettilius* was paſt the ambuſhe, he turned, and they of the ambuſhe came forthe, and beſette the *Romanes*, kylling and takyng, or throwing them headlong from the hygh places. *Vettilius* was taken, whome, when the taker knewe not, but ſawe hym to be a fatte olde man, he thought hym to be of no regarde, and kylled hym. Traynes on the *Romanes*. *Vettilius* taken and killed.

Of tenne thouſande *Romanes*, ſcarſly fiue thouſande ſaued themſelues at *Carpeſſo*, a Sea Towne, whyche I thynke was called of the *Grecians Tarteſſus*, in the whyche *Arganthonius* reigned, who (they ſay) lyued a hundred and fiftie yeare. The Treaſurer that came with *Vettilius*, followyng them that went to *Carpeſſo*, ſeeing them afrayde, kepte them in the Citie, and made them keepe the wall. And when he had gotten fiue thouſande of the *Bellans* and *Tirthians*, accordyng as he deſired, he ſente them agaynſte *Viriatus*, whome he kylled, not one beeing lefte to bryng tydings home. The treaſourer remaynyng in the Citie, lokyng for newes from *Rome*, durſt doe nothyng. *Carpeſſo*. *Arganthonius* the old Kyng. *Viriatus* kylleth the *Spanyards* ſent againſt him.

Viriatus in the meane ſeaſon, inuaded the plentifull and abundant ſoyle of the *Carpetanes*, whyche he ſpoyled without feare, tyll *Caius Plautius* came with tenne thouſande footemen, and three hundred horſemen. Then *Viriatus* pretended to flee. *Plautius* ſent foure thouſand to follow him, vpon whome *Viriatus* turned, and killed all ſaue a fewe. Then he paſſed the ſtoud *Tagus*, and camped in an hill full of Olines, yet called by the name of *Venus*. *Plautius* finding him here, and deſirous to heale his former wounde, gaue him battell, wherein he was ouercome with great loſſe of men, and fledde with ſhame, and kepte in ſtrong Cities, and as men be wont, in winter, he durſt neuer come forthe all that Sommer. *Viriatus* raunged the Countrey, and toke money of the owners for to ſaue their harneſt, whyche if they denyed hym, he waſted all. At *Rome*, when *C Plautius*. The *Romanes* killed. *Plautius* is ouercome.

Q. Fabius Maximus.

this was knowen, they sente *Q. Fabius Maximus*, that was *Paulus Aemilius* sonne, that ouercame *Perseus* kyng of *Macedonia*, and gaue hym authoritie to gather men hymselfe. He, because of late they hadde gotte *Grecia*, and *Carthage*, and made a prosperous ende of the thirde warre of *Macedonia*, to gyue some respect to the olde Souldioures that were come from thence, hée toke vp two legions of yong men vnexpert in warre, and sente for ayde of hys friendes, and came to *Orsona*, a Citie in *Spayne*. The contente of hys armye, was fiftéene thousande fotemen, and two thousande Horsemen, in the whyche place, not mynding to beginne the warre, tyll he hadde trayned hys Souldioures, he wente to *Gades*, to sacrifice to *Hercules*. *Viriatus* méeting with some of them that were gone a foraging, kylled the moste parte of them, and putte the reste in feare, who being called agayne to theyr Ensigne of theyr Captayne, he ouercame them, and spoyled them of a greate prey. When *Maximus* was come, he was ofte in the fielde, and prouoked hym to fyghte. *Maximus* thoughte it not good to auenture the whole fyght, but continued in exercising hys Souldioures, and suffered hys souldioures to skirmithe, that by that meane, he myghte trie the heartes, both of hys owne, and of hys enimies. When they shoulde goe for victuall, hée garded them wyth many shotte and Horsemen, he riding to them, as he had séene his father *Paulus* doe in *Macedonia*.

Orsona.

Viriatus spoyleth the Romanes.

Maximus refuseth fight till he had trayned his men.

When Winter was past, and he hadde sufficiently exercised hys Souldioures, he was the seconde, of whome *Viriatus* was ouerthrowen and putte to flighte, doyng all the partes that belongeth to a Generall. And so, of two Cities which he held, he toke one, and burned another. And when he had driuen him to a strong place, whiche was called *Vecor*, he killed many, and in winter, he wente to lye at *Corduba*.

Wherefore *Viriatus*, not illuding hys enimie now as he was wont, he induced the *Aruacceans*, the *Titthians*, and *Bellans*, warlike people, whiche were at a warre of themselues, to reuolte. And so of them, hee made the warre with the *Numantines*, whiche was long, paynefull, and daungerous to the *Romanes*,

the

the which (when I haue done with *Viriatus*) I wil shewe briefly.

This *Viriatus* fought in an other part of *Spaine*, with another Capitaine of the *Romanes*, *Q. Pompeius*. And being ouercome, hee fled to *Venus* hills. From the which comming again vpon the enimy, he killed many of *Quintus* mẽ, toke diuers ensigns, & droue the rest to their campe, and caste out the garrison at *Vtica*, & wasted the lande of the *Basitanes*. For *Quintus* did not helpe them for cowardlinesse and vnskilfulnesse, but rested at *Corduba*, in the middest of Autumne, althoughe *Martius* didde moue hym to it, sending a *Spaniarde* vnto him from an *Italian* Citie. The next yeare *Fabius Maximus*, brother of *Aemilianus*, came successor to *Quintus*, with two other *Romane* legiõs, and some friends So he had in all eightéene. M. footmen, & a thousand fiue hundred horsemen. He wrote to *Micipse*, king of *Numidia*, so sone as the time would serue to send him Elephants: & he with part of his armie went to *Vtica*: whome *Viriatus* encountring by the way with fiue thousand, with great escries and alarms, after their Barbarian manner, with long and vgly heare *Maximus* withstode him, and without his losse repulsed him. And when the other army was come, and out of *Affrica*, ten Elephants, and three hundred horses, he toke a large place to encampe, and fortified it. He beganne firste to tame *Viriatus*, and to put him to flight, and chase him. But when the *Romanes* followed hym once oute of order, he percepuing it, turned vpon them, and killed three thousande of them, and chased the reste to their campe, the whiche, hee assaulted, and founde fewe at the gates to resiste hym, for they were fledde into their Tentes for feare, from whence the Generall and Captaines, could hardly remoue them. In that fight, *Fannius*, the sonne in lawe of *Lelius*, behaued hymselfe valiauntlye, and saued the *Romanes* by his comming. *Viriatus* running by the darkenesse of the night, and heate of the daye, suffered no moment of time to passe, in the which he did not molest the enimye with his shotte and light horsemen, till *Aemilianus* encamped towarde *Vtica*.

Viriatus killeth Romaines. *Vtica*.

Basitanes. *Corduba*. *Cordoua*.

F.M. *Aemilianus*.

Micipse.

Romanes killed

Fannius.

Then *Viriatus* victuall fayling, and with a small armye burning al his tents, he wẽt into *Lusitania*, whom when *Aemilianus*

coulde not finde, he ſpoyled fyue Townes that holpe *Viriatus*.

Then he led his armye into the bordures of the *Cuneans*, and from thence, into *Luſitania* againſt *Viriatus*: and as he went, two Captaines of theeues, *Curius* and *Apuleius*, troubled hym and made ſpoile. But *Curio* being killed in the fight, *Aemilianus* recouered the praye ſhortly after, and toke the Cities *Iſcadia*, and *Semella*, and *Oballa*, in the whiche the garriſons of *Viriatus* were. Some of theſe he ſpoiled, ſome he pardoned, and of ten thouſand captiues, he headed fiue hundred, and the other he bade to be killed confuſedly: which being done, he went to winter the ſeconde yere of his prouince and this warre. Theſe things being done, he went to *Rome*, leauing *Q. Pompeius* his ſucceſſor. &c.

Curius and *Apuleius* captaines of theeues.

Iſcadia.
Semella.
Oballa.

Great murder by execution.

¶ His brother *Maximus Aemilianus*, hauing taken a Capitaine of theeues, called *Canoba*, who yelded vnto him, he pardoned only him, and the handes of the reſte he cut off. After following *Viriatus*, he entrenched his citie *Eriſana*, into the whiche, *Viriatus* entring by night, he ſet vppon the Pioners and workemen, till they left the armye and their toles, and fled. And he droue other to the hills and hard places, from the whiche it was vnpoſſible for them to come. But *Viriatus* that was neuer inſolent by hys good fortune, thinking he had nowe gotten a goodly occaſion to make an end of the warre, by ſhewing ſuch a benefite to the *Romanes*, made peace and league with them, whiche was approued of the people, that is to ſay:

Here lacketh. *Canoba.*

Hands cut of. *Eriſana.*

Viriatus content to make peace, when he had vantage.

That *Viriatus* ſhoulde be a friend of the *Romanes*.

That al ẏ wer with him, ſhold be Lords of the land that they poſſeſſed.

So *Viriatus* thoughte he hadde made an ende of a great warre with the *Romanes*, & was quiet, but the peace continued not long. For *Capio* the brother of *Aemilianus* did not allow theſe conditions ẏ he had made, & wrote to *Rome*, that it was diſhonorable. The Senate at the beginning priuily agreed to him, thinking for the commõ wealth, to profeſſe emnitie againſt *Viriatus*. And when he had wrote many letters therof, & urged the matter, they decreed that he ſhould breake the league with *Viriatus*, & renue ẏ war. Then *Capio* truſting vpon thys decree, made open war vpõ

The peace not allowed.

Capio.

Viriatus

Viriatus, & toke *Arſa* a citie that he had left into his power. And folowing *Viriatus* that went aboute wasting the Countryes, hée ouertoke him at the country of the *Carpetanes*, far exceéding him in number. Wherfore *Viriatus* not minding to fight for his smal number, sent away the great part of his armie by a certaine bypathe, and placed the reſt on an hill, as thoughe he would fighte. *Arſa.*

And when he thoughte they were come to the ſure places, hée toke his horſe with the ſpurres, and with the reſte of hys companye, with great ſcorne of the enimie: he went forth ſo ſpéedily, that they that folowed him could not tell which way he became. Then *Capio* wasted the Countrys of the *Vettones* and *Gallecians*, many followed *Viriatus*, and ſpoyled *Portugall*. Againſt them, *Sextus Iunius Brutus* was ſent, who being wearye of the long waye, whiche *Tagus*, *Lethe*, *Darius*, and *Betis*, nauigeable floudes, contayne, ſtaide from following him. For they lyke théues, conueyed themſelues out of ſight in a moment. Wherefore *Brutus* thought it a great labour to ouertake them, and not to doe it, a greate diſhonor: and ſuppoſing finall glorie to be in ouerthrowing them, he went to ſpoile their campes, both bycauſe he thought he might ſo chaſtice them, and alſo get a great bootie for his ſouldiors, and further that that bande of robbers woulde ſcatter when they ſhoulde thinke of the daunger of theyr ſeueral countreis. *Viriatus* ſaueth his men again by policie. *Inn. Brutus.* Rodes of *Spaine*

Wyth this entent and purpoſe he ſpoiled whatſoeuer was in his way. The women that came into the warre with their huſbandes, and were killed with them, and ſhewed ſuche conſtancie, that they woulde not ſpeake a worde, when they were ſlaine. Many went to the Mountayns wyth as much as they coulde carrye, to whome deſiring peace, hée gaue it, and diuided their land. Valiant vvomē.

When he paſſed the floude *Orius*, he waſted a greate region, and required hoſtages of them that yéelded, and ſo came to the floude *Lethe*, and he was the firſt *Romane*, that thought of the paſſage of it. Which when he was paſt, and gone forth, he came to the riuer *Nibene*, and ledde hys armye againſte the *Bettarans*, bycauſe they intercepted his victualls. *Orius.* *Nibene.* *Bettarans.*

Theſe

These bée people that goe also with their women armed to the warre, which with good courage, abide death boldly, not sparing themselues, neyther fléeing from the fight, nor lamenting when they dye. Some women that were taken, would kil themselues, and some their children also, rather than they shoulde bée slaues.

Many cities that then helde with *Brutus*, rebelled shortely after, and were subdued of hym againe. And for these causes when he came to *Labrica*, that had ofte made peace with him, & then were disobedient, they desired pardon, and woulde doe all things at his commaundement. He required hostages, the Romaine runneawaies, and all their armour, and lastly that they should leaue their Cittie. Al the whiche, when they hadde done, he called them quietly to an assembly, and when he had compassed them with his army, he put them in remembraunce, how oft they had reuolted, and made warre, and made them so afraide, as they might feare a worse punishement. In the ende being satisfied with that rebuke, he refrayned from further paine. But he toke from them horse, corne, and common money, and all other publike preparation, and beside all their hope, suffered them to lyue in their country. Which things, when he had thus done, he returned to *Rome*. I haue declared al this in the history of *Viriatus*.

Labrica.

Capio vseth mercie.

In this time, other folowing his example, exercised robberies: and *Viriatus*, that he might come to some end, sente *Ditalcone* and *Minuro* to *Capio*, the whiche being corrupted by many promises, vndertoke to kill *Viriatus*. The matter was thus handled.

Praise to kil *Viriatus*.

Viriatus vsed little slepe after moste greate labours, and for the moste parte, slepte armed, that he might be readye at all soudayne chaunces. For this cause it was lawfull for hys friends to come to hym by night. Whiche manner, the conspiratoures knowing, and marking the firste houre of hys slepe, entred hys house armed, as for some greate matter, and cut hys throate, for in any other parte they could not hurte him. And when no man hearde the noise of the déede, for the facilitie of the cutte, they escaped to *Capio*, and required their rewarde: To whome he

The manner of killing *Viriatus*.

forthwith

forthwith gaue al they did possesse, and whatsoeuer was in their power: but as touching their reward, hée sente them to *Rome*.

Viriatus friends, and the whole armye, when it was daye, tarried for him, and thinking he had rested, marueiled at that alteration, and so went in and found him dead in his armour: wherfore great sorrowe was made in al the Campe, euerye man lamenting his harde happe, thinking on the danger they were in, and the Captaine they had lost: and it moste grieued them, that they coulde not fynd the killers. Therefore they burned his body with muche honoure, vppon a great stacke, killing many sacrifices in his reuerence, and as well the footemen as the horsmen, after the Barbarian manner, wente aboute the fyre, and extolled him to heauen with their praise. At laste when the fire was out, and the funerals finished, they made many turneymēts hand to hand at his sepulchre, so great loue and desire did *Viriatus* leaue to his men, who, thoughe he were a *Barbarian*, yet he was moste skilfull in gouernement, most warie in perils, and aboue all other, bolde in despising them, and moste iuste in diuiding his pray. For he could neuer be brought to take any whitte more, than the reste, althoughe hée were desired, and that hée toke, he gaue to the valiant sort: Wherby it came to passe, (that is most harde, and to this daye hath not happened to any Captaine) that hys armye gathered of all kinde of nations, eighte yeares togither, whiche the warre continued, was euer most obedient to him without mutinie, and endured to the vttermost moste ready to abide all daunger.

Honor done to *Viriatus* at his burial.

The prayse of *Viriatus*.

And when they had created *Tantalus* for their Captaine, they went towarde *Sagunt*, which Cittie, when *Annibal* had destroyed and restored, he called it *Carthage*, of the name of his country. And being driuen from thēce by *Capa*, that was alwaies at their backes, when he had passed the floude *Betis*, bēing wearye, he yelded himselfe and his army to *Capa*. He toke al hys armor, and appointed them a good land to lyue in, that they shoulde no more be driuen to robbe.

Tantalus.

Nowe oure history shall retourne to the warres of the *Vaccéans*, and the *Numantines*, whom *Viriatus* caused to reuolt.

Cæcilius Metellus, ſent from *Rome* with moꝛe men, ſhoꝛtely ouercame the *Vacceans*, whereby the reſte were diſcomfited & put in feare. &c.

Here vvanteth. *Termantia. Numantia.*

¶ There remayned yet *Termantia*, and *Numantia*, in an hylly place, diuided with two floudes, and compaſſed with hylles and thicke woddes, bending into the playne onely one waye, at the which part, it was foꝛtified with many ditches, and pilleurs ouerthwart. The *Numantines* were god eight thouſand mẽ, bothe on hoꝛſe and fote, and with ſo ſmall a number, (ſuche was their manlineſſe) they put the *Romanes* to muche paine.

Metellus at the ende of winter, deliuered his army to *Q. Metellus Aulus* his ſucceſſoꝛ, in the which was thirtie thouſãd fotemen, and two thouſand hoꝛſmen wel armed and pꝛactiſed. &c.

Here vvanteth

¶ And when *Pompeius* had his campe at *Numantia*, & from thence went into a certaine place, the *Numantines*, deſcending from an hil, deſtroyed his hoꝛſemen that ranne to him. Who, when hée was retourned, bꝛoughte foꝛthe his bataple to fyghte in the playne.

The enimies comming down, gaue a charge vpon hym, and by & by, as though they had bin afraide, retired vnto the hil, till they had bꝛought thẽ to the places where the ditches and ouerthwart beames were layde, ſo as *Pompey* pereeyuing he was in theſe ſkirmiſhes ouermatched of them that were inferioure to hym, he tourned hys armie towarde *Termantia*, thinking to doe better there, where they fought with him to his loſſe of ſeauen hundꝛed. Beſide that, the *Termantines* put a Tribune to flight, that was comming with victuals, and in one day giuyng thꝛée onſets on the *Romaynes*, they dꝛoue them thꝛice into ſharpe and rocky places, and thꝛewe many of their fotemen and hoꝛſemen (togither with their hoꝛſes) from the hylles and rockes, ſo as the reſte being afraide, remayned al night in armoꝛ, and when it was day, comming foꝛth in oꝛder of battaile, they fought doubtfullye, till night ended the fight. *Pompey* in the night made haſt to *Malia* wyth his hoꝛſemen, whiche place the *Numantines* helde with a garriſon. But the *Malians* killing the garriſon by treaſon, deliuered the Citie to *Pompey*, who, receyuing armoure

Pompey looſeth.

Malia nowe *Malgrado*, is deliuered to *Pẽpey*.

and

and pledges of them, went to *Sueditania*, which a certayne Capitaine, named *Tanginus*, did spoyle wyth his armie. *Pompey* fought with him, and ouerthrewe him, and toke manye of hys souldyoures. *Sueditania.* *Tanginus.*

But suche manhode was in these théues, as none of them woulde lyue Captiue, but some killed themselues, some theyr Maisters, & some made holes in the ship that caried thē, to sincke it. Manhode of theeues.

Pompey beyng returned to *Numantia*, went about to turne the floude that was in the playne, an other waye, that he mighte presse the Citie with famine.

The Townsemen droue the labourers from their worke, and comming by bandes, without trumpet, they threwe darts and arrowes vpon them, that they should not tourne the floude, and fought at hande with them that came to aide the Pioners, and droue them to their Campe. and encountring them that wente for forage, killed manye of them, and the Tribune that was their leader, and giuing a charge on an other side on the *Romanes* that made a ditche, they killed one thousand four hundred with their Capitaine. By the whiche discommodities, certaine men of the Senate came to *Pompey*, to helpe hym with theyr counsel: also young souldioures, not yet exercised, were gathered for the old, that had bin nowe fiue yeares abroade. Wyth the whyche olde souldioures, *Pompey* hauing receyued so manye displeasures, remayned the winter in campe, to recouer his estimation. Where they were cursedly vexed with colde, warding and watching. And then the nature of that countrey beganne to bée perceyued, for they were taken wyth the flyxe, and manye dyed. The Romaines killed. Counsellours sent to *Pompey*. Flixe among the Romane souldioures.

When anye of the souldiours shoulde goe oute of the campe for victuall, the *Numantines* lying in awayte, woulde not cease to hurte the *Romanes* with their shot and darts. Which when they coulde not abide, they woulde néedes go against them: then they come from their traines, and do them muche harme: And once againe the *Numidians* méeting wyth them that brought victuall, destroyed many of them, aswell noble men as other. *Numantine* hurte the Romanes.

Pompey therfore being vexed with so many euils, by the counsaile of the Senatours, remoued, that he shoulde lye the reste of the Wynter in sure places, and the Spring, in Cities. And because a Successoure was to come to him, and he afraid to be accused, he beganne to practise secreatly with the *Numantines*, the which also for the losse of many their chiefe citizens, and for that they coulde not tyll their ground, and for want of victuall, and for ỹ continuance of war, which was longer than they thought, they sent Ambassadors to *Pompey*, to whom openlye he spake, ỹ they should yeld themselues. For he said, that he knew none other way but that, howe to agree with them, for the dignitie of the Romaynes. But priuily he tolde them, with what conditions he woulde vse them.

Pompey practiseth peace vvith the *Numantines*.

And so when the thing was agreed, they yelded to hym.

Pompey required pledges and fugitiues, whiche he receiued. He required also thirtie talentes of siluer, of the which the *Numantines* paide fifténe presently. *Pompey* loked for the reste.

Popilius.

When his successour *M. Popilius Lena* was come, the *Numantines* paide it.

Pompey being deliuered of the feare of warre, knowing the composition that he had made was vnlawfull, being done wythout the *Romanes* consent, when his successor was come, he denyed he had made any agreement with the *Numantines*. They proued it by witnesse present, of men of degree, of Senatours and Tribunes, and also of the Capitaines of hys horsemen. Therefore *Popilius* sent bothe partes to *Rome*, to pleade the matter before the Senate. The Senate thought beste to holde war still with the *Numantines*.

Pompey goeth frō his peace.

In the meane season, *Popilius* entred the lande of the *Lusones*, which were neighbours to the *Numantines*, and returned doyng nothing. And *C. Hostilius Mancinus* succeeded him, and he went to *Rome*. When *Mancinus* came to fight, he was oft ouercome, & at length when he had lost many, he kepte within his camp. There was a rumor that the *Cantabrans* and *Vacceanes*, would come help the enimie, wherefore in the night, without lighte, he fled to the abandoned Campe of *Nobilior*, where beyng shutte, neyther

Lusones.

Cantabri.

Brisegge.

hauing

hauing fortifyed the place, nor otherwise able to defend, the *Numantines*, beseeging him and all his armye in hard state, least hee should make a dishonorable peace with them, he made a league and amitie betweene the *Romanes*, and with the *Numantines*, with equall conditions, to the which, he bound himselfe: whyche thing, when it was knowen at *Rome*, they were all verye sorye, bycause the league was shamefull. Therefore *Aemilius Lepidus* another Consull was sente into *Spayne*. *Mancinus* was called to iudgemente, whome the Embassadors of the *Numantines* followed, *Aemilius* loking for aunswere from *Rome*, being warrie of rest, for now such Generalles driuen by desire of false glorie, or profite, or triumph, went to their prouinces, not for their coũtreys profite, pretẽding a false crime against the *Vacceans*, accusing them, that they had holpen the *Numantines* with victuals, and inuaded their land, and beseged their chiefe Citie *Pallantia*, whiche had not offended against the league. And when he had sent *Brutus* his sonne in law into other partes of *Spayne*, to make him partaker of the warre, *Cinus* and *Cæcilius* came Embassadors from *Rome* to them, shewing the Senate did dote, that after so many losses receyued in *Spayne*, *Aemilius* would sowe new warres, and declared the decrée of the Senate, that he shoulde not make warre vpon the *Vacceans*. But he hauing begunne the warre, and sent *Brutus* abroade, bycause he thought the Senate did not knowe that the *Vacceans* did helpe the *Numantines* with victuall, money, and souldyoures, fearing also, if he lefte warre, all *Spayne* would reuolt, as done for feare, he sent the Embassadoures without delay, and so wrote to the Senate. He fortifyed a certaine Castell, and bestowed the time in gathering of men and victuall. *Flaccus* being sent a forraging, and falling into traynes which came vpon him, a word was craftily cast forthe, that *Aemilianus* had wonne *Pallantia*, at the whiche, when the Souldioures made a crie, as the manner is in victorie, the *Barbarians* hearing it, and beléeuing it to be true, were afrayde, and departed. And by this meane, *Flaccus* deliuered his men from perill, and his forage from spoyle.

Mancinus maketh peace dishonourably.

Aemilius.

Generalles of prouinces for profite.

The army saued by a vvorde.

The seege continuing long at *Pallantia*, the *Romanes* wanted victuall,

Pallantia.

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victuall, and hauing consumed all their Cattell, they wared so weake, that some dyed for hunger. The Captaynes *Aemilianus* and *Brutus*, suffered the want as long as they could, but at lẽgth being ouercome with the mischiefe, *Aemilius* commaunded to breake vp, therefore the Tribunes and *Centurians* went aboute the Campe, and commanded the souldioures to departe before day, so they forsoke all, euen the sicke and wounded souldyoures, who embraced them, and recommended themselues vnto them. They departing confusedly, and without order, as men that flée, the *Pallantines* ranne vpõ them euery where, and much troubled them, following them from morning till night. When it was darke, the *Romanes* being scattered, wente into diuers places as lucke serued them. The *Pallantines* lefte chasing of them, as bẽing called frõ their purpose by the power of God. These things chanced to *Aemilius Lepidus*, whiche, when the *Romanes* vnderstode, they put *Aemilius* from his prouince and Consulshippe, and so hée returned a priuate man to *Rome*, and was punished. The *Numantines* and *Mancinus* were heard in the Senate. They broughte forth the capitulations of the league. He layde all the blame vpon *Pompey*, that was ruler of the prouince before hym, of whome he receyued a rude and cowardly army, by ẏ whiche, being oft euill handled and ouercome, he made peace with the *Numantines*, being thereto compelled, as *Pompey* hadde done, by whose league, he affirmed this warre to be vnlucky to the *Romanes*. The *Romanes* were angrie with both, yet *Pompey* was acquit, being accused of the same afore. The Senate decréed, that *Mancinus*, who had made so dishonorable a league, without consent of the Senate, should be giuẽ to the *Numantines* after the old crample, which gaue the Captayne to the *Samnites*, bycause he agréed to so shameful a peace. So they cõmanded *Furius* to leade *Mancinus* into *Spayne*, depriued of al things and naked, who was not receiued of the *Numantines*, against whome *Calphurnius Piso* was made Generall. He entred the land of the *Numantines*, and then walked part of the *Pallantines*, and spent the rest of his time in harborough in *Carpentania*. The people of *Rome* being wéery of this long and tedious warre with the *Numantines*, that it

Couardly departure of the *Romanes*.

Aemilius put frõ his office.

Sp. Posthumius Consull, vvas deliuered to the *Samnites*.

Mancinus is deliuered to the *Numantines*. *Calphurnius*.

Carpentania.

might

might once be ended, chose *Cornelius Scipio* Cõsull againe, ẏ wõne *Carthage*, as one ẏ only could ouercome ẏ *Numãtines*. And where he could not be Consul for his age (for he was but yong) a decrée of ẏ Senate was made, that the Tribunes should dispense with the law for that yeare, and restore it ẏ yeare following. Therefore *Scipio* being made Consull, made spéede to goe against ẏ *Numantines*. He ledde none with him of the souldioures by choyce, both bycause they wer troubled with war, and also bycause many of them were in *Spaine*. He had some voluntary, which were sent of kings & cities, by the consent of the Senate. He led many seruants with him frõ *Rome*, and made one band of fiue C. companies and frieds, which he called *Philonida*, that is, the band of frieds or felows. And whẽ he had appointed four M. of his souldiours to his cousin *Buteo*, he wẽt afore with great spéede to the army, which he vnderstood was corrupted with ydelenesse, riote, & sedition, knowing he could not ouercome his enimies, except he restreined & kept his souldiours in awe, with ẏ temperance & integritie of his gouernemẽt. So sone as he was come, he put out all merchants, harlots, & southsayers, whome the souldioures in their feare, would aske many questions: and forbad any thing to be brought to the Camp that was not necessary. And he forbad the sacrifices, by the bowels whereof, things to come were enquired. And he would suffer but few slaues and drudges, and cõmanded to sell all the beasts of burthen, except a fewe nédefull. He would haue the souldiours haue no cokes. He forbad any other instruments, or vessells of kitchen to be carried, but a spit, a panne, and a vessell for drinke. He would haue thẽ eate no flesh otherwise dressed, but sodde or rost. So he appointed measure to their diet. He forbad thẽ featherbeds, and he was the first ẏ lay vpõ a bed of hay. He forbad his souldiours in their iourneys, to ride on Asses or Mules, for he saide, there was little good to be hoped of that man in warre, that could not go afoote. Likewise, he reproued them ẏ vsed ministers in hote houses, and called thẽ Mules, which for ẏ they wãted hãds, had néed of other to rub thẽ. And thus he made his souldiours obediẽt & temperate, & by litle & little, acquainted thẽ with reuerẽce & feare, being hard to heare their quarels, or grãting any thing ẏ was not iust. He had oft ẏ sentence

A disputation to make *Scipio* Consull.

Philonis a band of friends.

Buteo.

Scipio reformed his Camp.

Cokes, souldioures in the Camp.

Fauourable Captaynes.

sentence in his mouth, that easie, fauourable, and affable Captaynes, were profitable to the enimie, which though they were beloued of their souldyoures, they set little by them. They that be hard and seuere, haue their souldyoures ready and obediente at all assayes: the whiche though he has thus instructed, yet he durst not bring them into the fielde, till he had exercised them with much labour. Therefore going dayly by one field or another, he made diuers Campes, one after another, whiche being defaced, he called the Souldyoures to worke agayne, to digge the ditches higher, and to fill them againe, to make high walles, and to pull them downe againe, and he stode from morning till night to ouerse the pioners. When he made any iourney, he went with a square battell, that it shoulde not be scattered by any suddaine attempte, as had happened to other. He rode about the army, and sometime to the hindermost, and bad the sicke should be borne on the horsemens horses. He toke the burdens from the Mules that were too much laden, and diuided it to be borne of the footemen. When he kepte himselfe in the house in sommer, the troupes of horsemen that he sent to espye, he commaunded at their returne to stand without at the trēch, till another bande of horsemen had viewed all: and all the labour and worke was diuided among the pioners, that is, some to make trenches, some ditches, and some walles, and some to pitch tentes, and to euery of them a certayne time was appointed to doe it. When he perceyued his armye to be made fierce, obediente, and paynefull in sommer, he encamped nygh *Numantia*, yet did he not chose places very strong for his Camp as other were wont, nor diuided his men, least if anye losse should happe at the first, he shoulde be contemned of his neyghbours, whiche were wont to laugh at him. Neither did he encounter with the enimie, waying the nature and end of warre, and the strength of the *Numantines*, least they would come vpon him with all their force. Therfore he commaunded to wast all things the corne to be cutte whilest it was grene, which being wasted, he must nedes goe further. The way that went to *Numantia*, by the playne, was shorter, and many persuaded him to

Numantia nowe of some is called *Caesar Augusta*, of some *Soria*.

goe

go that way, to whome *Scipio* sayd, he considered the way to re- Hard vvay sure.
turne, for the enimie was full of shotte, to come out to the fight, and had the Citie at their backe, to returne safely againe. But we (said he) being laden with victual and weary, should be farre to weake for them. Beside that, we haue beastes of burdens, and cartes and carriage, so the fighte shoulde be hard, and very vnequall for we being ouercome, should be in great perill, and if we did ouercome, we should haue no great gayne, and it were a folly, to put hymselfe to perill for a small matter, and he is an euill Captayne that fighteth without profite, and he is valiante and wise that entreth the danger of fight, when he is constreined by necessitie. He brought an example of Phillitians, which come not to cut and burne, till they haue tryed the sicke place with medicines, which when he had said, he cõmanded the Captaines to leade ẏ further way. Then he cõmanded to goe further to the lande of the *Vacceans*, where the *Numantines* had their victuall. Their fieldes being wasted also, and the corne gathered for the vse of the souldioures, he burned the rest. The *Pallantines* had laide many in awayte vnder certaine hilles, adioyning to that playne, called *Coplanium*, and then openly molested thẽ that were at harueste. Therefore *Scipio* sente *Rutilius Ruffus* that was hys Tribune (who after committed this warre to wrighting) with four bands of horse to stop their rangings. Therefore *Ruffus* began to follow them holdly, and to chace them to the toppe of the hilles where the ambush was, whiche discouering themselues, *Ruffus* commanded his mẽ, neyther to follow, nor to encounter the enimie, but holde them at the speares poynte. *Scipio* seyng *Ruffus* going further to the hilles than was appointed him, began to follow him with his army, feating the worst, and when he was come to the place of the trayne, he drewe his horsemẽ, and commanded to giue onset vpon the enimie both wayes, and when they had cast their dartes, to returne, not right on, but a soft pace, that they that were behinde, might ioyne with them: and by this meane he brought his horse safe into the playne. After this, when *Scipio* would remoue, there was a water hard to be passed, and myre, at the which, the enimie lay hidden, which

Coplanium.

Rutilus Ruffus in danger.

when it was knowen, he lefte that way, and ledde hys army by another longer way, but sure from decepts, and went by night, and commanded many welles to be made for thirst, in the most part of ỹ which, salt water was found. Neuertheleſſe the army wẽt on safe, though with great payne, but some horſes & Mules were killed for drought. Then he entred the lands of the *Cauteans*, whome *Lucullus* had inuaded, contrary to the league, all the which, he cõmanded by his crier, to goe quietly euery one to hys owne. From thence, he wente to the *Numantines* grounde to winter, where he remained, till *Iugurtha*, the nephewe of *Maſſiniſſa*, came to him with .xij. Elephants, and archers and slingers well armed. And being occupyed in walking and spoyling the countreys that were nigh, he was almost entrapped at a Village, the which was enuironed with a great fenne of one side, & of ỹ other with an hilly place, in ỹ which ỹ traynes were layde. And where *Scipios* hoſt was diuided into two partes, entring the towne, and leauing their enſignes without, they went to spoyle. Other a few horſemẽ rode about the towne, who were beset of the ambuſh, & defended thẽſelues. *Scipio* being about ỹ enſignes, called ỹ ſouldioures out by trumpet, before ỹ which could come, he with a M. horſemen, ranne to help thẽ that were in diſtreſſe. And when the most part of the ſouldiours were come out of the towne, he made the enimie to flée, yet did he not follow thẽ, but a fewe being killed of both sides, retired to his camp. Then laying two Camps before *Numãtia*, he made his brother *Maximus* ruler of the one, and the other he gouerned himſelfe. Whiles he was in this sort, the *Numantines* came forth, and offered to fight, but *Scipio* contemned them, thinking not better to fight with thẽ that were in deſperation, than to tame them by famine, and driue them to yelde. And when he had made ſeauen trenches about the Citie to yelde them the rather, he ſente letters to the confederates, in the whiche it was conteyned, what and howe many ſouldioures they ſhoulde ſende, whyche when they were come, he diuided them into many partes, as he did his owne, and commaunded their Captaynes and leaders, to make ditches and enclosures about the Citie. The compaſſe of *Numantia* was

Salt water.

Iugurth.

Scipio like to be entrapped.

Two Campes before *Numantia*.

four

four and twenty furlongs. The enclosure was as muche, or more, and all that was distributed to the Tribunes, whiche, if they were let of the enimie, they should signifie it by day, with a redde cloth upon a speare, and in the night, by a fire, that he and his brother might aide thē that were circumuented, whiche bēing done, and they that were set for gard, were sufficient to resist the enimie. He commaunded another beside that to be made, and to plant stakes about it, or nert them, to build a newe wall, the breadth of the which was fiue foote, and the height, tenne, beside the pinnacles and towers distant by equall space. The tenne that was nerte the wall, bycause he coulde not compasse it with a wall, he made a trench as high as a wall, and that might serue for a wall about it. And this *Scipio* was ẏ first as I thinke, that compassed a Citie beseged with a wall, the whiche did not refuse to fight. The flood *Dunas* that ranne by the Campe, was very commodious to the *Numantines*, to bring in victuall, and to receiue men out and in, or to swimme vnder water, or to send boates out full sayle, when the winde was bigge, or to rowe, when the time serued. And bycause a bridge coulde not be made vpon it for the breadth and vehemence, *Scipio* caused two Castels to be made on either side the banke, and betweene both, he hāged certaine long beames with ropes, and let them goe into ẏ water. In the beames were laide plates of swords on euery side, and other weapons pricking, whiche with the continuall course of the water being turned, did not suffer the enimies Shippes, nor swimmers to passe. This was the thing that *Scipio* most desired, that none should go to the beseged, to tell what was done abroade, whereby they shoulde be destitute both of councell and comfort. These being thus disposed, engines were placed in the towers, and instruments ẏ cast arrowes & dartes, & stones. The walles were ful of stones & shot. The Castels were kept of shooters and slingers. He placed also many men in the trenches, that shuld both day & night signifie what new thing hapned, in rāges, one frō another, holding vp an ensigne at ẏ tower ẏ was in need, and that the other towers should do the like, whē the token was seen that ẏ first made. This was done, that in a moment of time

Three myles.

A vvall about a Camp.

Dunas.

Policie of *Scipio*.

he might know what happened, and for those things that must be declared in deede, he would haue brought to him by certayne messengers. He deuided his army, which, with the confederates was .lx. M. into two partes, of the which, he set one to garde the sea, and vsed the other to goe for things requisite, as occasiõ required. Twenty thousand were appointed to fight when nede was, to the ayde of the which, other xx. M. of confederates were assigned. Euery mã had his place, from the whiche, he might not go without leaue. So euery mã repaired to his place, and to the token that was made, when the enimie made any thing adoe: so orderly & wisely had *Scipio* considered euery thing. The *Numantines* made many salies vpon the ordinary wardes, nowe here, nowe there, but they were sone made afraid of the dreadful sight of them that came so sone to helpe, and also with the ensignes that were set vpõ the wall to shew ẏ matter, and with ẏ keepers of the towers & trenchies, and with the sound of the trumpets, in so much, as all the tõpasse of ẏ trẽches, which was .50. furlongs, was in a moment a terror to them all. This place *Scipio* rode about euery day to see it, and by that meane hauing shut in his enimies, he thought they could not log continue, seing they could be holpen by no man, neither of victuall, mẽ nor armour. *Ritogenes* auenturth for his countrey.

Ritogenes a *Numãtine*, & chiefe of thẽ, with v. fellowes, persuaded by him, & so many seruants & horses, in the darke night, passing that space that was betwẽne the towne & the Camp, and comming ouer ẏ trenches, with a ladder made to scale, gote vp, and killed the watch, and sending their seruãts back into the citie, they got away, & went to the *Aruacceãs*, holding vp their hãds, & praying thẽ to help ẏ *Numantines* their kinsfolke. The *Aruacceãs* would not receyue thẽ, but bad thẽ goe their way. There was a Citie of power xx. furlongs from *Numantia*, called *Lucia*. The youth of this Citie much fauoured the *Numantines*, and moued theyr Citie to help the *Numantines*, of the which the auntientes certified *Scipio*. Therefore *Scipio* at the eyght houre of the night, toke his iourney, and by day was at *Lucia*, and beleged the Citie, and required the heads of the youth to be giuen him. The townesmen answering, that they were fled, he threatned spoyle

Aruacceans.

Lucia.

of

of the Cittie, vnlesse they obeyed. Whiche the Citizens fearing, brought forth foure hundred young men, whose handes be cutte off, and went away with great spéde, and the next day betimes, was at his campe. Foure hundred yong mens hãds cut of.

The *Numantines*, now oppressed with famine, sent fyue men to *Scipio*, with commission to know, that if they would yelde to him, if he would vse them mercifully, and be content with a moderate fine. But *Auarus* the chiefe of them, a man of an highe courage, did muche set out the valiantnes and entente of the *Numantines*, affirming they did not offende, then being in so greate daunger, fyghting for their wiues, children, and libertie of their Countrey. Wherefore *Scipio* (saide hée) it shal be almost rightful thing, if thou being a noble man of so great vertue, wilt pardon so noble a people, and appoint vs that paine, that we shal be able to beare. We knowe the mutation of fortune, and that the safetie of oure Country, was not in vs, but in thée. Then take our Cittie being content with moderate punishement, or if thou hasse vs in contempt, thou maiste hope to sée it perish and be ouerthrowne, by defending it selfe. *Numantines* sue for peace.

When *Auarus* hadde saide thus, *Scipio* knowing by the Captiues what was done in the Cittie, saide, he woulde haue them frely yelde themselues, and their Cittie, with their armoure: Whiche when it was tolde the *Numantines*, and thoughte so before, inflamed with anger, for the greate desire of libertie, bycause they had neuer bin acquainted to obey, and being more taken with rage and furie, they killed *Auarus* and his companye, as bringers of euill newes, and conspiring with *Scipio* to saue themselues. Boasting out of time.

Not long after, all victualls faylyng them, hauing neyther fruite, nor cattell, nor hearbes, firste they eat leather mollified in water, as other in necessitie haue done. When leather failed them, they eate deade mens flesshe sodden and rosse. Then hauing no respecte to the sicke, the stronger forced the weaker, thinking nowe none acte cruell or violent, their mindes being turned into wilde creatures, and their bodies into beastes for the meate they did eate. Therfore being killed with hunger, and The *Numantines* kill them that yvent for peace

The necessitie of the *Numantines*.

consumed with pestilence, with hear and beardes horrible, they at length yelded to *Scipio*, whiche commaunded them the same daye to bring their armour into a place appointed, and the next day, to come themselues into another place assigned. But they deferred a daye, confessing there were yet many in the city, that for the loue of libertie, would end their liues with swoord and famine, and desired a time to kill themselues: so greate loue of libertie, so gret vertue was there in a barbarous & litle citie, whiche when they flourished in peace, wer eight thousand good men, the whiche, what thinges they had done againste the Romanes it is euident, and how many leagues they made with them with lyke and equall condition, which coulde neuer be brought to doe it with any other nation. Who their Captaine or Generall was, I neede not to rehearse: yet *Scipio* he being in the fielde with .lx.M.men, was many times prouoked of the *Numantines*, to fight. But *Scipio* was better and wyser than other generals, for he thoughte not good to deale with those wylde men, by the force of armes, but to conquere them by famine, whiche is a thing inuitable, by the whiche euill, the *Numantines* coulde bee only taken, as they were. These things I had to say, of the *Numantines*, when I consider their small number, their sufferaunce of labour, and noble actes, and how long they were inuincible. Therefore of the *Numantines* they that so determined, diuerslye killed themselues. The reste the thirde daye came to the place appointed, al vgly, filthie, and horrible to beholde, which had bodies foule and full of heare, with long nayles, full of filth and stincke, worne garments of euill sauoures, by whiche thinges they were miserable to their enimies, and yet feareful to loke vpon: therefore they were beholden of the Romaines with admiration, considering in them, the straunge affection of their bodies that was felt in the ayre, of the dolour and labour whiche they had suffred, and also of their conscience, that one had eaten anothers flesh. *Scipio* chosing oute some of them for the pompe of hys tryumphe, commaunded the other to be solde, and their Cittie vtterly to be destroyed. This Generall of the *Romanes*, these two Cities being taken, harde to be wonne, *Carthage* for the

Numantines kil themselues.

A pitiful yelding of the *Numantines*

the greatneſſe of the Cittie and the power thereof, by the decrée of the Romaines he preſerued, for the commodity of the lande & ſea. *Numantia* hée raſed, a little Cittie that helde but a fewe, of the whiche the Romanes had not determined, eyther becauſe he was irefull and harde of nature againſte them that he toke by violence, or becauſe (as ſome ſay) he thought his glorie to be the greater, by the greateſt calamities of other. Therefore to this day he is called *Affricane* and *Numantine*, of the deſtruction he gaue to thoſe Citties. Then the places nighe *Numantia* being aſſigned and ſetled, and if any were ſuſpected, put in feare by payment of money, he returned to *Rome*.

The *Romanes* as the maner was, ſent tenne men of the Senatoures into the places of *Spaine*, that were of their gouernment, that thoſe that *Scipio*, or *Brutus* had taken, might be brought into the forme of a prouince. After a certain ſpace, when newe ſtirre was made in *Spaine*, *Calph. Piſo* was ſét thyther with authoritie, to whom *Ser. Galba* ſucceéded But a multitude of *Cimbrians* comming into *Italy*, & *Sicilie*, afflicted with ỳ ſecond ſeruile war, they ſent no army into *Spaine*, becauſe of theſe wars, but would haue lieutenáts go to pacifie al as wel as they could. When the *Cimbrians* wer repulſed, *Tit. Didius* wét thither & killed twenty thouſand *Arnacceans*, and brought *Termentum* a great Cittie, which ſcarcely would euer obey the *Romanes*, the ſtrong place in which it was ſcituated, into the plaine, willing them to dwel in houſes diſperſed wythout wals. And when he had beſieged a city called *Colenda*, he toke it the ninth moneth of the ſiege. *Didius* ſolde all the *Colendans* with women & children. The *Celtiberians* inhabited an other Cittie nert to *Colenda*, with other mixed, to whom, *M. Marius*, becauſe they ſerued him againſt the *Portugalls*, he gaue thoſe places to kyll by decrée of the Senate. But they compelled for néede, exerciſed robberies. Therefore *Didius* minding to kyll them by conſent of the r. men that were with hym, told their Captains, ỳ he would ſoyne to them the lands of the countrymen, becauſe they were in néed. Which offer whé he perceyued they accepted, he bad them tel ỳ people ỳ they mighte come with their wiues and children to diuide the lands. Who when they came, he willed the ſouldiours to go oute of the campe, and

Calphurnius Piſo.
Ser. Galba.
Termentum.
Colenda.

that

that they ſhould enter, as though the number of the men and women ſhould be tolde, and ſo be appointed to the lands, and when they were entred within the trenches, they were al killed of the ſouldioures by his commaundement, for the whiche acte he triumphed. And when the *Celtiberians* reuolted againe, *Flaccus* being ſent to that prouince, killed .rr.M. in the Cittie of *Belgeda* when the people was turned to rebellion. ¶ with whom was authorite to aſſemble the Senate, when he was doubtful what to determine, he burned the whole Senate. *Flaccus* when he came, puniſhed al the Authoures of that wickednelle.

Celtiberians killed by craft.
Flaccus.
Belgeda.
Here vvanteth

I haue founde theſe thinges of the *Romanes* agaynſte the *Spaniardes* worthy of writing. After a while, when the ciuill warre was hotte betweene *Cinna* and *Sylla*, the country being diuided in that ſedition, *Q. Sertorius* of the faction of *Cinna*, being created a Generall in *Spayne*, allured the *Spaniardes* to rebell againſt the *Romanes*. Then getting a great army, and a number of his friends, choſen after the forme of the Romayne Senate, hee determined to come towarde *Rome*. *Sertorius* was a bolde man, and of a noble harte and knowen vertue and ſtrength, inſomuch as the Senate being afraid of him, created many worthy Captains, *Cæcilius Metellus* firſt with a great army, that any way he coulde, he ſhould keepe warre from *Italy*, which was vexed with great diſſentions. A certayne man called *Perpenna*, of *Sertorius* faction, killed him and made hymſelfe Generall, and *Pompey* killed him in battell. And ſo had that warre an ende the which put the *Romanes* in a great fear. But theſe things be ſhewed more plainly in the booke of *Syllas* ciuill wars. After the death of *Sylla*, when *C. Cæſar* was choſen Generall to make warre againſte all men, he appeaſed all the tumultes in *Spaine*, and any other nation that moleſted the *Romanes*, and compelled all to obey the people of *Rome*. Alſo *Octauius Cæſar Auguſtus*, ſonne to *C. Cæſar*, made ſome warre with them that practiſed rebellion. From that time the *Romanes* diuided *Iberia*, whiche is nowe *Spayne*, into three parts, into two of the which, the Senate ſent yearely officers, and the Emperor ſent a preſident into the thirde, the time of whoſe prouince, dependeth of the pleaſure of the Emperour.

Sertorius.
Cæcilius Metellus
Perpenna.
Sylla.
Cæſar.
Cæſar Auguſt.

The ende of the *Romanes* vvarres vvith the *Spaniardes*.

¶ The Romane warres with Antiochus the Great, King of Syria: by Appian of Alexandria.



ANtiochus descended of *Seleuchus* and *Antiochus*, kyng of *Syria*, *Babylonia*, and other nations, the fixte from that *Seleuchus* who reigned in *Asia* to the floude *Euphrates* after *Alexander*, inuading *Media* and *Parthia*, and other regions ỳ had reuolted, being a prince of greate courage, and named *Antiochus* the Greate, aduaunting himselfe by his actes and this name, did violently take from *Ptolomeus Philopator* kyng of *Aegipt*, and yet a child, *Cœlesyria* and *Cilicia*, and nowe conceyuing no small matters, inuaded them of *Hellespont*, the *Aeoleans* and *Ionians*, as subiect to the ruler of *Asia*, bicause they of olde time, did obey the kings of *Asia*. Then he sailed into *Europa*, and subdued *Thracia*, and al that would not yelde, he compelled. He fortified *Cherronesus*, and builded *Lysimachia*, which *Lysimachus* kyng of *Thracia* after *Alexander*, erected, to be a bridle to the *Thracians*, and they after his death pulled it down, and this *Antiochus* sette it vp againe to be inhabited, and called home the banished men of the Cittie, and redeeming anye that were in thraldome, to whome he ioyned others, and gaue them oxen, and shepe, and yron for their tillage, leauyng nothing that might helpe to the spedy renuyng of it. For he thoughte it a very fytte place for to deale with all *Thracia*, and a store-house moste commodious for all the reste that hee entended to do.

This part of *Syria* is called in Greeke συρίαι κοίλη. that is *Syria* the holowe, bicause it lieth betwen the flouds *Euphrates* and *Tigris* and is named *Mesopotamia*.

Cherronesus is a place compassed vvith vvater, sauing none parte.

Lysimachus is restored by *Antiochus*.

Many obeyed him and receyued his garrisons for feare of his power.

But the *Smyrneanes* and *Lampsaceans*, and some others, refusing so to do, sent to *Flaminius* the Romane Generall, who lately had ouerthrowne *Philippe* of *Macedonie*, in a great battell in

Philippe the Son of *Demetrius*.

Thessalia.

This is left out in the *Italian*.

Theſſalia. For the time was, that the matters of *Macedonie* and *Grecia*, haue bene intermedled, as the ſtate and time ſerued, as we haue ſhewed in the hiſtorie of *Grecia*. Betwene *Antiochus* and *Flaminius*, were diuerſe Ambaſſages, and practiſes in haue. And the *Romanes* & *Antiochus*, ẏ one had ẏ other in great ſuſpition: They, becauſe they thought *Antiochus* woulde not be quiet, being proude of his great kingdome, and happy ſucceſſe. Hee, becauſe the *Romanes* only, might be moſte greate impediment to his encreaſe, and reſiſt his paſſage into *Europe*. But no euident cauſe of enmitie being giuen by him, there came Ambaſſadours to *Rome* from *Ptolomeus Philopator*, praying he might be reſtored into *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, which *Antiochus* had taken from hym.

Ambaſſadours from *Ptolomie* of *Egipt*.

The *Romanes* gladly toke this pretence comming in good ſeaſon, & ſente Ambaſſadoures to *Antiochus*, in ſhewe, to reconcile *Ptolomeus* and *Antiochus*, but indeed, to eſpy the meaning of *Antiochus*, and to hinder it as muche as might be. *Cneus* the Ambaſſadour, required of *Antiochus*, that *Ptolomeus* a friend to the *Romanes*, might enioy the kingdome that his father lefte hym, and that the Citties of *Aſia*, which *Philip* of *Macedonie* hadde taken, might be free: For it was not iuſte that *Antiochus* would enioy, ẏ places that the *Romanes* had take from *Philip*. Finally, he ſaid it was to bee doubted, why *Antiochus* ſhould bring ſuch a nauye and an armye from *Media* out of *Aſia* into the ſea, & inuade *Europe*, builde Citties in it, and ſubdue *Thracia*, but for to lay a plat to another warre.

The Romanes ſed ambaſſadors to *Antiochus*.

The anſwere of *Antiochus*.

He anſwered, that *Thracia*, belonged to his anceſtors, and was for lacke of quietneſſe reuolted, and nowe he hauing leyſure, recouered it again, & he reſtored *Lyſimachia* to be a dwelling for his ſon *Seleuchus*. That he would leaue the cities of *Aſia* free, if they would thanke him, & not ẏ *Romanes*. As for *Ptolomie* (quoth he) I am his kinſman, and ſhortly I ſhal be his father in law, & I will cauſe him to giue you thankes. But I doe doubt alſo, by what right the *Romanes* can meddle with *Aſia*, ſince I doe not deale with *Italy*.

A report of death of *Ptolomie*.

Thus breaking vppe without anye concluſion, they vttered manifeſt threatnings, one againſte another. It was reported & thought

thought that *Ptolomeus* was dead, wherfore *Antiochus* went with spéd toward *Egipt* to get the kingdom voide of a prince. And being at *Epheſus*, *Annibal* of *Carthage* came to him, fléeing his country for the hate of his enimies, accuſing him to the *Romanes*, as contentious and ſéeking warre, and could not liue in reſt. For then the *Carthaginenſes* did agrée with the *Romaynes* as confederates. *Antiochus* receyued *Annibal* glorioullye for the fame of his valiantneſſe, and hadde him aboute him, and vnderſtanding at *Lycia* that *Ptolomie* was aliue, he refrayned from *Egipt*, and thought to take *Cyprus* in ſteade of it, & ſayled thither with great ſpéde. But being Winter, at the floude *Sarus*, he had a wrecke, and loſte many ſhippes with diuerſe of his men and friends, and ſayled to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and there repaired his ſhaken nauie, & made a mariage of his children *Antiochus* and *Laodice*, ioyning them in matrimonye.

Antiochus hath a ſhipwracke at *Sarus*.

And nowe bycauſe he knewe that euident warre would folowe betwéene the *Romanes* and him, he allied himſelfe wyth the Kyngs his neighboures, and ſent *Cleopatra* called *Syra* to *Ptolomeus* giuyng him *Cœloſyria* for hir dowry, whiche hée had taken from hym, ſo to pleaſe the young man, that hée might be quiete in the warr with the *Romanes*. *Antiochida* hée ſent to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and an other that was lefte, to *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamo*, but he perceyuing he meante to make warre vpon the *Romanes*, and for that purpoſe, would make affinitie with him, did refuſe him. And when his brethren *Attalus* and *Philetayrus*, dyd maruel at him, that he reiected the alliaunce of ſo greate a king hys neyghbour, and ſéeking it, he annſwered, that it was lyke that warr would be, which in the beginning would be equall on both ſides, but in time the *Romanes* would ouercome for their good conditions & taking of paines. Then (quoth he) the *Romanes* being Conquerors, I ſhal hold my kingdom ſurely. But if *Antiochus* ouercommeth, I feare al will be taken away of my neighboure, and I feare, if I haue my kyngdome, I muſte be a kyng vnder him. For theſe conſiderations did he refuſe this mariage.

Antiochus maketh allyance vvith his neyghbours.

Enimies refuſe his alliaunce.

Antiochus ſtraight went from thence, to *Helleſpont*, & ſayled to *Cherroneſus*, where he ſubdued and ouerthrewe manye places of *Thracia*, he made frée the *Grecians* þ inhabite *Thracia*, and granted

Helleſpont is the ſtreight of *Gallipoli*.

Pyzance nowe Conſtantinople. Theſe be called the French Greekes.

many things to the *Byzantines*, hauing a Cittie verye commodi-
ous at the mouth of that ſea. The *Galathians* he pleaſed w̄ gifts,
and dzew by feare alſo, to the ſocietie of his determination, thin-
king them good confederates foz the bigneſſe of their bodies.

Antiochus ſendeth ambaſſage to the Romanes

Then he wente to *Epheſus*, and ſent Ambaſſadoures to *Rome*, *Lyſias*, *Egeſeanactes*, and *Menippus*, in dēde to fēele the minds of the Senate, but in woꝛd, *Menippus* ſaide, the King was deſirous of the *Romanes* amitie, and that he woulde be their confederate, if they woulde accept him. Yet he did maruell that they would re-
quire him to leaue Cities in *Ionia*, and loſe his tributes, and not to deale with certain of *Aſia*, and to foꝛgo *Thracia*, that had euer bin hys pzogenitoꝛs, whiche were things, not foꝛ friendes, but foꝛ conquerours to commaunde to the conquered. The Senate
perceyuing their comming to be but an eſpiall, ſhoꝛtelye aun-
ſwered: If *Antiochus* do ſuffer the Gréeke Citties in *Aſia* to
The anſvvere of the Romanes be frée, and refraine from *Europe*, he ſhall be a friende to the *Ro-
manes* if he will. Thus the *Romanes* anſwered, and made none other ſhewe of cauſe.

Antiochus minding firſte to inuade *Grecia*, and there to begin
The opinion of *Annibal* touching the vvarre. the warre againſte the *Romanes*, aſked *Annibals* opinion in the matter. He ſaide, that *Grecia* was eaſy to be ouercome, bycauſe of their long affliction. The war that is made at home, is moſte grieuous foꝛ dearth that followeth of it, but abꝛoade it is moꝛe tollerable: neither ſhould he ouercome the *Romanes* in *Grecia*, ſée-
ing they mygbt haue ſufficient pꝛouiſion and helpe from home. Therefoꝛe his opinion was, he ſhould inuade the *Romanes* in *Italy*, whether, if he went, he ſhoulde fynd the *Romanes* weaker, both at home and abꝛoade. I haue, ſaide he, experience of *Italy*, and with.x.M. men I can take fitte places of it, and I will wꝛite to my friends at *Carthage*, to ſtir the people to reuolte, being ſoꝛ-
ry foꝛ me, & angry with the *Romanes*, & being full of hope, & hart, wyll thinke I will once againe get *Italy*.

The king hearing this aduice very well, and thinking the ac-
ceſſe of *Carthage* to make muche foꝛ the furtheraunce of thys warre, badde hym ſende letters to hys friendes, oute of hande, but hée ſente not, foꝛ he thoughte it not ſure, the *Romaynes* lying

in

in wayte euery where, and the warre not being yet proclaymed, and many being in discord at *Carthage*, and the common wealth hauing no firmenesse nor certentie, which shortly after was the destruction of *Carthage*. Yet he sent *Ariston* a merchant of *Tyrus*, vnder pretence of marchandise, to his friendes, exhorting them, that when they vnderstode that he inuaded *Italy*, they should stirre the people of *Carthage* to be reuenged. *Ariston* did so, but when *Annibals* enimies perceyued *Aristons* purpose, they made much adoe, that any innouation shoulde followe, and diligently sought for *Ariston*. Ye, that the friendes of *Annibal* should not beare all the blame, secretely in the night, sette vp a writing at the common house, in the whiche *Annibal* exhorted all the Senate to reuenge their Countrey vnder *Antiochus*, and when he had so done, he sayled away. When daye was come, all the suspition was taken from *Annibals* friends, bycause the matter belonged to all the state. The people was ful of yre, angry with the *Romanes*, but not able to hurte them. And thus went the matters at *Carthage*.

Annibal sendeth *Ariston* to practise at *Carthage*.

The deuice of *Ariston* to saue *Annibals* friends.

The *Romanes* sente other Embassadors, and with them *Scipio* that ouercame the *Carthagies*, to proue the kings minde, and to espie his preparation. And when they founde the king to be gone to *Pisidia*, they tarried his returne at *Ephesus*, and in the meane time, had many times talke with *Annibal*, that seeing *Carthage* was in league, and *Antiochus* not yet a manifest enimie, they blamed him that he would flee from his countrey, seing the *Romanes* had not offended against him, nor any other of the *Carthagies* since the league was made. This they did, to make *Annibal* suspected to the king as they did in deede, by their ofte resorting and talking with him. And though *Annibal* were a very circumspect man, yet he did not foresee this. For when the king heard of it, he suspected *Annibal*, and was not so ready to trust him. Beside, an enuie and hatred grewe againste him, least he should haue the prayse of the things that were done. Among other talkes, they say, there was one betwéene *Scipio* and *Annibal*, in a Scholehouse, where many were to learne, and presente to heare, touching the excellencie of a Captayne: And whereas

Scipio goeth Embassadour to *Antiochus*.

Pisidia, a countrey in *Asia*, nigh to *Lycaonia* and *Pamphilia*.

Annibal is brought into suspition with *Antiochus*.

Enuie.

The talke of *Annibal* and *Scipio* touching the best Captayne.

Scipio asked him, whome he thoughte to be the beſt Captayne, he answered, *Alexander* of *Macedonia*. *Scipio* stayed at that, and gaue place to *Alexander*. Then he asked him, whome hée thought the second next *Alexander*, he sayde *Pirrhus* of *Epirota*, putting the vertue of a Captayne in boldenesse, for there can not be found a more couragious kyng, than hée. *Scipio* now was greéued, and againe asked him whome he thoughte to hée the thirde, thinking verily he woulde haue named him: he answered my selfe, for béeing a yong man, I subdued *Spayne*, and with mine armie passed the Alpes into *Italy*, the firste after *Hercules* that so haue done. I inuaded it, when none of you durst doe any thyng. I ouerthrewe foure hundred Townes, and broughte youre Citie many times into daunger, hauing neyther money nor men sent me out of *Carthage*. When *Scipio* perceyued he dyd so of purpose aduance himselfe, he smyled and sayde, in what place wouldest thou haue put thy selfe (O *Annibal*) if thou hadst not bin ouercome of me. He perceyuing this emulation, sayde, I woulde haue set my selfe before *Alexander*. So dyd *Annibal* continue in his lofty talke, and yet secretely please *Scipio*, as making hym better than *Alexander*.

Thys talke being ended, *Annibal* desired *Scipio* to hys lodging, *Scipio* sayde he woulde come very gladly, but that it should cause suspition betwéene *Antiochus* and the *Romanes*. Thus these noble Captaynes ended theyr malice, when the warre was ended, but so dyd not *Flaminius*. For when *Antiochus* was ouercome, and *Annibal* fledde, and saying himselfe in *Bithinia*, he being sente Embassadour for other purpose to *Prusia*, not being inuited by *Annibal*, nor commaunded of the *Romanes*, nor to be feared, bycause the power of *Carthage* was abated, kylled him with poyson by *Prusias* consente, of the whyche it is sayde, hée was warned before by an Oracle after thys sort.

Malice endeth in some, yvhen matter ceaseth.

Oracle of *Annibals* death.

The lande of *Libyssa* shall couer *Annibals* body.

Libissus.

He thoughte he shoulde haue dyed in *Libya*, but *Libyssus* is a flood in *Bithinia*, and the Countrey is called *Libyssa* of the flood.

This

This remembrance haue I made of the noble myndes of *Annibal* and *Scipio*, and of the cowardly heart of *Flaminius*. Noble minds.

Antiochus comming from *Pisidia* towarde *Epheſus*, gaue audience to the Embaſſadoures of the *Rhodians*, and promiſed that the *Rhodians*, the *Byzantines*, and *Cyzicenians*, and other Greeke Cities in *Aſia*, ſhoulde be free, if he entred league with the *Romanes*, the *Aetoleans*, and the *Ionians*, he would not graunt ſo to be, bycauſe for the moſt part, they had bin vſed to obey the barbarous kings of *Aſia*.

The *Romane* Embaſſadoures bringing nothing to paſſe, for they came not to doe any thyng in deede, but to eſpie, they returned to *Rome*.

The Embaſſadors of the *Aetolians* came to *Antiochus*, of the whiche, *Thoas* was chiefe, offering him the leading of theyr armie, and wiſhing he woulde ſayle into *Grecia* as to a ſure thing, not tarrying for hys armie to come out of high *Aſia*, but ſettyng for the theyr owne ſtrength, promiſed him the ayde of the *Lacedemonians*, and of *Philip* kyng of *Macedonie*, (angry at the *Romanes*,) ſo hee woulde make hys voyage with ſpeede. *Antiochus* is perſuaded by the *Aetolians*.

Hee was moued very lightely, and woulde not ſtay his haſt, although he hearde out of *Aſia* that hys ſonne was dead, and with tenne thouſande only, ſayled into *Euboia*, all the whyche he gotte, they yeelding for feare. *Micithion* his Captayne ſetting vpon the *Romanes* at *Delos*, whyche is an holy place of *Apollo*, kylled part of them, and part toke alyue. *Micithio* killeth the *Romanes*. The *Romanes* be killed at *Delos*.

Aminander kyng of the *Athamanes* came into league with *Antiochus* by this occaſion. *Aminander* king of *Athamanes* people of *Aetolia*.

One *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, beeing brought vp in *Megalopoli*, and made free of that common wealth, fayned himſelfe to come of *Alexander*, ſonne to *Philip*: and to gyue credite to hys deuice, he named hys children *Philip* and *Alexander*, and *Apamea*, whome he married to *Amynander*. *Philip* hir brother going with hir to the marriage, and perceyuing that *Amynander* was a weake man, and of little experience, remayned with hys brother in laive to gouerne the kyngdome. *Megalopolis*, one in *Arcadia*, another in *Aſia*. Counterfet *Philip*.

This

This *Philip Antiochus* promised to restore the kingdome of *Macedony* as his owne, and by this meane, had the *Athamaneans* his confederates. He had also the *Thebanes*, and wente to *Thebes* to speake to the people. Thus he very rashly, in so great a war, put his truste in the *Aetolians*, *Thebanes*, and *Amynāder*. Then he consulted, whether it were better to inuade *Thessaly* out of hand, or to tarrie till Winter were past.

Annibal being at this consultation, and saying nothing, the king cōmaunded him to say his opinion first, and thus he spake.

Annibal sheweth his opinion touching the warre.

Thou mayest easilie ouercome the *Thessalians*, eyther now, or after winter, for the people, hauing bin much vexed, do turne to thee now, and so will doe to the *Romanes* if any innouation cometh. We be come with our owne power, giuing credite to the *Aetolians* persuasion, that the *Lacedemonians* and *Philip* will take our part, of the whyth, the *Lacedemonians* be our Enimies, as I heare, and so be the *Acheans*. As for *Philip*, I can not see, that he can be any great ayde vnto thee in this warre, being on thy side, nor make any great power whatsoeuer part he taketh: but this is mine aduise, that thou sendest for thine army with all speede into *Asia*, and not put thy truste in *Amynāder*, or the *Aetolians*: when the army is come, to send it into *Italy*, that beeing occupyed with troubles at home, they may leaue them vntouched, and being afraide of themselues, may not vexe other men. And now, that manner is not to be held of vs, that I spake of afore; for we must vse the one halfe of oure naue, to wast the coast of *Italy*, the other halfe we must haue a flote, to vse as occasion shall require, and thy selfe, with all thy fortemen, must remaine in that part of *Grecia* that is next *Italy*, making a shewe of inuasion, and if nede be, to inuade indede, and to induce *Philip* by all meanes possible, to agree with thee: for it shall much auaile, which part he taketh in this warre. If he will not bee brought in, thou shalt sende thy some *Seleucus* into *Thracia*, and molest him with euils at home, that he be not profitable to thine enimies abroade.

Thus *Annibal* said, and it was the best of all, but for enuie of his fame and wisedome, as well other, as the king himselfe, that

that *Annibal* shoulde not seme to passe them all in the arte of warre, nor he haue the prayse of that thoulde be done. All hys counsell was reiected, sauing that *Polyxenides* was sent into *Asia* for the army. *Polyxenides.*

When the *Romanes* hearde of the entring of *Antiochus* into *Grecia*, and of the killing and taking of the *Romanes* at *Delus*, they determined warre. Thus *Antiochus* and the *Romanes* warre growing long before of suspition one of another, did now first breake out in déede. And because *Antiochus* had the rule of many nations in high *Asia*, and of all that inhabite the sea coast, sauing a fewe, and for that he was entred *Europa*, and hadde a dreadfull name, and a greate preparation, and otherwise hadde done many notable things, by the which he had gotten ỹ name of Greate, the *Romanes* thoughte this warre would be daungerous, and of long continuance. They had *Philip* of *Macedonie* in suspition, being ouercome of them not long before. And in the league with the *Cartheginians*, they had no great truste, *Annibal* being with *Antiochus*. And of their other subiects, they had some doubt, least the glory of *Antiochus* should make them séke new attempfes. Therefore they sente garrisons to euery one, to gouerne them in peaceable manner, and sente Captaynes to the armyes, whome they call of fire aries, because the Consuls hadde twelue, and twelue roddes, as the olde Kyngs vsed: and because these officers had halfe authoritie, they hadde halfe the shewe. And as in a greate feare, carefull for *Italy*, least some disturbance might happen to them, eyther by the violence, or fauour of *Antiochus*, they sente a greate bande of fotemen to *Tarento*, there to bée ready at all assayes, and a Nauie sayled ouer all the coast. So great a feare of *Antiochus* was at the first. The warre beginneth. Consuls. Proconsuls. Officers of fire axes. Foresight of the *Rhodians*.

When they hadde thus at home giuen order in all things at the beginning, they gathered their army againste *Antiochus*. Of themselues, they hadde twenty thousand, of their confederates twice so many, with the whyche, they woulde passe into *Ionia*. And in this preparation they spente the whole Winter.

Antiochus wente into *Thessalia*, and being come into *Cyno-*

Cynocephalia is a place or people like a dogges head. Antiochus burieth the dead.

chephalia, where the *Macedonians* hadde a greate ouerthrowe of the *Romanes*, he honorably buryed those that laye vnburyed, thynkyng thereby to winne the *Macedonians* to him, and withdrawe them from *Philip* that hadde lefte hys Souldyoures vnburyed, that serued vnder hys Standerd.

Bebius.

Philip hearyng thys, was in a greate perplexitie wyth hymselfe whyche parte he shoulde take, but yet dyd cleaue to the *Romanes*, and streyghte sente to *Bebius*, a Captayne of the *Romanes*, lying not farre off, to come to hym to a certayne place, assuring hym, that hée woulde take the *Romanes* parte against the Kyng. For the whyche, *Bebius* thanking hym, was the more bolde to sende *Appius Claudius* out of *Macedonie* into *Thessaly* with two thousande fotemen. And when *Appius* was at *Tempe*, and perceyued where *Antiochus* lay wyth his army, he made many fyres to couer the fewnesse of hys armye. But *Antiochus* thynkyng, that *Bebius* and *Philip* hadde bene come togyther, was afrayde, and brake vp hys Campe, making Winter the pretence, and wente to *Calcida*. There hée was caught wyth the loue of a mayde, beeyng aboue fiftye yeares of age, and hauyng so greate a warre in hande, hée woulde néedes marry hyr, and make pastymes, whereby hée broughte hys armye to greate idleneſſe and change that Winter.

Appius.

Tempe, is the pleasant place that is so muche prayſed of Poets.

Antiochus remoueth, and is caught in loue when he was aboue fiftie yeares of age at *Calcide* now *Negroponte*.

Acarnania parte of *Epirus*, bringing foorth very good horses.

When the Spring was come, hée wente to *Acarnania*, where he perceyued that hys armye was vtterly vnprofitable through idleneſſe, and then repented hym of hys marriage and feastings: and when hée hadde gotten some of the Countrey to hys obedience, and subdued the reſt, hearing that the *Romans* were passed into *Ionia*, hée returned to *Chalcide*.

Beinius. Manius. Glabrio. Appolonia now Pillona.

The *Romanes* wyth diligence, and two thousande good Horsemen, and thirtie thousande fotemen, and some Elephantes, *Acinius Manius Glabrio* beeyng Generall, from *Brunduſe* arriuing at *Appolonia*, wente to *Theſſalie*, and deliuered the Cities of theyr enimies. And where they founde any garrisons of the *Macedonians*, they put them out, and *Philippus* of *Magalopolis* was taken prisoner, hopyng yet for the kingdome of

Macedo-

Macedonia, and they toke thée thoulande of *Antiochus* men.

And whyles *Manius* did this, *Philip* inuaded *Athamania*, and made it all ſubiect, *Amynander* flæing into *Ambracia*. Whyche when *Antiochus* hearde, and the ſpædy doyng of the thynges, hæ was in feare, bycauſe of the ſuddayne change and alteration, and then vnderſtode that *Annibal* gaue hym good counſell. Therefore hé ſente one after another to *Polyxenida* to ſtirre with all ſpæde, and hæ gathered as many as hé coulde in all places, and thys done, hæ hadde of his owne ſoldiemen tenne thouſande, and fyue hundred Horſe, wyth the whyche, and ſome confederates, he toke *Thermopyle*, that hys enimies might haue the harder paſſage, and hé tarrie for hys armye out of *Aſia*.

Thermopyle is a ſtreighte, and a long paſſage, the whyche a rough Sea withoute portes, dothe partly compaſſe, and a Fenne déepe and without way. *Thermopyle* is the long hill of *Grecia*, vvhere the ſtreight paſſage is, and the hote vvaters.

Two toppes it hathe in the rockes of the hylles, the one is called *Tichiunta*, and the other *Callidromus*. *Tichiunta*. *Callidromus*.

The place hathe welles of hote water, and thereof is called *Thermopyle*.

Antiochus made a wall double at it, and placed engines at the wall, and ſente the *Aetolians* to the toppes of the Mountaynes, that no man ſhoulde paſſe by that that was called *Atropos*, where *Xerxes* came agaynſte *Leonida* the Captayne of the *Lacedemonians*, when no man kepte the hylles. *Xerxes*. *Leonida*.

The *Aetolians* placed one thoulande in eyther toppe, and wyth the reſt, beſæged the Citie *Heraclea*. *Heraclea*, many Cities of that name.

When *Manius* percepued thys preparation of the enimies, hé gaue order to fyghte the nexte morning, and commaunded two of hys Tribunes, that is, *Marcus Cato*, and *Lucius Valerius*, that they ſhoulde aſſayle in the nyghte whyche of the hylles they woulde, and if they coulde, dryue the *Aetolians* from the toppes. *Lucius* was repulſed from *Tichiunta*, the *Aetolians* there béeyng to good for hym. *Marcus Cato* went againſt The order of the *Romanes*. *Cato* doth a great feate.

againſte *Callidramus*, and paſſed the enimies being aſléepe, to the laſt watche, and then hadde a greate conflict, ſtriuing to gette the high and rocky places, and the enimies to kéepe hym backe.

Manius ledde hys armye on the face of *Antiochus*, diuided into ſmall bandes, for ſo coulde he only doe in the ſtreightes.

The order of the Kings battell.

The kyng commaunded the lighte harnelled, and target men, to fyghte before the mayne battell, the whyche hée placed before the Camp.

On the righte ſide, he ſette the ſlingers and archers in the hygh places, and the Elephantes on the lefte ſyde, and the bande that was euer about hym, he wylled to ſtande at the Sea ſide.

The fyghte being begunne, the ſhotte running hyther and thyther, dyd muche trouble *Manius*, but hée reſiſting manfully, and gyuing backe, and agayne commyng on, hée putte them to flighte. Then the battell of the *Macedonians* opening themſelues, receyued them, and cloſed agayne, and thruſt forthe theyr long pykes, thycke togyther in order. By thys manner, the *Lacedemonians* vnder *Alexander* and *Philip*, dyd trouble their enimies that durſt not approche to the pykes ſo long, and ſo many. Then of a ſuddayne was ſéene the fléeing and crying of the *Aetolians*, diuers to *Antiochus* Campe, the whyche at the firſte, was not knowen what it was, whyche ignorance cauſed trouble and doubte, till *Cato* appeared, followyng them wyth a greate ſhoute, and béeyng come to the Kyngs Campe, *Antiochus* menne that hadde bearde muche of the *Romanes* valiantneſſe, were afrayde, and acknowledged theyr owne yolenelle and delicatenelle the Wynter paſſed, to be the cauſe why they thys time were the worſe to doe theyr office, and not ſéeyng perfitlye what number *Cato* hadde, and for feare thinking he had more than he had, and beyng afrayde of the Campe, they fledde to it out of order, to kéepe away the enimie. The *Romanes* comming vppon them, entred the Campe wyth them. Then was there another foule fléeyng of *Antiochus* menne. *Manius* followed them

Heere the Italian miſſeth, and ſo doth the Latine.

This vvas called the Phalanx of the *Macedonians* as the legion among the *Romanes*.

The fight that vvas firſt made betvveene the *Romanes* and *Antiochus*.

to

to *Scarphia*, killing and taking some: then comming from *Scarphia*, he spoyled the Kyngs campe, and he droue the *Aetolians* from the Romanes campe, which they had taken in his absence presently. In this fight was slaine of the Romanes two hundred, with them that followed the chase. *Antiochus* lost tenne thousand with them that were taken. The king himselfe at the first change ranne with fiue hundred horse to *Pelatia* neuer staying, and from *Pelatia* to *Calcida*, and to *Ephesus*, with *Eubia* his newe wyfe, for so was hir name: with his shippes he fledde, but not with all, for the admirall of the Romanes, had taken some that came to him laden with victuals.

Scarphia an Ile. The kings campe spoyled.

The king flyeth

Pelatia. *Eubia* the yong wyfe of olde *Antiochus*.

At *Rome*, when this victorie was heard, and seeming to be very happily and speedily obtained, they gaue thankes to God, all men beyng gladde that the firste triall had so good successe, in the warre that was so fearful to them for the fame of *Antiochus*. And to requite *Philip* for his true confederacte, they sent him his sonne *Demetrius*, that was pledge with them. *Marius* released the *Phoceans* and *Calcideans*, and other that followed *Antiochus*, of the feare they were in. But the *Aetolians*, togither with *Phillip*, he inuaded and ouerthrewe their Cities. He toke *Damocritus* their Generall that was hidden, and had threatned *Flaminius*, that he would encampe at *Tiber*.

The Romanes gratifye *Phillip*.

Damocritus.

Then he went to *Calipolis*, by the hyll called *Coraca*, the highest and hardest to be passed of al other, beeing verye rockye, with his army laden with spoile. Many fell from the harde way into the stony partes, and tumbled downe with their armor and burdens: And where the *Aetolians* might haue troubled them, they appeared not, but sent Ambassadours to *Rome* for peace.

Callipolis a cittie and an Ile also.

The Romanes passe the hilles laden to their losse.

Antiochus with greate diligence called hys armye from the land rulers, to the sea side, preparing his nauye, of the whyche, *Polixenides* an outlawe of the *Rhodes*, was Admirall, and sayled to *Cherronesus*, and fortified it again, and sent garrison to *Sestus* and *Abydus*, by the whiche, the *Romanes* muste passe into *Asia*. He made *Lysimachia* the store house of the warre, bringing thither muche armoure and victualls, thinking the *Romanes* would sone be there, with great power and nauy.

Polixanides admiral to their king

Lucius and *Publi. Scipio* be ſent into *Aſia.*

The *Romaynes* appoynted *Lucius Scipio*, brother to *Publius Scipio*, that ouercame *Carthage*, and was ſyrſte named *Affricanus*, ſucceſſoure to *Manius* in thys warre, beeing then Conſull: And bycauſe hee was not practiſed nor experienced in the warre, they ſente hys brother wyth hym as a Counſelloure: and theſe brethren prepared themſelues.

Liuius that hadde the charge of *Italy*, was ſente ſucceſſoure to *Attilio* in the naupe, and ſtraycht wyth his owne Shyppes, with the whiche hee ſcowred the coaſte of *Italie*, and with certaine that were lent of the *Carthagies*, and ſome other frendes, hee ſayled to *Piræo*, and receyuing the naupe of *Attilius* wyth foureſcore and one armed Shyppes, *Eumenes* following hym wyth ſyxtye of hys owne, halfe of them beeyng armed, they arryued at *Phocida*, ſubiect to *Antiochus*, who for feare, receyued them, and the nexte daye, they weate forthe to the fight by ſea.

Carthagies lende shippes to the Romanes. *Pireum.*

Polixenides the Admirall of *Antiochus* came forthe wyth two hundred Shyppes, lighter than the enimy, whych was happy for them, the greate Shyppes of the Romaynes not beeyng yet practiſed.

The fight on the Sea.

Beeyng two of the *Carthagies* commyng before, hee toke them bothe wyth three of hys, but emptye, the *Lybians* beeing leapte into the Sea.

Liuius, with great vehemence gaue the fyrſte charge vppon theſe three, wyth hys Admirall ſhip, goyng far afore the reſt of the naupe. They not fearing thys one Shyppe, dyd caſte theyr hookes of vpon, & the Shyps beeing grapled togither, it ſeemed a fyght vpon the lande. The Romanes beeyng more valyant, they bourded and ouercame them, and wyth one ſhip, carryyng awaye two, they returned.

Thys was a ſkirmiſhe to the fyghte: For then the whole naupes foughte togyther, the Romaynes beeyng the better in ſtrength and courage. But bycauſe of the heauineſſe of theyr veſſells, they coulde not ouertake the other lyghte Shyppes, when they fledde, whyche they dydde wyth all ſpeede, to *Epheſus*.

The Romaines haue the victori by Sea.

phesus. And the Romanes went to Xio, whither seuen and twenty of the Rhodian shippes, theyr friends, came to them.

When Antiochus hearde of thys fyghte by sea, hée sente Annibal into Syria, for other shyppes, from Phœnitia and Cilicia, and when he came, the Rhodians droue him into Pamphilia, taking parte of hys shyppes, and lying in wayte for the other.

Annibal is sente for shippes, and loseth part of them.

Publius Scipio came into Aetolia with the Consull, and hauing the armye of Manius, hée disdayned to make siege to the Cittie of Aetolia, as a small matter, and gaue them leaue to sende another Ambassage to Rome. Hée would trye it with Antiochus, before his brothers office shoulde ende. And so passed by Macedonia and Thracia, to Hellespont, whyche was a paynefull and harde waye vnto hym, notwithstanding that Phillippe of Macedonie did guide hym, making bryages, and preparing victuals for him. For the which, the two Scipions released hym of the reste of the money that he hadde to paye, for so they had order of the Senate, if they founde hym faithful.

Courage of Scipio.

Philip is relexsed

Then they sente to Prusias kyng of Bythinia, declaryng howe manye kyngs the Romaynes hadde aduaunced, that were their confederates. And nowe to Philippe of Macedonie, whome they had ouercome of late, they graunted his kingdome, they restored his sonne that was pledge for him, and forgaue the mony he oughte them.

When Prusias hearde this, he ioyned with them against Antiochus.

Prusias ioyneth with the Romaines.

When Lucius the Admirall of the Romane naupe, heard that the Scipions were commyng, he left Pausimachus the Rhodiane with the Rhodian ships in Aeolide, and parte of his owne naupe with al the reste, he sailed to Hellespont, to receiue the armye. And Sestus, Rhateion, the portes of the Acheans, yéelded to hym. Abydus that disobeyed, he besieged.

Sestus. Rhateion.

When Lucius was gone, Pausimachus made manye diuises and inuentions, and sundry engines, and fastened vpon vessells carryng fyre, to long shippe staues, to heaue vppe manye fyres in the Sea, and to caste it oute of

hys

his owne shippes, when hee shoulde ioyne with his enimyes.

A false countrey man

Whiles he was thus doubting, *Polyxenides* the Admirall of *Antiochus*, a *Rodian* also, and banished from hys Countrey for certayne causes, went about to deceyue hym, promising to deliuer to hym *Antiochus* naup, if he woulde helpe to restore hym to hys Countrey. He suspected this crafty subtil man, and toke good heede of him. But when *Polyxenides* dide write a letter of hys owne hande of this treason, and departed from *Ephesus*, and sent the army a forragyng for a fashion, *Pausimachus*, seeyng hys departure from thence, and that not trusting any man with this treason, he woulde wryte it with hys owne hande, whych was not lyke to be done of a dissembler, he gaue credite to it, and kept lesse guarde, and sent his men to forrage abroade also.

When *Polyxenides* perceyued he had deceyued him, he gathered hys army, and sent *Nicander* a Pirate wyth a fewe to *Samos*, to come vpon *Pausimachus* on the backe by lande. At mydnyghte he set forwarde, and at the mornyng watche, beyng asleepe, hee assayled hym. He being taken thus sodainelye and vnprepared, commaunded hys souldioures to leaue their shippes, and resiste the enimy by lande. But when *Nicander* came vpon him on the backe, thinking the land beset also, not onely of them whom hee sawe, but of many mo, beyng yet night, he returned agayne to hys shyppes wyth muche adoe, and was the firste that fought, and the firste that fell, vsing himselfe very valiauntlye. The other were either taken or suncke, sauing the seauen that carryed fyre, wyth whome none durste meddle for the flame, which fledde. The rest *Polyxenides* ledde awaye as pryses to *Ephesus*.

The *Rodian* shippes are destroyed by falshode.

Cyme in *Aeolia*.

After thys victorye, *Phocea* once againe, *Samos* and *Cyme* reuolted to *Antiochus*.

Livius beyng nowe afraide of hys Shyppes that hee lefte in *Aeolide*, sayled thither in haste, and *Eumenes* with hym.

The *Rodians* sent the *Romanes* twentye Shyppes more, making no delaye, all, wyth good courage, sayled to *Ephesus*, preparing themselues to the fight.

But when none of the other came against them, they lefte the halfe of their shippes, a good time in the sea, and with the o-

ther

ther halfe, they ſpoyled the coaſte of the enimie, tyl *Nicander* came vppon them from the lande, and taking their praye from them, droue them to their Shippes. They came again to *Samos*: and nowe was the time of *Linius* office expired. The Romanes driuen to their Shippes.

At this tyme *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* his ſonne, inuaded *Eumenes* lande, and beſieged *Pergamo*, ſhutting the men within the Cittie. Wherefore *Eumenes* layled wyth ſpéde to *Elea*, whyche is the porte Towne of his Kyngdome, and *L. Aemilius Regulus* wyth him, that ſucceéded *Linius* in the matters of the ſea. There came to *Eumenes* from hys confederats, one thouſand ſotemen, and a hundred choiſe horſemen. Whoſe Generall *Diophanes*, when hée perceyued the Souldiours of *Seleucus* to play and drinke, he paſſed little of them, and required the *Pergameneans* to ſally out with him vpon the enimy. *Eumenes* is beſieged. *Diophanes*.

But when they durſte not do it, he armed hys own thouſand ſotemen, and hundred horſemen, and leading them to the wall, ſtode there quietly, the enimies lokyng ſtil vpon them being ſo few, & yet durſt not ſet vpon them. But when they were at dinner, he gaue ỹ onſet vpõ ỹ warders, the other arming thẽſelues, or taking their horſes, or fleéing from them that folowed, or béeing in confuſion, durſte not abide it. He hadde a noble victorie, the *Pergamenians* then crying oute of the wall, but yet durſte not come forth. He, hauing ſlaine as manye as he coulde in that ſhorte onſet, and carying away ſome horſes and men priſoners, he toke hys place, & the next day brought the *Acheans* to ỹ wal, when as the *Pergamenians* durſte not yet come out. *Seleucus* with many horſemen drewe neare and prouoked hym, but hee ſtode ſtill at the wall, and kept his charge. The valiantneſſe of the *Acheans*. The cowardiſe of the *Pergamans*

When *Seleucus* hadde tarryed tyll middaye, hée tourned and wente awaye. *Diophanes* ſet vppon the hindermoſt, and ſcattered and hurte many of them, whyche béeyng done, hée retired to the wall: And vſyng thys manner continuallye, and alwaies laying in wayte for them, when they went for forrage and wood, he ſo troubled them, as he made *Seleucus* to leaue *Pergamo*, and droue hym from the other place of *Eume-* *Seleucus* the kings ſonne.

nes. Betweene the Romanes and *Polyxenides*, not long after, was a fyght by sea, at *Myonesium*, in the whiche *Polixenides* hadde ten hundred armed shippes. *Lucius* the Romanes Admirall, hadde .83. of the whiche fyue and twenty were of the *Rhodians*, whereof *Eudorus* beyng capitaine, had the left wing.

Myonesius. is an Ile before *Ephesus.*

When he did see the other of *Polixenides* to be much aboue the Romanes, he feared to bee inclosed, therefore he sayled aboute with his lighte shippes, and well practised in the Sea. And with his shippes that carryed fyre, he set vppon *Polixenides*, flaming on euery side with fire.

The fight by sea

They durste not deale wyth them, bicause of the fire, but in a circle sayled about them, and auoyding them, keeping the sea, stroke the sides of them, till one *Rhodian* shippe fell vppon one of the *Sydonian* Shippes wyth suche a vehemence, as an anker fell from the *Sidonian* Shyppe in to the *Rhodian*, and helde them faste togither. So as there was a fight of shyppes not moving, as it had bin vpon the lande. Then comming of either side, very many to helpe their fellowe, there was a noble fyghte.

By this meane, themidde battell of the Shyppes of *Antiochus*, beyng lefte naked, the Romaynes sayled forwarde and enclosed theyr vnexperte enmimyes, whyche, when they perceyued, they turned and fledde, in the whyche, the King losse nine and twentye, whereof thyrténe were taken, menne, and all.

The Romanes losse but two: *Polixenides* hauyng taken one *Rhodian*, went to *Ephesus*.

This was the fyghte by Sea, at *Myonesium*.

When *Antiochus* heard of this, he fortified *Cherronesus* and *Lysimachia* verye stronglye, thinking it a greate matter, as it was indéede, to keepe the Romanes from passyng wyth theyr armye to the reste of *Thracia*, where they shoulde haue an harde and painefull way, except *Philip* did conuey them.

But *Antiochus* beyng alreaties lighte and sone chaunging, when he hearde of the losse at *Myonesus*, hée was vtterlye dys-

maped,

mayed, and thoughte God was againste hym. For where the Romanes hadde the better on the sea, beyonde all reason, in the whiche, he thought himselfe very mighty, and *Annibal* shutte vppe in *Pamphilia*, and *Philip* conducting the Romaynes by the vnknowne wayes, whome he thoughte woulde rather haue remembred the hurte he hadde by them, by all these thinges beeing meruellously troubled, and God taking his wits from hym, as commonly happeth in all calamities, he left *Cherronesus* very fondly, before his enimies were in sighte, not regarding howe greate preparation there was of victuall, armoure, money, and munition, whyche hee dydde not burne, but lefte it whole to his enimyes: and he forsoke the *Lysimachians*, as thoughe the Cittie hadde bene taken, whyche fledde vnto hym with theyr wiues and children weeping: onelye hys care was to keepe the Romaynes from *Abydus*, putting the reste of his hope of hys warre altogyther in it. Neyther dydde hée keepe this passage, God taking his sense from hym, but went to the middle lande in haste, to preuente hys enimye, leauing no guarde there.

In calamities sense fayleth.

Antiochus giueth ouer.

Abydus in *Asia*, ouer against *Sestus* in *Europe*.

When the *Scipions* hearde of thys departure, they went to *Lysimachia* in all haste, and toke all the armoure and money in *Cherroneso*, and quickelye passed *Hellespont*, vnyde of defence, and came to *Sardes*, where the kyng was, before he perceyued it.

Then hée was confounded and vtterlye dejected, and laying hys owne faultes vppon Fortune, hée sente *Heraclides* of *Byzance*, to the *Scipions* to make an ende of the warre, offering *Smyrna* and *Alexandria* at *Granico*, and *Lampsaco*, for the whiche, the warre beganne, and halfe the expences of the warre. And hée willed him, if néede were, to graunte the Citties of the *Ionians* and the *Eoleans*, that toke the Romaynes parte in thys warre, and whatsoeuer thyng the *Scipions* woulde require, and thys he willed *Heraclides* to speake openly, but priuatelye to offer *Publius Scipio* promise of much money from *Antiochus*, and also the libertye of hys sonne:

Granico a flouд in little *Asia*.

Antiochus seeketh peace.

Here the Author seemeth to take one for another.

For *Antiochus* had taken him in *Grecia* sayling from *Calcide*, to *Diametriade*.

Scipio the yonger prisoner to *Antiochus*.

And this son of *Scipios* was he that toke and destroyed *Carthage* the seconde time, and the seconde man that was named *Affricanus*, sonne of *Paulus*, that ouercame *Perseus* of *Macedonia*, beyng *Scipio* his sisters sonne by degrée, and hys sonne by adoption.

The *Scipions* openly made thys aunswere to *Heraclide*,

That if *Antiochus* will haue peace, he muste not only leaue the Cities of *Ionia* and *Aeolia*, but all the Countrey aboute *Taurus*, and defraye the whole charges of the warre, of the whiche he hath bin the cause. Yet priuately *Publius* saide thus to him.

If *Antiochus* had offered these conditions of peace, when hée hadde *Lysimachia* and *Cherronesus*, the *Romanes* woulde willingly haue accepted it, and peraduenture, if he hadde forbidde, onely to passe *Hellespont*. But nowe that they were vppon the lande, and in safe place, and hadde not onely the bridle, as they say, but also were mounted the horse, with the bridle, they woulde not accept suche conditions by wordes. And that he did giue the kyng thankes, for hys great offer, and woulde gyue hym greater, if he sent him his sonne. And for the present time, would wyth him to take the conditions, bëfore he were driuen to the proofe of greater burden.

The Romaines haue both the bridle and the horse.

When that *Publius* hadde saide thus, he went to *Elea*, for his healthe, leauing *Cneus Domitius*, legate to his brother.

Antiochus, as *Phillippe* of *Macedonie*, thinking no more coulde be taken from hym by this war, than was propounded, gathered his armye in the plaine of *Thyatira*, not farre from hys enemies, and sente *Scipio* his sonne to *Elea*, and hë counselled the bringers, that the kyng shoulde not fighte, tyll hee came againe to the Campe. *Antiochus* giuing credite to hym, encamped at the hill *Sipylo*, and defenced hys Campe wyth a strong wall, and put the floud *Phrygio* betwëne him and his enemies.

Elea an Ile in *Propontide*, and a towne in *Eolide*

Domitius being desirous to trie the fight by himselfe, passed

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the floud very boldly, and going within two myle and an halfe of *Antiochus*, encamped there foure dayes togither. Either of them set their men in order before their Camps, neyther of thē beginning the fight. The fifth day, *Domitius* set in order againe, and came forth very proudely, and when *Antiochus* came not against him, he remoued his Camp nigher to him. One day beeing past, he proclaymed in the hearing of the enimies, that hee would the next day fight, whether *Antiochus* woulde or no. Hee being troubled again, changed his purpose, and where he might haue kept within his Camp, or manfully resist these, till *Publius* had come, he thought it a shame to refuse the fighte, being more in number: wherefore he toke order for the battell, and both of them came forth at the last watch, being yet nighte, and eyther of them thus arayed themselues. Tenne thousand of the *Romane* footemen helde the left wing at the very floud, and with them were other tenne thousande *Italians*, in three seuerall bands. *Antiochus* prouoked to fight.

With the *Italians*, the army of *Eumenes* was placed, and the target men of *Achaia*, about three thousand. This was the left battell. The order of the *Romanes*.

The right, was the horsemen of the *Romanes*, *Italians*, and *Eumenes*, and they no more but three thousand. There was mixed with them all the light armed, and the archers. And about *Domitius* was foure bandes of horsemen. All these made thirtie thousand.

Domitius ledde the right battell. In the middle he placed the Consull.

The left battell he committed to *Eumenes*.

The Elephants that he had out of *Libya*, he thoughte to be to no purpose, for they be lesse that be at *Libya*, and afrayde of the greater, and they were but few, and therefore sette them last of all. This was the *Romanes* order. Elephants of *Libya* lesse than of *India*, and afraide of the greater.

Antiochus armye was lxx. M. of the whiche, the surest was the *Macedonians* battaile, called *Phalanx*, conteining xvj M. men firste appointed by *Alexander*, and *Philip*. It standeth in the middest, diuided by a thousand and fiue hundred into ten parts, and of euery parte of these in the front, were fifty men, and in The Phalanx of *Macedonia*.

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the middeſt two and thirtie, and in ẏ ſide of eyther part two and twẽty. The ſight of this *Phalanx* was like a wall, & the Elephãts ſeemed like Towers. This was the midde battel of *Antiochus*.

The Horſemen were on eyther ſide of it. The men of armes of the *Galatians*, and the choyce horſemen of *Macedonia*, called of them *Agema*. Theſe were equally on eyther ſide the greate battell. There were wings beſide theſe. In the righte wing were light armed Souldioures, and other Horſemen with ſiluer ſhieldes, and archers on horſebacke two hundred.

Agema ſignifieth the exerciſed battell of horſemen or footemen that vvent before the Capraỹne.

The lefte wing helde the nations of the *Galatians*, *Tectoſagans*, *Trocmans*, and *Toliſtoians*, and certaine *Cappadocians*, whome *Ariarathes* ſente, and other ſtrangers mingled.

Trocmi people of *France*, that did inhabit *Aſia*. *Toliſtobij* that vvent out of *Galatia* to *Bithynia*.

To theſe were ioyned another company of men of armes, and of hys confederates with lighte armour. This order made *Antiochus*, ſeeming to put his truſt in the Horſemen, whome being many, he placed in the front, and very vnſkilfully hée thruſt the greate battell in a ſtreighte place, in the whiche, hée ought to haue put his truſt, being moſt ſtrong.

There was alſo a greate number of ſlingers, archers, darters, and target men, of *Phrygians*, *Lydians*, *Pamphylians*, *Piſidians*, *Cretes*, *Trallians*, and *Cilicians*, all armed after the manner of *Creta*. There were other archers on horſebacke to theſe, *Daceans*, *Muſeans*, *Aelymeans*, and *Arabians*, which being ſet vppon moſt ſwift Camels, they ſhote eaſilie from high, and when they be at hand, vſe long and narrowe ſwords. The armed Chariots were placed at the beginning in the firſte fronte, and were commaunded when they had giuẽ the firſt puſh, to giue backe. The fight was like two armies, the one to begin the battell, and the other to lye in waite. Either of them being made to as muche terrez as coulde be, both in number and fourme. *Antiochus* hymſelfe leade the horſemen of the righte wing. The left ſide, hys ſonne *Seleucus* gouerned. Of the *Phalanx*, *Philip* the maiſter of the Elephants had the charge. Of the foreward, *Medis* and *Zeuxis*. The day being cloudy and darke, the ſight was taken awaỹ of this preparation, and all the bowes were the worſe, as in the aire moiſt and thicke. Which, when *Eumenes* conſidered, he paſ-

Arabians fight vpon Camels.

Shot hindered by moyſt ayre.

ſed

ſed not of all the reſt, only he feared moſt the violence of the armed Chariots. Therefore he gathered togither the archers and darters, and other lighte harneſſe, commaunding them to goe againſte the Chariots, and to ſhote agaynſte the Horſes, and not the men, for the horſe in the Chariot ſtriuing with hys yoke, the reſt of the Chariot is made vnprofitable, and many times breaketh the other battels, men being afrayde of the ſithes, as it came then to paſſe. For when the Horſes were ſtricken ſo thicke, and the Chariots carried backe of the horſes, the Camels felte the diſorder firſt, being nexte the Cartes, and after them the men of armes, whoſe horſe for the waighte of the armoure, could hardly eſcape the danger of the ſithes. Great was the trouble, and the confuſion diuers, which begaune chiefly of theſe, and wēt throughe the whole battell, and for ignorāce, was more than it nēded. For in a long rowe and thicke multitude of men, with a diuers crie, and greate feare, the truth was not perceyued of them that were nexte the hurt perſons, and ſuſpition made euery man thinke the thing greater than it was. The Chariots were armed with ſythes.

When *Eumenes* did ſée the firſte ſucceede happily to him, and the forewarde, with the Chariots, that the Camels did couer, to be naked, he ſet his owne horſemen, and as many as he had of the *Romanes* and *Italians* againſt the contrary part of the *Galatians* and *Cappadocians*, and the other route of ſtrangers, exhorting thē with loude voice to diſpatch theſe ignorant men, being deſtitute of their defence. They were ready, & giuing a fierce onſet vpon them, they made thē turne, and ẏ men of armes that were ioyned to them, which were diſordred before of ẏ Chariots, & becauſe theſe couldo moſt hardly flée or turne, by reaſon of theyr waight, they toke thē, and killed thē. And this was done at the left battell of the *Macedonians*. In the right wing, where *Antiochus* was, breaking the battell of the *Romanes*, he made them flée, and followed them. The great battell of the *Macedonians* being ſette with the Horſemen in a ſtreight place and quadrate, and voyde of Horſemen on eyther ſide, receyued the ſkirmiſhers that fought at the front of them, diuiding themſelues, and cloſing againe. *Domitius* with his Horſemen, and lighte harneſſe, eaſily *Antiochus* at his ſide putteth the *Romanes* to flight.

eaſilie compaſſed them, as a thicke ſquare, neither ſitte to gyue onſet, nor enlarge themſelues being ſo broad. They manfully abode much force, and were greeued, that for all their experiēce they could do no good, but ſtand to receyue the ſtripes & wounds of their enimies on euery ſide. Only they ſtretched forthe their pikes in ſquare maner, and chalenged the *Romanes* to trie their manhode hand to hande with them, for the which they hadde ſo much prayſe: yet did they not march forth, being on foote & heauie harneſſed, and ſeing their enimies with horſe, chiefly that they ſhould not diſſolue their ſure aray. The *Romanes* came not vpon them, nor woulde fight with them, fearing the experience and ſtrength of ſo valiant men, but running aboute them, dyd ſhote and dart at them, and neuer miſſed, ſo many being cloſed in ſo little rome, for neyther could they auoyde the dartes, nor approch to them that threw vpon them. Wherefore when they had endured a long time, of very neceſſitie they gaue backe, and turned their way with threats, very orderly, and fearefull to the *Romanes*, for neither then durſt they ſette vpon them, but hurte them as they could go about them, till the Elephants brake vpon the *Macedonians* battell, whiche woulde not be ruled by their guides, and then there orderly retiring, was altered. In this, *Domitius* had the vpper hand, and paſſing to the Campe of *Antiochus*, forced them that kepte it. *Antiochus* chaced the *Romane* legions a great way, which had neither horſemen, nor light harneſſe to gard them, *Domitius* thinking they ſhoulde not runne bycauſe of the floud, till he came to the *Romanes* Campe, where the Captaine that had the charge with freſh Souldiours reſiſted his violence, and to them ioyned they that fledde, and were the more bolder. So the king returned, being very proude and haulte for this victorie, nothing knowing yet of that was happened on the other ſide. *Attalus* brother to *Eumenes*, with many horſemen encountred with the king, through the whiche he paſſed, and hurte them, keping his courſe with the loſſe of a few, not caring for them. But when he did ſee the loſſe, and all the field full of his dead people, men, horſe, and Elephants, and his Camp taken by force, he fledde without ceaſſing, till he came

The mayne battell is diſordred by the Elephants.

Domitius entreth the kings Camp.

Antiochus chaceth one part of the *Romanes* to their Camp.

to

to *Sardes*, aboute midnight, and from *Sardes*, to *Celæna*, whyche they call *Apamea*, whither hee vnderstoode hys sonne was fledde. *Celæna.*

The next daye he went from *Celæna* to *Syria*, leauing hys Captaines at *Celæna*, to receyue and gather togither them that fledde, and sent Ambassadoures to the Consull for to treate war, who was burying his dead souldiors, and spoyling his enimies, and gathering the captiues. Of the Romanes that were of the Cittie, there was slaine, foure and twentye horsemen, and three hundred fotemen, chiefly of them whome *Antiochus* slewe, *Eumenes* losse no more but fiftéen horsemen. The kyngs losse with hys confederates, was iudged to be fiftie thousand, which could not well be numbred for the multitude: all the Elephants were slaine, sane fifténe, which were taken. After thys victorie so noble, & beyonde all reason, as some thoughte, not beyng lyke, that so fewe, in a straunge Country, should ouercome so many, especially, where the *Macedonian Phalanx* was furnished full of men, whiche for the valiauntnesse, was terrible, and thought inuincible, the friendes of *Antiochus* accused his rashenesse, in falling out with the Romaines, and his vnskilfulnesse, and folishnesse from the beginning, that he lefte *Cherronesus* and *Lysimachia* oute of hys handes, full of munition and money, before the *Romanes* came alande to trye it, and neglected the guarding of *Hellespont*, the whiche the *Romanes* thoughte they could not easlye passe by force. They blamed also his last ouersight, making his chief strength vnprofitable, by placing it so streight, putting his truste more in mingled multitude of men that were freesh soloures, than in men, that for experience and time, were acquainted with the warre, and by the continuaunce of the same, were endued with valiauntnesse and courage. These speeches were made of *Antiochus*. The errours of *Antiochus.*

The *Romanes* encreased in courage, and thought nothing too harde for them, bothe for their vertue, and the fauoure of the Gods. This did make to the opinion of their felicitie, that being so fewe against so many, in an expedition, and in the first fight, & in a straunge land, they should ouercome in one daye, so many

nations so princely a power, both for the vertue of the hired soldioures, and the glorie of the *Macedonians*, and for the great dominion of the King, as he hadde gotten the surname of Great: For in their speeche and talke, King *Antiochus* the Great, was a greate word among them. The *Romanes* thus gloried of themselues. The Consul, after his brother *Publius* was come recouered from *Elea*, answered *Antiochus* Ambassadors, which required to learne, what *Antiochus* shoulde do to be a friend to the *Romanes*. *Publius* answered thus vnto them.

Answere to the kings ambassadours.

Antiochus hathe bin the cause bothe of these and former troubles throwe hys ambition, who hauing a greate kyngdome, and the *Romanes* suffring him to haue it, toke from *Ptolomie* hys kinsman, and friend to the *Romanes*, *Celesyria*, and inuaded *Europe*, where he had nothing to do: he subdued *Thracia*, he fortified *Cherronesus*, and builded *Lysimachia*. He came into *Grecia*, & made the *Grecians* bond, whom the *Romanes* had made free, til he was ouercome in battaile at *Thermopylei*, from whence though he fled, he lefte not his ambition, but being ouercome diuerse tymes of vs by sea, when we were passed *Hellespont*, he desired peace: The conditions whereof, through pride, he contemned, and gathered a mighty army, and with gret preparation he made war againe againste vs, and by compulsion was brought to trye it with his betters, till he was ouercome, to hys greate losse. It were fitte that we should set a greater punishement vpon him, that so many tymes hathe violentlye dealte with the *Romanes*, but we wil not be insolēt for our felicitie, nor aggrauate others calamitie. Therefore we giue the same conditions that we appointed before, adding a fewe more whiche be profytable for vs, and shall be commodious for his safety in tyme to come.

The conditions of peace.

That he refraine from al *Europe* and *Asia* on this side *Taurus*, and to these, limites shall be appointed.

That he deliuer al the Elephantes he hath, and as many ships as we shall commaunde.

That hereafter he haue no more Elephants nor more ships, than we shall appoint.

That he deliuer xx. pledges as the President shall prescribe.

That

That he giue for the expences of the warre, begun by hym, fiue hundred talents of *Eubœa*, presently, and when the Senate shal approue the league, ij.M.v.C. talents, and in .xij. yeares after, other xij.M.v.C. talents, parte whereof to be brought to *Rome* euery yeare. The least talent was lx.li.

That he giueth to vs all the prisoners and bondmen.

That he restore to *Eumenes* all that he ought to do, by a league betweene *Attalus* his father and hym.

If *Antiochus* wil faithfully performe this, we giue him peace and friendship, when the Senate shal ratifie it. Thus did *Scipio* determine, and the Ambassadoures accepted it, and paide parte of the mony in hande, and deliuered twenty pledges, whereof, *Antiochus* the Kings yonger sonne was one, whome the *Scipions* sente to *Rome* with the Ambassadours. *Antiochus* sonne is sent to Rome.

The Senate agréed to the conditions, and subscribed to the confirmation of the peace made by *Scipio*, and of some thynges that were not determined, they made a little addition.

That two forelandes called *Calycadnum*, and *Sarpedon* should be the limite of *Antiochus* Kingdome, and that he doe not passe them to make warre. These be in Cilicia.

That he kepe twelue armed ships onely to rule his subiectes in obedience and if warre be made vpon him, to vse more.

That he harbourowe no *Romanes*, nor receiue fugitiues.

That he change his pledges euery iij. yeares, his sonne only excepted.

This was written and sette vppe in a table of brasse in the Capitoll, where other couenants of peace be placed, and a coppy was sent to *Manlio Volsoni*, successour to *Scipio*. He gaue othe to *Antiochus* Ambassadours, at *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, and *Antiochus* to *Thermo* a Tribune that was sente to hym. And thys was the ende of the warre betwene the *Romanes* and *Antiochus*, that was called Great. And it seemed that he obtained it only for the kindenesse hee shewed to *Scipio* in restoring hys sonne: and some there were, that accused *Scipio* for it: and the two Tribunes noted hym of corruption and peculation, he deseruing Manlius Volso.

b ij. and Scipio is accused

and contemning the accusation, after he was come to the Court that daye, that afore he had ouerthrowne *Carthage*, sent to make sacrifice in the Capitoll, and came himselfe into the Pallaice of Judgement with goodly shew, and not sad or mourning, like an accused man, euery man wondring at him, and fauouring hym as a worthye man, and of greate courage being cleare in conscience.

The courage of Scipio.

When he beganne to speake, he saide nothing of the accusation, but made a rehearsall of his life, his seruice and al his acts, howe manye warres he had finished for his countrey, whome he had ouerthrowne, howe ofte he had victorye, in so muche, as it was a pleasure to the hearers, for the noble declaration of his historie. And when he came to the warre of *Carthage*, most of all he delated the manner thereof wyth great vehemence, and audience of the people, saying: This daye, *Romanes*, did I conquere, and made *Carthage* to obey you, which til then, was most terrible vnto you. This day do I goe to sacrifice in the Capitoll, and as many of you as loue your Country, accompany me in the sacrifice that is made for you.

Hauing saide thus, he went forth to the Capitoll, not passing of his complainte.

The people followed him, and so did manye of the Judges, praysing him with open voice, and saide the like, whiles he was sacrificing. The accusers were discouraged & durst not prosecute the cause, as of no purpose, nor blame the peoples fauoure, perceyuing that his life was of more price, than their suspition and calumniation.

Aristides not so constant as *Scipio*. *Socrates*.

Scipio seemeth to me more wise, in the scoute behauioure and contempte of this accusation, than *Aristides*, beeing accused of fraude, and *Socrates*, in the thinges whereof hee was charged, neyther of them answering in the like discredite, sauing that *Socrates* speaketh as pleaseth *Plato*: Yea he was more courageous than *Epiminondas* that was ruler of the *Boetians*, with *Pelopida* and an other. The *Thebanes* hadde sente them, gyuing either of them an armye to helpe the *Arcadians* and *Messenians*, that were at warre with the *Lacedemonians*. And bycause thynges

Epaminondas.

were

were not done as they entended, they were accused and called home. They deliuered not their armies to their successoures in fyue moneths, in the whiche time, they expelled the *Lacedemonian* garrisons, & placed other of the *Arcadians*, *Epaminondas* compelling his companions to doe it, promising that the doyng therof shoulde not be hurtefull to them. When they were come home, their accusers prosecuting the matter againste euerye of them, they were condemned to dye. For the Lawe iudged hym to die, that by violence would rule in an other mans office. The other escaped, vsing lamentation and many wordes, and laying al the blame in *Epaminondas*, for so he willed them to say, and he would affyrme it.

He being condemned to dye, saide: I confesse it is againste the lawe, to rule thys tyme, and that I compelled them, whome you haue deliuered nowe. I do not desire to be pardoned, hauing transgressed the lawe, but I beseeche you, that for the seruice I haue done, you woulde write thus.

Epaminondas manner of answere.

This is he, that gote the victorie of *Lenitra*, and that brought his Countrey to *Sparta* it selfe, whiche before coulde not abide those enimies, nor no straunger that ware a *Lacedemonian* hatte, he is condemned of his Countrey, offending the Lawe for the benefite of his Countrey. Hauing saide thus, he came from the Tribunes, and offered his bodye to them that woulde take it.

The Iudges, by the reproch of thys speeche, and maruell of the answere, and reuerence of the person accused, durste not abide the triall, but ran out of the Court. These euery man may iudge as he listeth.

Manlius the successor of *Scipio*, went to the lande that was taken from *Antiochus*, and gaue order for them, and the *Galathians* that aided *Antiochus*, called *Tolestouians*, fleeing to *Mysios Olympe*. He followed painefully thorough the Mountaines, and killed them in the chase, with suche a slaughter and bloudshed, as it could not be numbred for the multitude. He toke prisoners fyue thousand, he burned their armour, and solde their bodies to the nexte *Barbarians*, bycause he coulde not carry suche a com-

Tolestouij were people that came out of *Spaine* to dwell in *Bithinia*.

pany aboute in the warre.

Manius in dāger. The *Tectosagans*, and *Trocmans* put him in daunger by deceite, from the whiche he escaped. And returning againe vppon them, remayning and staying, bycause they were so many, he brought his shotte, commaunding them to discharge vppon them, neither all togither, nor too nighe the enimie, and where no arrow was shot in vaine, for the thickenesse of the enimies, he slewe eighte thousande, and chased the other to the flonde *Alys*.

Alys a flond running out of *Taurus*.

Ariarathes kyng of *Cappadocia*, and a confederate of *Antiochus*, being afraide, and prayng peace, and with his prayer sending two hundred talentes, he didde not ouerrunne hys lande, but wente to *Hellespont*, with greate riches, and infinite money, muche spoile, and armye laden: And surely he did very vnwisely, that being Sommer, he wouldе not go by sea, not regarding the waighte of the carriage, nor how he coulde leade hys army to continewe and abide so long a iorney, not marching to war, but going home with spoyles.

The error of Manlius.

He went by *Thracia*, a streight, long, and harde waye, in the hote Sommer, neither did he sende to *Philip* of *Macedonie* to conducte him, neither diuided his army into many parts, that they might go the lighter, and be the more readye for all purposes, nor distributing the burdens into seuerall bands, that they might be the better kepte, but carryed al togither on an heape, so long a way, & that in the middest, so that neither they that went before, nor they behind, could helpe in time for the length and straightnesse of the way. Wherfore the *Thracians* setting vpō the flanks of him euery where, he losse greate parte of the pray, and of the common treasure, and of his army, and with the reste, he saued himselfe in *Macedonia*. And then was it well perceyued, howe much pleasure *Philip* shewed the *Scipions*, and howe muche *Antiochus* erred in leauing *Cherronesus*. Thus *Manlius* wente from *Macedonia* to *Thessalie*, and from *Thessalie* to *Epirus*, and from *Epirus* sayled to *Brunduse*, where sending hys armye euery manne home, he went to *Rome*. The *Rhodians* and *Eumenes* kyng of *Pergamus*, aduauncing themselues for their seruice against *Antiochus*, *Eumenes* went to *Rome*, and the *Rhodians* sent Ambassadours.

The

The *Romanes* gaue to the *Rhodians Lycia* and *Caria*, the whyche, not long after, they toke from them, bycause, when they hadde warre wyth *Perseus* of *Macedonie*, they seemed more enclined to hym, than them. To *Eumenes* they gaue all the reste that they had taken from *Antiochus*, excepte the Grekes there: and to them that paide anye tribute to *Attalus* his father, they commaunded to pay it to *Eumenes*. The tribute that they paide before to *Antiochus*, they forgaue them, and graunted them to liue free. Rewards gyuen to the *Rhodians*. Reward to *Eumenes*. Rewardes to the Grekes.

Thus the *Romanes* diuided their conquest, and when *Antiochus* the Greate was deade, *Seleucus* hys sonne succeedyng hym, hee sente for his brother *Antiochus* that was pledge at *Rome*, and putte hys sonne *Demetrius* in hys place. *Antiochus* the great dieth.

When *Antiochus* was come to *Athens*, *Seleucus* was killed of one *Heliodorus* that was aboute him. And *Eumenes* and *Attalus* droue *Heliodorus* oute of the Kingdome whiche hee vsurped, and restored it to *Antiochus*, to haue hys friendshippe, for nowe they were growne into some suspition with the *Romanes*. *Seleucus* killed.

Thus *Antiochus* the sonne of Greate *Antiochus* was kyng of *Syria*, who of the *Syrians* was called the Notable, bicause whē his kingdome was rauished by others, he shewed to be their natural king. Making league with *Eumenes*, he raigned ouer *Syria*, and the nations aboute it mightily. He made *Tymarxus* lieutenaunt of *Babylon*, and *Heraclides* hys Treasourer, beyng brethren, and in great fauour wyth hym. He made warre vppon *Artaxes* King of *Armenia*, whome, when hee hadde taken, hee dyed, leauing *Antiochus* his sonne of nine yeares of age, whom, for his fathers vertue, the *Syrians* called *Eupater Lysias* brought vppe this child. *Antiochus* the Noble. *Antiochus* the second dieth. *Antiochus Eupater*.

When the *Romanes* heard that *Antiochus* was deade so sone, who in a little tyme had gote great fame, they were glad. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Seleucus*, brother to *Antiochus* the Notable, nephew to *Antiochus* the Great, a cousin to this child, being pledge at *Rome* and of three and twentye yeares of age, requyred to be admytted to the Kyngdome, as more neare to him, but it was denied

denyed hym, not thinking it good for them, that a lusty young man shoulde raigne in a childes place. And understanding that there were many Elephantes in *Syria*, and more Shyps than was agreede, they sent Ambassadoures to kyll the Elephantes and burne the Shippes. It was a grieuous thing to see those beastes tame and rare killed, and the ships to bee sette on fyre. Wyth the whiche fighte, one *Leptines* in *Laodicia*, being offended, finding *Cneus Octauius* that was chiefe of this Embassage in a Schoole house, kylled hym, and *Lysias* buried hym.

The ships and Elephants burned.

The Romaine Ambassadour is killed.

Demetrius comming againe into the Senate, desired onelye to be released of his Ostageship, being put there for *Antiochus*, and nowe *Antiochus* beyng dead.

Demetrius flyeth from Rome.

The whiche when he couldo not obtayne, he fledde awaye priuily, and being receyued gladlye of the *Syrians*, hee toke the Kingdome vpon him, and killed the child, and *Lysias*, and droue awaye *Heraclides*, and killed *Timarchus* resisting him, and euill using the *Babilonians*, for the whiche the *Babilonians* gaue him the name of *Soter*, and of them it had the beginning.

Sauiour.

Demetrius hauing the rule, sent a Crowne of tenne thousande Crownes to the *Romanes*, to thanke them for the tyme hee was pledge with them, and also, *Leptines*, that killed *Octauius*. They accepted the Crown, but would not take *Leptines*, reseruing that quarrell againste the *Syrians*.

Demetrius droue *Ariarathes* oute of his kingdome, and putte in *Olofernes*, that was accounted hys brother, for a thousand talentes, the *Romanes* thinking it good, bothe brethren shoulde rule togither.

Demetrius putteth out *Ariarathes*.

These being gone, and *Ariobarzanes* afterward ouercome of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, the warre of *Mithridates* followed of this and other occasion, the greatest and most variable, made with so many nations, and continuing fortie yeres. In the whiche time, there were many Kings of *Syria* in a little time, yet all descended of the royall blonde. There were many changes and tumults in that kingdome. The *Parthians* reuolting from the rule of *Seleucide* toke from them *Mesopotamia*, that was wont to obey them.

Occasion of the warre with *Mithridates*.

Seleucides, the royall blond. *Parthians*.

Tigranes

Tigranes, the ſonne of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, toke cer- *Tigranes.*
tayne nations aboute him that had their proper princes, think-
king to be their King, and ouercame *Seleucides* ſubiectes that
would not obey him. *Antiochus* the God, not able to reſiſt him,
he gotte all *Syria* to *Euphrates*, and all the generation of *Syria*
to *Aegipt*. He gote alſo *Cilicia* that obeyed the houſe of *Seleuci-*
des, making *Magadates* Lieutenante, who ruled them foureteene
yeares: but when *Lucullus* the Romane Generall did follow *Mi-*
thridates, fleing to *Tigranes*, *Magadates* wente with this army to
help *Tigranes*, and ſo *Antiochus*, ſonne of *Antiochus* the God,
was broughte into *Syria*, whome the *Syrians* obeyed with good
will. And *Lucullus* that firſte made warre againſt *Tigranes*, and *Lucullus* fauou-
put him from the lands he had wonne, did not enuie the aunti- red the auntient
ent kingdomes. But *Pompeyus* that followed *Lucullus*, and ouer- Kinges.
came *Mithridates*, and compelled *Tigranes* to rule in *Armenia*, *Pompey* ſeeketh
did caſt out *Antiochus* from the kingdome of *Syria*, hauing not cauſe to put the
offended the *Romanes* in dede, bycauſe it was an eaſie thing kingis from *Syria.*
with ſuch an armye to ſpoyle a king that had no army, but in
pretence, bycauſe the *Seleucidians* were expelled of *Tigranes*, it
was not reaſon they ſhould rule *Syria* any longer, *Tigranes* being
ouercome of the *Romanes*. And thus the *Romanes* got *Cilicia* and
Syria the midde region, and *Celoſyria* and *Phœnitia*, and *Paphlago-*
nia, and all other partes of *Syria*, from *Euphrates* to *Aegipt*, and
to the Sea coaſt, without any fighte. The nation of the *Iewes* *Iews* conquered.
only remaining, *Pompey* conquered, and ſent their King *Ariſto-*
bulus to *Rome*, and beate downe their greateſt and holyeſt Citie
Hieruſalem, which *Ptolomeus* the firſte King of *Aegipt* did ouer-
throwe alſo, and *Veſpaſianus* agayne deſtroyed it, after it was *Veſpaſianus.*
reedifyed, and in my time *Adrianus*, and therefore the *Iewes* *Adrianus.*
haue a greater tribute ſet vpon euery body, than their ſubſtance
is worth. The *Syrians*, and the *Cilicians* alſo, payed euery man
the hundred part. And *Pompey* put ſeueral kings and Princes in *Pompey* maketh
the realmes, that obeyed the bloud of *Seleucus*, as he did to the Kings and Te-
Galathians in *Aſia*. To theſe Princes he confirmed the iuriſdic- trarches.
tion of a fourth part, that ſerued him againſt *Mithridates*. And
not long after, they fell to the *Romanes* in *Ceſars* time, and chiefly

to *Augustus* as the case stode. *Pompey* appointed *Scaurus* to rule *Syria*, who had bin a Treasourer in his camp. And after *Scaurus* the Senate sent *Philippus Marcus*, and after *Philippe*, *Marcelinus Lentulus*, being of the degrée of Prætors. Bothe these spent theyr tyme in subduing the *Arabians* that were tumultuous. And for this cause Lieutenants were sent afterward into *Syria*, of them that ruled in the city, that they might haue power, both in peace & war, as the Consulls had. The first of these was *Gabinius* that came with an army to make war. And *Mithridates* king of *Parthia* being driuen out of his kingdome by *Herodes* his brother, came to *Parthia* againe by the *Arabians*. And *Ptolomie* the eleauenth King of *Egipt*, being also put out of his kingdome, obtayned by much money, that he would inuade *Alexandria* in steade of *Parthia*: and so *Gabinius* making war vpon them of *Alexandria*, restored *Ptolomie* into his kingdom, wherefore he was banished of ỹ *Romane* Senate, for that he made war without commission, that was thought vnlucky to the *Romanes*. For it was forbidden by *Sibylla*. After *Gabinius*, I thinke, that *Crassus* ruled *Syria*, & making war vpon the *Parthians*, receyued a great losse. And *Lucius Bibulus* gouerning *Syria* after *Crassus*, the *Parthians* inuaded it. And *Saxa* ruling after *Bebulus*, they ranged as farre as *Ionia*, the *Romaines* being molested with ciuil warres one against an other. But this shall be declared perfectly in ỹ booke of ỹ *Parthians* war. In this booke, being of *Syria*, shal be shewed how the *Romanes* got *Syria*, and helde it, as they do nowe. It shall not bée amisse to shew how the *Macedonians* got *Syria*, and raigned there before the *Romanes*. For *Alexander* the King had *Syria* beyonde *Persia*, and was king of al ỹ he won. When *Alexander* was dead, leauing children, one very yong, another in his mothers womb, the *Macedonians* for the loue of *Philips* house, chose *Aridæus* to be their king, that was *Alexanders* brother, although he was thoughte not to be wel in his minde, calling hym *Philip* in steade of *Aridæus*, *Alexanders* children being yet with tutors, & the mother with child diligently kept. The friends diuided the nations, & *Perdiccas* was ỹ diuider, vnder king *Philip*. And the kings being dead not long after, the great men were made kings. The first

Scaurus. Philippus. Marcelinus, Lentulus.

Gabinius banished for making warr vpō *Egipt.*

Crassus. L. Bibulus. Saxa.

The race of the kings of *Syria.*

Perdiccas.

prince

Prince of *Syria* was *Laomedon* of *Mitilene*, set in by *Perdiccas*, and after by *Antipater* that were kings. *Ptolomeus* sailed to *Laomedon* that was ruler of *Siria*, and perswaded him by muche money, to lette him haue *Syria*, being an entrie to *Egipt*, and a defence to *Cipr*us, the whiche he denying, he toke hym. And he decepuing his keepers, fledde to *Alcetas* into *Caria*. And a certaine time *Ptolomie* had *Syria*, and when he had left garrisons in the Cittie, hee sayled into *Egipt*. *Antigonus* was prince of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*. & *Pamphilia*, being left ouerseer of all *Asia*, of *Antipater*, when he sailed into *Europe*, to make warre vppon *Eumenes*, that was Prince of *Cappadocia* being iudged to be an enimy of the *Macedonians*, he fled and got *Media* for himselfe. But *Antigonus* followed and killed hym, and proceeding, was royally receyued of *Seleucus* prince of *Babilon*. But when *Seleucus* had punished one of the Captains, & not made *Antigonus* of counsell, being present, he was angrye, and called him to accompte both of money and substaunce. Hee beeyng too weake for *Antigonus*, fledde to *Ptolomie* into *Egipt*.

Laomedon the first prince in *Syria*.

Ptolomie taketh *Laomedon*. who escapeth.

Antigonus straight after the fleeyng of *Seleucus*, remoued *Blitoera* from his office, that ruled in *Mesopotamia*, bicause he furthered *Seleucus* in his departure, and toke to himselfe *Babilon*, *Mesopotamia*, and other nations of the *Medeans* to *Hellespont*. *Antipater* being deade, he was by and by suspected to al the other prouinces, hauing so much land. Therfore by the persuasion chiefly of *Seleucus*, *Ptolomie*, and *Lysimacus* Prince of *Thracia*, and *Cassander*, son to *Antipater* and ruler of *Macedonia* after his father, they confederated togither, and sent a common Ambassage, requiring hym to diuide the lande and money, that hee had gotte, among them and the other *Macedonians* that had losse their prouinces.

Blitoera.

Antigonus laughing at the matter, they made a common war againste him. He prepared agaynste them, and threwe oute al the garrisons that *Ptolomie* had in *Syria*, and seyzed to himselfe, *Phœnitia* and *Celosyria* that yet obeyed *Ptolomie*. Then he wente to the straights of *Cilicia*, and lefte his sonne *Demetrius*, two and twenty yeares of age, in *Gaza* with an armye, to resist *Ptolomies* inuasions from *Aegipt*. But *Ptolomie* ouercame him at *Gaza* in a great fighte, and the yong manne fled to hys father. *Ptolomie* sente *Seleucus* by and by to *Babylon*, to recouer his rule,

A common warr against *Antigonus*.

Gaza a Citie in *Persida*.

and gaue him a thousande fotemen, and three hundred horsmen.

And with these fewe, *Seleucus* wente to *Babilon*, where he was gladly receyued of the inhabitantes, and in shorte time haoue a mighty dominion.

Antigonus was reuenged of *Ptolomie*, and ouercame him in a greate fighte by sea, at *Cyprus* in the whiche *Demetrius* his sonne was Admirall, by the whiche being muche renoumed, the armye called them both Kynges, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the Kynges being deade, *Arrideus Philips* sonne, and *Olimpiades*, and *Alexanders* children. And *Ptolomeus* armye called him King, that he shoulde seeme not to be inferiour to them that had the picture: and thus a like effect folowed of a contrarye cause. The other straight followed these, and of rulers they were made Kynges. So was *Seleucus* king of *Babylon*, and King of *Media*, *Nicanor* being killed of hym, who was lefte Gouernoure of *Media* by *Antigonus*: he made manye warres againste the *Macedonians* and *Barbarians*, and two chiefly against the *Macedonians*. The laste whereof was against *Lysimachus* king of *Thracia*, and the firste, against *Antigonus* at *Ipsum* in *Phrygia*, where *Antigonus*, beyng foure score yeares of age, playde the parte bothe of a Captaine and Souldiour, and being slaine at that field, as manye Kings as toke parte with *Seleucus* agaynste *Antigonus*, diuided his kingdomes betwéen them.

Ipsum.

The valiantnes of *Antigonus* an olde prince.

Nowe hadde *Seleucus* all the rule of *Syria* beyonde *Euphrates*, to the sea, and of the midde lande of *Phrygia*. And euer he laide for the nighe nations, and being able bothe by force to compel, and by worde to perswade, he got *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Cappadocia* called *Seleucida*, and *Persia*, and *Parthia*, and *Bactria*, and *Arabia*, and *Tapyria*, and *Sogdia*, and *Araxosia*, and *Hyrcania*, and all other nighe nations to the floude *Indus*, whiche *Alexander* ouercame, so that he, after *Alexander*, hadde moste regions in *Asia*. For, from *Phrygia* to the floude *Indus*, all the highe lands obeyed *Seleucus*, and going into *Indus*, he made warre vpon *Sandracoto* king of those *Indians* that dwelt aboute it, till alliaunce being made, they came to peace. Some of these thinges hée did before the death of *Antigonus*, and some after hys death. They saye

The greate dominion of *Seleucus.*

Sandracoto.

saye, that being a souldiour, and following the King into *Persia*, he soughte the Oracle in *Didumæo*, to knowe of their returne into *Macedonia*, and it was aunswered. Make no haste to *Europe*, *Asia* is much better for thee. And in his fathers house in *Macedonia*, the harth did caste forth a great fyre, no man touchyng it, and his mother had a dreame, to gyue a ring that she shoulde finde, to *Seleucus*, for he should be a King where that ring should fall from hym, and she found a ring of yron, with an anker grauen in it, and he lost his signet at *Euphrates*, and it is saide also that going to *Babilon* an other tyme, he stumbled on a stone, and the stone being remoued, an anker was seene: and where the Southsayer contended that it was a token of delay, *Ptolomeus Lagus* that went wyth hym saide, an Anker was a token of safety and not of delay. And for this cause, *Seleucus* beyng a king, vsed an Anker for his Signet, some thinke also, that *Alexander* being aliue, and beholding it, another token was shewed to *Seleucus* of his kingdom. As *Alexander* returned frō *India* to *Babilon*, and sailed the Fens of *Babilon*, bicause *Euphrates* had ouerflown ȳ land of *Syria*, a sodain wind did blow off his *Diademe* into a place ful of reedes, where was a Sepulchre of an old king, whiche was a token also of *Alexanders* death. And that a marriner did swimme to it, and set it vpon his heade, to bring it dyre to *Alexander*, and for his good seruice, the King rewarded him with a talent of siluer, the Southsayers counselling *Alexander* to kill him, and some saye *Alexander* did so, and some saye no. And some affyrme, that the Mariner did not swimme for it, but *Seleucus*, and that he put it vpon his heade, to bring it dyre, and that it was a token of bothe their fortunes. For *Alexander* died at *Babilon*, and *Seleucus* had the greatest part of *Alexanders* lands of any of his successors. Thus much haue I vnderstanded of the tokens of his felicitie.

Tokens of *Seleucus* his kingdom

Anker, token of safetye.

Alexanders Crovvn blovvn off his heade.

Immediatly after *Alexanders* death, he was made captain of the Guarde of horsemen, whiche *Ephestion* had in *Alexanders* time, and after him, *Perdiccas*. After this office of horsemen, he was Gouernour of *Babilon*, and of a Gouernoure was made a King, and bycause he was victorious in his wars, he was called

Nicator is a conquerour.

Nicator, and therefore (I thinke) he had this name, rather than for killing of *Nicator*. He was of a great and mighty body, in so much, as when a wild Bull did breake his bandes at a sacrifice that *Alexander* made, he only stopped him, and with his hands only staid him, therefore they put hornes vpon his Images. He

Cities builded by Seleucus.

builded Cities al ouer his kingdomes, forténe, named *Antiochia*, of his father, and fiue *Laodicea*, to his mother, nine of hys owne name, four for his wiues, three named *Apamea*, and one *Stratonicea*, of the whiche, two remayne most noble to this day, *Seleucia* at the Sea, and *Seleucia* at the floud *Tigris*, of his owne name, and *Laodicia* in *Phœnitia*, and *Antiochia* at the hill *Libamo*, and *Apamea* of *Syria*. He named other of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, eyther of some feate, or in the honor of *Alexander* the King, whereby there be in *Syria*, and in the barbarous Countreys beyond them, many Cities of the *Greeke* and *Macedonian* names, as

Greek names to diuerse Cities.

Berroia, *Aedessa*, *Perinthus*, *Maronea*, *Gallipolis*, *Achaia*, *Pella*, *Orotos*, *Amphipolis*, *Arethusa*, *Astacos*, *Tegea*, *Chalcis*, *Ecatõpolis*, *Achaia*, in *India*, *Alexandrinopolis*, in *Scythia*, *Alexandreseata*, and after his victories, *Niceporæon* in *Mesopotamia*, *Nicopolis* in *Armenia* that is next *Cappadocia*.

Seleucia at the Sea.

They saye, that when he builded *Seleucia* at the Sea, there was a token of a lightning, therefore nowe they sacrifice, and sing Himnes to the lightning, bycause it was then sente as a token from God.

Seleucia at Tigris.

When he builded *Seleucia* at *Tigris*, he commaunded the Southsayers to appoynt a good day, and an houre of that day, when the worke shoulde beginne. The Southsayers tolde a false houre, bycause they would not haue that worke to prosper, and *Seleucus* sate in his tente, tarrying for the houre, when the armie of themselues, on a suddayne, hauing tarried with silence for the houre that *Seleucus* appoynted, beganne the worke at the happie houre indeede, thinking some man had commaunded them, and wrought so vehemently, as no Proclamation coulde call them backe, tyll they hadde made an ende.

The vvonderful chaunce in building a Citie.

Seleucus being very sory, asked the Southsayers what

should

shoulde become of this Citie: they crauing pardon sayde: O king, the destinie that is appointed, be it good or badde, neyther man nor Cittie can auoyde. For there is a destinie of Cities, as well as of men. And this Citie shal be of moste long continuaunce by the appointment of God, being begon at this houre. We, fearing this building would haue bene a bridle to vs, went about to put by the destinie: but that is of greter force than eyther the subtiltie of the Southsayers, or the ignorance of the king: For god gaue the happy time to the army, and by that only, you may learne, and thinke we can not nowe deceiue you. For thou the king diddest set with thyne armye, and thy selfe diddest commaund they should tarry. And where they haue alwayes bin most obedient to thée in perils and paines, they could not now holde nor stay at thy commaundement, but went to it, not by partes, but altogither with their captaynes as they had bin commaunded, and they were commaunded in déed, for when thou commaundedst to the contrarye, they would not heare it: what is there then greater among men, than a king, but God, who is the ruler of thy will, and thy guide of this citie in steade of vs, and being offéded with vs, and al our nation here about, for how can our things stande, when a stronger generation riseth vpon vs? This citie shall be happy, mighty, and long continuing. Confirme thy pardon to vs, that haue erred for feare of the losse of our priuate goods. When the wisemē had sayd thus, *Seleucus* was glad and pardoned them. And this muche haue I learned of *Seleucia*. God guideth kinges.

Seleucus being aliue, made his sonne king of all the high landes. And although this may appeare a princely and royall acte, yet more princely and moderate was the taking of hys sonnes loue, and the tempering of the affection therof.

Antiochus loued *Stratonica* wife to *Seleucus* and mother in lawe to hym, and had borne a childe to *Seleucus*. *Antiochus* being ashamed of this straunge passion, neyther prosecuted so euill a thing, nor vttered it, but was sicke, pyning away, & gladly procured his own death.

The

The marueilous loue of *Antioch*?

The notable phisition *Erasistratus*, of counsell wyth *Seleucus* in moste waighty affaires, coulde not coniecture the disease, till he had perceyued that his body was sounde in all partes, then he iudged the disease to be of the minde, by the loue or affection of the whiche, the body is afflicted. Sorrow, anger, and care, be commonly discouered, but loue is kepte secreate in a modest mynde. Of the whiche, *Antiochus* woulde vtter nothing to hym, thoughe hee vsed all gentle meanes to learne it secretly. He sate by him and obserued all the mutations of hys bodye, howe they stode when any came in, and finding that at all other hys body was quiet and feeble in like sorte. But when *Stratonica* the Greate came in, to see him, his minde was vexed with shamefastnesse and conscience, and he then moste disquiet and silent, and his pulses of it selfe, more liuely and mouing, and when she was gone, feeble againe. The Phisition therefore tolde *Seleucus* that his sonne was sicke of an incurable disease.

The King asking howe, and crying out for griefe, he sayde, the sickneſſe was Loue, and the loue of a woman, but it was impossible to haue hir. *Seleucus* marueiling, that there shoulde bee anye, that hee, being King of *Asia*, could not persuade to marry with his sonne, either for fauour, for money and gifts, and for his whole Kingdome, which shoulde descend to the sicke prince, the whiche he woulde giue him presently, if any would preserue his healthe, and only praide him to tell him whose wife it was. Then saide *Erasistratus*, it is my wife that he loueth. Then *Seleucus* spake thus: O good *Erasistratus*, for the friendship and benefites that thou hast receyued of vs, for the rare wisedome and vertue that is in thee, wylte thou not saue a young man and a King, and the sonne of thy friend and a King, vnfortunate and temperate, hiding his euill, and more ready to dye? wilt thou so little passe of *Antiochus*? wilte thou so little regard *Seleucus*? He framing still hys matter, saide, It is a thing by reason, that cannot be auoyded, for though you be his father, you would not let him haue youre wife, if he loued hir.

A singular Phisition.

When *Seleucus* heard this, he sware by all the kingly Gods, that

that he woulde willingly and gladly let him haue hir, and be a noble example, of the loue of a good father to a sonne, sober, and continent in affliction, and vnworthy such aduersitie. Speaking many such things, he began to be greeued that he could not be a Philitian to the sicke man, but that he must haue neede of *Erasistratus* in the matter.

When he perceyued the king to be so earnest in deede, and not to dissemble, he declared the case, and shewed how he founde it out, for all his hiding of it. *Seleucus* being maruellous glad, had yet two things to do, the one to persuade his sonne, and the other to persuade his wife. When he had so done, he called the armie togither, which peraduenture had heard somewhat of the matter. He rehearsed vnto them the actes that he had done, and the great dominions that he had gotte aboue any of *Alexanders* successours, he sette out at length. And bycause it was to muche for an olde man to gouerne, I will (quoth he) diuide the greatnesse of it, for your better assurance in time to come, and I will giue part to them that I loue best. It is reason that all you do ioyne with me in all things, who haue bin encreased to so great rule and power vnder me, after *Alexander*. The chiefest things that I haue, and most worthy my kingdome, is myne eldest sonne and my wife. They shall not be long without children, being yong, and so shall you haue more stayes of this state. In your presence I ioyne thē togither in marriage, and I sende them to be kings into the vpper regions. And I institute, that not rather the custome of the *Persians*, or other nations, be a lawe among you, than a common law to you all, that it is euer iust, that is ordeyned among you by the king. Thus he sayde. The armye made acclamations, that he was the most noble king since *Alexander*, and the most worthy father.

A rare example of a princely fatherly loue to an afflicted modest sonne.

When *Seleucus* had said as muche to *Stratonica* and his sonne, he celebrated the matrimony, and sent them to their kingdoms, an acte more glorious and victorious, than all that euer he had done in the warres. He hadde vnder him threescore and twelue Princes, of so greate a Countrey was he king. Hauing gyuen the most part to his sonne, he kept only ȳ sea coast at *Euphrates*.

A most glorious acte.

The laſt warre that he hadde, was with *Lyſimachus* in *Phrygia*, nere *Helleſpont*, in the which he ouercame *Lyſimachus* that was killed in the fight. He paſſyng *Helleſpont* and going to *Lyſimachia* was killed. For *Ptolomie* following kylled him. He was called *Ceraunus*, the ſonne of *Ptolomeus Soteros*, and *Eurydices*, daughter to *Antipater*. He fledde oute of *Egipt* for feare, bycauſe he ſuſpected that *Ptolomie* woulde giue the kingdome to his yongeſt ſonne. And *Seleucus* receyued him and kept him, as the ſon of his friend, and ledde hym aboute with hym that ſhould kyll him.

The noble king *Seleucus*, is killed by treaſon, of *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, vvhom he kept from his fathers fury.

Thus dyed *Seleucus* at.lxxiij. yeares of his age, and.xlij. of his raigne. And I thinke the ſaying was meant of hym. Make no haſte to *Europe*, *Aſia* is better for thee: for *Lyſimachia* is in *Europe*, and this was the firſt time that he ſailed into *Europe* ſince he followed *Alexander* in the warre. They ſay that aſking once of his death, it was aunſwered by Oracle:

If thou auoydeſt *Argos*, thou ſhalte haue thy naturall age,
But if thou goeſt to *Argos*, thou ſhalt dye before thy time.

Argos.

Diomedes.

There is *Argos* in *Pelloponeſo*, and *Argos Amphilochion*, and *Argos* in *Oreſtiade*, of the which come the *Macedonians* called *Argeades*, the which *Diomedes* did build when he fled into *Ionia*. And whatſoeuer *Argos* was named in any place, he foughte for it, and toke hede of it. But when he went to *Lyſimachia* from *Helleſpont*, there was an Altare in his ſight greate and goodly, and when he vnderſtode the name was *Argos*, he didde aſke if the *Argonants* made it, when they ſayled into *Colchos*, or the *Achaians*, when they went to the battell of *Troy*, and, if therfore the inhabitants call the Altare *Argos*, or for that the ſhyppe was periſhed there, or for þ it was the Country of *Atrida*. And whiles he was aſking theſe queſtions, he was killed of *Ceraunus* comming behinde hym and diſpatchyng hym. *Philetærus* ruler of *Pergamo*, didde bying *Seleucus*, buying his bodye of *Ceraunus* for a great ſumme of money, and ſent the aſhes to hys ſonne *Antiochus*, who didde make a Sepulchre for him at *Seleucia* nere the Sea, with a temple and a Chappell, and named the Chappell

Ceraunus is a name giuen for boldnes and ſvviftneſſe of vvitte.

Philetærus bought the dead body of *Seleucus* to bury it.

Nicatorio.

Nicatorio. We learn that *Lysimachus* was one of *Alexanders* gard and on a tyme runnyng by him a greate whyle, as faste as he rode, being weary, he helde hys horse by the tayle, and ranne on, and being hurte in the foreheade with the ende of the Kinges speare, and bleeding, the King, for lacke of other cloth stopped the wounde wyth his Crowne, whereby the Crowne was full of bloude: and that *Aristander*, that was *Alexanders* prophete, seeyng thys chaunce of *Lysimachus*, saide, he should be a King, but he shoulde raigne with great difficultie. Token of *Lysimachus* raigne. *Aristander* southsayer.

He raigned.xl. yeres, with them that he was a ruler, and raigned with great paines: and being.lxx. years of age, fought a field and was slaine, *Seleucus* that killed him, liuing not long after him. His body lying on the grounde, a dog of hys kepte a long time, defending it safe from foules and beastes, till *Thorax* of *Pharsalie* found it and buryed it. Some saye that *Alexander* his son, did bury it, fleeing for fear to *Seleucus*, bicause *Lysimachus* had killed *Agathocles* an other son of his, lõg seeking his body ỹ was kept of the dog, & finding it putrified. His bones were buryed in a Temple of *Lysimachia*, & called it the temple of *Lysimachus*. This ende had either of these Princes, moste valiaunt of minde, and bigge of bodye, the one beeyng.lxx. yeares of age, and the other three more, fighting with their own handes to the death. When *Seleucus* was deade, his children succeded him in the Kyngdome of *Syria*, after this sorte. First this *Antiochus* that loued his mother in lawe, who was called *Soter*, driuing awaye the *Galatians* that came out of *Europa* into *Asia*, the secõd, another *Antiochus*, gotten in this mariage, whome the *Milesians* called first a God, bycause he killed *Timarchus* their Tyranne. But this God hys wife killed with a potiõ. He had two wiues, *Laodice*, and *Berenice*, being despoused for loue, both the daughters of *Ptolomie Philadelphos*. *Laodice* killed him, and after him *Berenice* and hir childe. And *Ptolomeus* the son of *Philadelphus* in reuenge, killed *Laodice*, inuaded *Syria*, and toke *Babilon*. And the *Parthians* didde begynne to reuolte from the Kingdome subiecte to the *Seleucidans*, bycause it beganne to be molested. After hym that was called God, reigned *Seleucus* his sonne by *Laodice*, named *Callinicus*. Thorax. The faythfulnes of a dogge. Two noble princes. The succession of *Seleucus*. *Antiochus Soter* that is sauiour. *Antiochus Deus*. *Laodice*. *Berenice*.

After *Seleucus*, two children of *Seleucus* murder, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*. *Seleucus* being weake and feeble, and hauing a disobedient armie, was poysoned of his friendes, after he had raigned two yeares. Then *Antiochus* the Great, of whom I haue written, who was ouercome of the Romanes. He raigned xxxvij. yeares. Of him and his children I haue spoken before, both being kings, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, *Seleucus* twelue yeares weak and doyng nothing for his fathers misfortune: *Antiochus* not fully two yeares, in the whiche he ouerthrewe *Artaxia* of *Armenia*, and inuaded *Egipt* againste *Ptolomie* the fyrte, who, with his brother, were left *Orphanes*. And whiles he was in camp at *Alexandria*, *Popilius* the Romane Ambassadoure came, bringing a decree, in the whyche was written, that *Antiochus* shoulde not make warre vpon the *Ptolomies*, whiche when he vnderstoode, he saide he woulde take deliberation. Then *Popilius* made a circle with a rodde, and saide: In this take thee aduisement. He being afraide, brake vp his camp, and spoyled the Temple of *Venus* of *Elymaa*, after the which he died of a consumption, leauing a sonne of nine years of age, *Antiochus Eupator*, of whom I haue spoken, and of *Demetrius* his successoure, who being pledge at *Rome*, fledde and was King, and called also *Sotor* of the *Syrians*, the second after *Seleucus Nicators* son. *Alexander* counterfaiting hymselfe to be of the house of *Seleucides*, rose against him, whom *Ptolomeus* King of *Egipt* maintained for hate of *Demetrius*. And *Demetrius* losing his kingdome by *Ptolomie*, died, but *Demetrius*, sonne to hym that was called *Sotor*, expelled *Alexander*, & bicause he did ouercome a baskarde by birth, he was called *Nicator* of the *Syrians*, the second after *Seleucus*. He also, after *Seleucus*, made warre vppon the *Parthians*, where being captiue, he liued with *Phraarta* the King, whose sister *Radogine*, he marryed. For want of a king *Diodotus* a seruaunt of the kings, brought in *Alexander*, sonne to *Alexander* the baskard, & *Ptolomies* sister, & made him king, then he killed the childe, & raigned himself, changing his name into *Tryphon*. But *Antiochus*, brother to *Demetrius* the captiue, hearing of his captiuitie at the *Rhodes*, with muche ado killed *Tryphon*, after he was come into the Countrey. Then

Seleucus Calinicus.

Seleucus Antiochus Magnus.

Artaxia king.

The Senate of *Popilius*.

Elymaa at the coast of *Eupater*.

Alexander the counterfaite getteth the kingdom of *Syria*, *Nicator*.

Diodotus bringeth in the bastards son *Ryhon*

he made war againſte *Phraartes*, requiring his brother, *Phraartes* was afraide of him, and deliuered *Demetrius*. *Antiochus* neuertheleſſe fighting with the *Parthians*, was ouercome, & killed himſelfe. And when *Demetrius* was returned to his kingdome, *Cleopatra* his wife killed him, for ielouſie of his other wife *Radogine*, for the whiche cauſe he was marryed to *Antiochus Demetrius* brother. Shee had two children by *Demetrius*, *Seleuchus* and *Antiochus* called *Grypus*: by *Antiochus*, ſhe had *Antiochus* called *Cizicenus*. Shee ſent *Grypus* to *Athens*, *Cyzicenus* to *Cyzico*, to be brought vp. *Seleucus*, ỹ ſucceded after his father, ſhe killed with an arrow, either fearing ỹ reuengement of his father, or ỹ ſhe vſed a furious hate in al things. After *Seleucus*, *Gripus* was king, who cauſed his mother to drinke ỹ poyſon that ſhe had prepared for him. Thus was ſhe puniſhed. *Gripus* was a fit ſon for ſuch a mother, for he laide waite for *Cizicene*, though they were both of one mother, which, when he perceiued, he fought with him, & droue hym out of his kingdom, & raigned in his ſtede in *Syria*. But him did *Seleucus* ỹ ſon of *Grypus* ouerthrow, though he was his vncle, & bicauſe he was a very cruel tyran, he was burned in a ſchoolehouſe at *Mopſueſtia*, *Cilicia*. *Antiochus*, ſō of *Cyzicenus* ſucceded him, who ỹ *Syrians* thinke eſcaped the traines of his couſin *Seleucus*, for his goodneſſe, therfore they call him the God. But his woman ſauued him, being in loue with his perſon. Yet I thinke the *Syrians* gaue him this name in deriſiō. For this *Euſebes* maried *Selene*, ỹ was firſt his fathers wife, & then *Gripus* his vncles wife. Therfore by the wil of God, he was expulſed his realme by *Tigranes*, who ſent his ſon ỹ he had by *Selene*, to be brought vp in *Aſia*, and therfore was called *Aſiaticus*, whom *Pompey* put from ỹ kingdom of *Syria*, as we haue ſaid, being ỹ .xviij. K. of *Syria* of the houſe of *Seleucus*. For I leaue out *Alexander*, & *Alexanders* ſon as baſtards, & their ſeruāt *Diodotus*, raigning but one yere, whiles Pōpey was about other buſines. The rule of *Seleucus* race cōtinued 270. yeres. And if a man loke from *Alexander* to the Romaynes time, he muſte adde to theſe 270. yeares. 14. of *Tigranes*.

Antiochus killeth him ſelfe. *Demetrius* is killed of his wife. *Seleucus* is killed of his mother.

Grypus killed his mother to ſaue himſelfe. *Cyzicenus* driueth out *Grypus*. *Seleucus* driueth out *Cyzicenus*. *Mopſus* is a free Citie in *Cilicia* vvhich *Strabo* calleth *Mopſueſtia Euſebes* good or deuoutfull.

Pompey taketh the kingdome of *Syria*.

This I thought good to write of the *Macedonians*, ruling in *Syria*, as in a treatiſe by the way.

The ende of the Romanes vvarre vvith *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*.

¶ The Romaines warres with the Carthaginenſes: by Appian of Alexandria.



THe *Phœnitians* did builde *Carthage* in *Libya*, fiftie yeres after the taking of *Troy*, the builders of it, *Xorus* and *Carchedon*. But as the Romanes and ỹ *Carthaginẽs* themſelues think, *Dido* a woman of *Tyria*, whoſe huſbãd *Pygmaleon* a Tiran of *Tirus* had killed, and kept the act ſecret. She knowing it by a viſion, uedde with a greate deale of money, and as manye as hated the Tirannie of *Pigmaleon*, and ſayled to *Libya*, where nowe is *Carthage*, and beeyng driuen away by the *Libyans*, they deſired ſo muche place to inhabite, as they coulde compaſſe with the hyde of a Bull. A laughter was made of this trifling ſpeeche of the *Phœnitians*, who were aſhamed to denye ſo little a matter: but chiefly they marueiled howe a Cittie could be made in ſo little a ſpace, and being deſirous to ſee the ſubtiltie, by oth they promiſed to giue it. They cut the hide into one thinne thong, and compaſſed that part, where now the caſtle of *Carthage* is: and of this it was called *Birſa*. In time rouing from thence, and fighting with their neyghbours, for whom they were to good, and by the vſe of their ſhippes, keping the ſea after the *Phœnitian* manner, they buylded the Cittie that is without *Birſa*, and waxed ſo mightie, as they were Lordes of *Libya*, and a great parte of the ſea. Then they made warres in farre Countries, in *Sicelie* and *Sardinia*, and other Iles, that be in the ſea, and in *Spaine*. They ſent out many inhabitations, and had a dominion in power comparable to the *Grecians*, and in riches to the *Parthians* 700. yeares after the beginning, the Romanes toke from them *Sicelie* & *Sardinia*, and in the ſeconde war *Spaine* alſo. Thus they inuading one another with great armies, they by the conduct of *Annibal*, xvj. yeares togither walked *Italie*, the other *Cornelius Scipio* the elder being Captaine, afflicted *Libya*, til they toke from *Carthage*, rule, nauie, and Elephãts, and apointed them to paye mony by daies. Then the ſecond peace being made betwen the *Romanes* & them, continued .50. yeres, til being broken, they made the third & laſt war betwen thẽ. In ỹ which

The proper name of *Dido*, was *Eliſa* who killed hirſelfe rather than ſhe would mary with a *Barbarian* king

Tyrus is nowe called *Porta di Suor*. It was an Iland. *Alexander* ioyned it to the land.

Pygmaleon ſon to *Belus* g kin of *Tyrus*, killed *Syche as* his ſiſters huſband.

Byrſa is an hyde or a skinne.

Phœnitia is in *Syria* nexte the *Iewes*. Inuentrice of letters and nauigation, theyr two chief cities were *Tyrus* and *Sydon*.

whiche, the *Romanes* ouerthrewe *Carthage*, *Scipio* the ponger being Generall, & determined it shoulde neuer be inhabited. Yet they sent an habitation thither of their owne people, verye nighe the former place, to be a fitte defence againste *Libya*. The matters of *Sicelie*, be tolde in that Treatise: The doings of *Spaine*, in the *Spanishe* Historie: And what *Annibal* did, when he inuaded *Italie* in the warr of *Annibal*. This booke doth comprehend all that was done in *Libya* from the beginning. The *Romanes* entred this warr, after that of *Sicelie*, & with.v.C.& xxx. ships, sayled into *Libya*, and toke many cities, & left *Attilius Regulus* with a power, Generall there, who toke.ij.C. cities more, whiche being wearye of *Carthage*, yelded to him, & he went on, & wasted their land. The *Carthagineans* sent to the *Lacedemonians* for a Captaine, thinking that they were ouercome for lacke of a good leader, they sente *Zantippus* vnto them. *Attilius* encamped at a Fen & in the hote tyme, went about the Fen against his enimies, laden with heauy harnesse, and vexed with thirst, heate, and hardnesse of way, & beaten with the shot from the high places. When it was almoste night, he drewe nigh & a floude did diuide them, therefore he passed the floud, that so he might affray *Zantippus*. But he hauing set his army in order, brought it forth of his cãp, thynking to ouermatch them that were hote & weary, & that the night should help his victorie: and he was not decepued of this hope, for of.xxx.M. men which *Attilius* led, a few hardly escaped to the citie of *Aspis*, the rest were al slaine or taken, & with them *Attilius* the General & Consull was captiue. The *Carthaginians* being weary, sent hym not long after, with their Ambassadors to *Rome*, to worke their peace, or to returne, & he, in secret, with the best of the *Romanes*, persuaded them to continue the warr ernestly, & returned willingly to the sea. The *Carthaginians* put him in a Caue beset with yron pricks, & killed him. This felicitie of *Zantippus*, brought his owne calamitie. For the *Carthaginians*, pretending to send him home honorably with manye giftes to *Lacedemonia*, in certaine galleys, commaunded the Captaines to drowne him and them that sayled with hym. This reward hadde he for his well doyng. And these were the good and euil happes that the *Romanes* had

The Greeke vvord is ἐπάρατον, vvhich signifieth accursed or a place that may not be inhabited

The habitation vvas ledde by *C. Gracchus* and *Flaccus*, vvhen the citie vvas troubled for the lavv of landes but not then allovved.

The *Carthagies* send to *Lacedemonia* for a Captaine.

Santippus is sent frõ *Laccdemonia*.

Aspis or *Clupea* of the likeneise of a buckler, is a Citie in *Affrica* in the promontorie of *Mercurie*.

Regulus diffuaded th peace in *Rome*, and is tormented to death at *Carthage*.

The ingratitude of the *Carthaginians* towarde *Santippus*.

had in the first war in *Libya*, til the *Carthaginias* gaue place to the
After 24. yeares warr, the Carthagias were driue out of Sicelie C. Luctatus Catullus being Consul.
in *Sicelie*: and how they gaue place, it is declared in the warre of *Sicelie*, after the whiche there was peace betweene Rome and *Carthage*.

The *Libyans* that were vnder *Carthage* and serued them in *Sicelie*, and the French, that were hyred, had a quarell againste the *Carthaginians*, for with-holding their wages, and made them sharpe warre. They of *Carthage* sente for helpe to Rome, as to their frendes. The Romaines onely graunted them to gather men of *Italy* for this warre. For this also was doubtfull in the capitulations: and they sent some to pacifye the matter, whom the *Libyans* would not heare, but woulde make their Cities subiect to the Romaines if they would, but they did not accept the.
The Carthagies kill the Romaine merchãts.
The *Carthaginians* with a great nauy molested their Cities, and kept victuals from them by sea, and being in want also by lande, as is wont in warre, the *Libyans* were ouercome, and the merchauntes that passed, were spoyled of the needy sorte: and such of the Romanes, as they killed, they threw ouer bourde, that it shold not be seene: and it was not knowen a great while: and when it was knowen, denying to make recompence, warre was decreed against them by the Romanes, in the whiche they gaue *Sardinia* for a payne, and it was written in the former conditions. Not long after the *Carthaginians* inuaded Spain, and gote it by little and little, till the *Saguntines*, fleeing the Romaines, the limites of *Carthage* in *Spaine*, was not passe the floude *Hiberus*. These agreements the *Carthaginenses* brake, and went beyonde,
Iberus nowe *Ibrois* a floud in *Spaine* that diuideth *Aragon*.
Annibal being their Capitayne, leauyng *Iberia* to be kept by other Captaines, he went into *Italie*.

The Romaines Captaines in *Iberia*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Cornelius Scipio*, being brethren, and hauing done many noble actes, were both slaine of the enimies, and the Captaines after them did but euill, till *Scipio*, the sonne of *Publius Scipio* that was slaine in *Iberia*, sayled thither, and putting an opinion in all men, that he went in gods name, and vsed a diuine counsel in all his doynges, he had a glorious victorie, and being therfore of great renoume, bedelyuered his army to them that were sent to be his
An opinion of diuine inspiratiõ in Scipio.
sue-

succellours, and went to Rome: he obtayned an army to be sent into *Libya*, to driue *Annibal* out of *Italie*, and to plague the *Carthaginians* in their own countrey. Some of the rulers of the citie, spake against it, that bicause *Italy* was troubled vō so gret war, *Annibal* yet walking of it, & *Mago* in ỳ sides of it, hyring strāge souldiers in *Liguria* & *France*, it was not good to make war vpon *Libya*, nor to inuade another Country, til the present hurt were healed at home. Some thought that the *Carthaginians*, whyche now without feare, did ouerrunne *Italie*: bycause they were not vexed at home, if warre were made vppon them, woulde sende for *Annibal*. Thus it was obtained to sende *Scipio* into *Libya*, not suffering him to gather men in *Italy*, being yet wasted by *Annibal*, but graunting him to leade such, as would willingly goe with hym, and to vse them that were yet in *Sicelie*, gyuing him leaue to prepare tenne gallies, and to make supply for thē, and to take them that were in *Sicelie*. Money they gaue him none, except any man for friendshippe would contribute vnto him. So slenderly began they this warre at the first, which after redounded to their great honour. Thus *Scipio*, inflamed as from God, against *Carthage*, and gathering. vij. thousand horse and fotemen at the most, sayled into *Sicelie*, hauing with hym for his guarde three hundred chosen yong striplings, whom hē commaunded to folow without armoure. He appointed three hundred of the wealthy *Sicilians*, to come at a day assigned, furnished with as good armour and horse as they coulde. When they were come, he graunted them, if they would, to giue other to serue in their place: wherewith being all content, he brought forth the three hundred that were vnarmed, and willed them to chaunge with them; they willinglye deliuered both horse and harnesse: & so *Scipio* had 300. *Italians*, for as many *Sicilians*, very well furnished with goodly horse and armoure, who gaue him great thanks, and he had thē continually most ready in seruice.

Contention in the Senate for *Scipio* going to *Carthage*.

The slender setting forth of *Scipio* to so great a warre.

The pollicie of *Scipio* to arme 300 *Italians*.

The *Carthaginians* hearing this, sent *Asdrubal Giscanes* son, to hunt for Elephants, and sent to *Mago*, that made men in *Liguria*, fiue thousande fotemen, eight hundred horse, and seauen Elephāts, commaunding him with as many more as he could,

Liguria is that part of *Italie* which now beareth to the *Genowais*.

to scoure the *Tuscane* sea, and to kepe *Scipio* frō *Libya*. *Mago* made no hast, bicause he could not ioyne with *Annibal* being so farre of, & also for that he euer foresaw the end. *Asdrubal* cōming frō the hunting, gathered of the *Carthaginians* and *Libyans* sixthousand footemen of either sort, 600. horse, and he bought 500. slaues, to row in the gallies, and 2000. horsemen of the *Numidians*, and hyred strangers, and trayned them all, 200. furlongs from *Carthage*. The Princes that were in *Libya*, were of seuerall dominions, of al the which, *Syphax* was of greatest honour with al men. *Massiniſa* also the sonne of a noble king of high bloud of *Massulia*, was nourished and brought vp in *Carthage*, of goodly body & good behauiour. *Asdrubal Giſgo*, inferiour to none in *Carthage*, had disponsed him to his daughter, though she were of *Carthage* and he a *Numidian*: when he had ensured them, he carryed the yong man with him into *Spaine*, where he was Captaine. Now *Syphax* that was in loue with the mayde, inuaded the *Carthaginians*, and made league with *Scipio*, comming from *Spaine* to inuade *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* hearing of it, and thinking it a great furtherance to the Romanes war, to haue *Syphax* ayde, they gaue the Virgin to him, vnknowen to *Asdrubal* & *Massiniſſa*, being in *Spain*. *Massiniſſa* disdayning at this, did also confeder with *Scipio* in *Spaine*, keping it secret, as he thoughte from *Asdrubal*. Who vnderstanding of it, was grieued at the iniury that was made to his daughter and the yong man, yet thought it beste for his Countrey, to dispatche *Massiniſſa*, and where he should go into *Libya* from *Iberia* after the death, of his father, he sent some to conduct him, commaunding, as secretely as they coulde, to kil *Massiniſſa*. He perceyuing it, fledde, and gotte hys fathers kingdome, and gathered horsemen with continuall exercise day and night, vsing them so much shot on horsebacke, to giue onset and retire, and to charge againe, all their fight consisting in flying and chasing. And hauing gathered twentye thousande of them, he ledde them to huntings or prayes of other nations, by the which he thought to make them endure payne and labour. For the *Numidians* can abide hunger, and vse herbes in steade of corne, and drinke water altogither. Their horse

Massiniſſa is made sure to Sophonisba.

Syphax in loue with Sophonisba maketh warre vpon the Carthaginians and allieth with Scipio.

Massiniſſa allieth with Scipio.

Sophonisba is giuē to Syphax.

Massiniſſa escapeth traynes.

Massiniſſa trayneth his men.

The hardnes of the Numidians.

neuer

neuer taſte barley, but alwayes eate graſſe, and drinke but ſeldome.

The *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*, thinking this exercise that this yong man made, was againſt them, for they were not ignorante wherein they had offended him, determined firſte to make warre, and ouercome him, and then to mete with the Romanes. *Syphax* & the *Carthaginias* were many moe, with chariots and cariage for aboundaunce. *Maſsiniſſa* would himſelfe begin the labour, hauing only horſemen, no cariage nor forrage, that he might the more eaſily flie and turne again vpon his enimies and retire to ſtrong places, and being many times circumuented, diuided his armie, that they might the better flee by partes, he hiding himſelfe with a fewe, till they might come to him by night or day, as was appointed. He being the thyrde man, dyd once lye hidde in a caue, the enimies camping about it. He neuer ſtayd in campe, but euer led his army, to be vnknowen wher he was, ſo as the enimies coulde not come to hands with him, but only kepe him backe, when he came to them. His fode was euery day, what he could get at night, were it in field, town or Citie, catching and ſpoyling euery thing, and diuiding it to hys companions. Wherefore many *Numidians* came vnto him, no wagies being appointed, but to take the gayn, that was much better. Thus did *Maſsiniſſa* warre with the *Carthaginians*. Whē *Scipio* had made all thing ready in *Sicilia*, he ſacrificed to *Iupiter* & *Neptune*, & came toward *Libya* with .52. long ſhips 400. ſhips of burden, and many pineſſes and foyſts folowed. He led an army of fiftene thouſand footemen, a thouſand fiue hundred horſeme, he caried alſo much armour and munition, and much victuall, and ſayled on. The *Carthaginians* and *Syphax* hearing of it, vſed policy to deceyue *Maſsiniſſa*, and to draw him to ſocietie, till they had ouercome *Scipio*. He not being ignorant of their deceites, layde the like for them, & cōmunicated al with *Scipio*, & as he had bin reconciled, came to *Aſdrubal* with his horſemen. And being all two campe not farre aſunder at the Citie of *Vtica*, but on the whiche, *Scipio* being brought by the waues, did encampe there

Vtica vvas the fayreſt citie in *Affrica* next *Carthage*, thirtie miles of, in the vvhich *Cato* killed himſelfe vvhen *Cæſar* folovved him.

The manner of *Maſsiniſſa* in the vvarre.

Asdrubals campe was not much from him, hauing twenty thousand footemen. vij. thousande horsemen, and a hundred sirtie Elephantes. *Syphax* eyther afrayde, or being distrusted of bothy zetending his kingdom in diuerse parts to be molested of his neyghbours, went to his countrey. *Scipio* sente to skirmish with *Asdrubal*, and toke some of his Cities. In the night *Massiniſſa* came secretly to *Scipios* campe, and gining him his hande, wished him the next day to send v. M. to lye close at a place. xxx. furlongs from *Vtica*, where is a tower, that *Agathocles* Tiran of *Syracuſa* did make, and by day he perſwaded *Asdrubal*, to send *Hanno* the Cappytaine of his horsemen, to espie the number of the enimies, and to ride to *Vtica*, that they made no mutation when the enemie should be at hand, and he, if he would so commaund, would follow. *Hanno* toke a thousand choyse horsemen of *Carthage*, and a number of *Lybians*: and *Maßiniſſa* led his *Numidians*. When they were come to the tower, and *Hanno* roade towarde *Vtica* with a fewe: part of the ambushe appeared, and *Maßiniſſa* then commaunded him that hadde the charge of the *Carthaginian* horsemen, to set vpon them being but fewe, and he followed straight as to helpe them. The *Libyans* being in the middeſt, and still more of the traynes appearing, they were all killed on both sides, of the Romaines, and *Maßiniſſa*, except iiij. C. which were taken prisoners. When this was don, *Maßiniſſa* went to *Hanno* as his friend, and toke him, and brought him to *Scipio*, and chaunged him for his mother, that was with *Asdrubal*. *Scipio* and *Maßiniſſa* spoyled the lande, and deliuered the Romaines that were bound, and dygged the fields, being sente of *Annibal*, from *Iberia* and *Sicilia*, and from *Italie* it selfe. They besieging a greate Citie called *Locha*, & had muche trouble at it, when the assault shold be giuen, the *Lochaians* signifying to yelde vpon conditions *Scipio* called the retire. The souldiours for anger of the businesse they hadde about it, would not heare it, but mounting the wals, killed women and children. *Scipio* let them go safe that were left, and toke the spoyle from the souldiours, & the Captaines that had offended, he toke by lot out of all, and thē he punished with death, and this done, wasted the country.

Syphax goeth from the campe

Agathocles was Tiranne of *Syracuſa* and builded this towre when he made warr against the *Carthagies*.

Scipio getteth a day by the policie of *Maſſiniſſa*.

Maſſiniſſa taketh *Hanno* and claymeth him for his mother.

Locha is spoyled by souldiours furie.

Asdrubal

Asdruball had traines for them, sending *Mago* with the horse before, hee following behinde with the rest. The *Romanes* beeyng in the middest, diuided themselues, and eyther of them giuing charge vppon the other, they killed fiue thousand *Numidians*, and toke a thousand eight hundred prisoners, the reste they drouc to the ground headlong. A second victorye of Scipio.

Nowe *Scipio* besieged *Vtica* both by sea and land, and sette a Tower vppon two gallies, from the which he threwe dartes of three cubits, and great stones vpon the enmimies. Muche did he anoy them, and was muche annoyed himselfe: hys ships beeyng crushed, he made greate trenches, and beat the walles with hys rammes, and pulled with his hookes al the hydes and lether couertes that they hadde vpon the walles. They within vndermined the rampires, and caught the hookes with strings, and brake the force of the rammes, casting beames against the breastes of them, and sallied oute againste the engines with fire, when the winde bare the force to them. Wherefore *Scipio* despayring so to get the Citie, determined to win it by long siege. The siege of *Vtica*. These hookes were like tines to pul the stones out of the wall.

When *Syphax* heard of this, he came with his army, and lodged not farre from *Asdruball*, dissemblyng to be friend to both, and delaying the warre of purpose, till the other ships that were come, were arriued at *Carthage*, and the hyred Souldiers of *Liguria* and *Lumbardie* were come also, and practised a peace, thinking it fitte, neyther that the *Romanes* should warre vpon *Libya*, nor the *Carthaginians* vppon *Italie*. That the *Romanes* should haue *Sicilie*, *Sardinia*, and the other Ilands, and *Iberia*. And them that did consent hereto, he would helpe, and be against them that did not. He practised also to winne *Massinissa* vnto him, offering, to confirme him in the Kingdome of *Massilia*, and of his three sisters, to giue him whiche he woulde in marryage. He that was the messenger, carryed golde with him, that if he coulde not perswade hym, he shoulde gyue it to one of hys seruauntes, that woulde promise to kyll him: When *Massinissa* had refused these offers, the messenger gaue the golde to one to kyll him. He that toke it, shewed it to *Massinissa*, and bewrayed the gyuer. *Syphax*, thinking he could not any longer delay, openlye ayded *Syphax* cõmeth againe to the field. *Siphax* dealeth for peace. The practise of *Syphax*. A practise to kil *Massinissa*.

the *Carthaginians*. He toke a citie in the vpland called *Tholunta*, hauing the *Romanes* munition and victualles by treason, and killed the keepers of it, because they woulde not go awaye vppon truste, and he sent more great aide of the *Numidians*.

Syphax taketh *Tholunta*, in the whiche vvas the Romaynes prouision.

Nowe were the *Merceanrie* souldiors come, and the Shippes wel appointed, when they agreed of the battel that *Syphax* should set vpon them that were at the siege, that *Asdrubal* should force *Scipio* his campe, and Shippes shoulde fight wyth shyppes, and all at once the nexte daye, that the *Romanes*, because they were so fewe, shoulde not be able to resiste. At night *Massinissa* vnderstanding of it by certaine *Numidians*, tolde it *Scipio*. He being in doubt and afrayde, least, if his armye were muche diuided, it shoulde be too weake in all pointes, he called the Captaines that night to a counsell, and when he sawe them in some doubte, he saide:

The determination of the enimie againste the *Romanes*.

Massinissa saueth the *Romanes* frō a greate danger.

The oration of *Scipio*, touching the sodaine assalting of the enimye.

'Boldenesse and spéede, (O friendes) and fight of desperation, nowe beseemeth vs. Let vs go and set vpon our enimyes. What we shall winne thereby, now learne. Our sodayne comming vpon them, shal amaze them, and the strangenesse of the feate, that a fewe woulde aduenture vppon so many. We shall not diuide oure army into manye partes, but vse it all togither. For wee shall not set it againste all the enimyes, but againste the firste that wee shall chose. They are lodged seuerallye, and we shal be equall to everye parte of them. Let vs onely preuent them with boldenesse and good lucke, and if God graunte vs to ouercome the firste, we shall contemne the reste. But who be first to be set vpon, and what time and manner of our assault we shall take, if you thinke good, I will tel you mine opinion. When they all agreed to him: The time is (said he) to do the matter, as soone as we go from this meeting, beyng yet nighte, by the whiche, the thyng wyll be the more fearefull, and they the lesse prepared, and none of their confederates able to helpe them in the darke. Let vs preuent their purpose in inuading vs to morowe all at once. And where they bee three Campes, their Shyppes are farre off, and it is no fighte wyth Shyps by night. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* be not farre asunder. *Asdrubal* is the

heade of the warre. *Syphax* shall dare do nothing in the nighte, a man barbarous, full of daintinesse and feare. Then let vs go againste *Asdruball* with all oure armye. We shall appoint *Masfinissa* to lye in wayte for *Syphax*, if he hap to come forth, contrarye to oure opinion. Let vs goe a foote to *Asdrubals* campe, and assaulte it round about, wyth good hope and lusty courage: This for the preſent, is moſt fit for the horſemen, for we cannot vſe thē in the night: I wil place them farre off, to compaſſe the Camp of our enimies, that if wee be driuen backe, they may receyue vs, and we flee to oure friends, and if we do ouercome them, they may chaſe and deſtroy them.

Hauing thus ſaide, he ſent away the Captaines to arme the hoſte, and he ſacrificed to Boldeneſſe, and Feare, and that no ſodaine feare without cauſe ſhoulde happe, but his armye continue bolde. The reſt of the thirde watche, was ſignified wyth the Trumpet, and with a maruellous deepe ſilence, ſo greate an armye went, till the horſemen had compaſſed the enimies. The fotemen went to their Trench. Then a broken ſhowte being made, and manye ſoundes of trumpes and hornes to make the more terror, they droue the watche from their place, they toke the Trench, and pulled down the rampire. Some of the boldeſt ranne in, and ſet the Tents afyre. The *Libyans* beyng waked of their ſleepe with terror, and running out of order, to their order, and taking their armor, and not obeying the commaundements for the confuſion, neither the Generall himſelfe certainly knowing what was done, the Romanes toke them that leapte oute, and were arming themſelues in great turmoile, they ſet manye Tents on fyre, & killed ſome of them as they came, and ſome being made afrayd with the crye of the enimie, and with the fight and moſte fearefull buſineſſe, being in the nyghte, and ignorant of the euill indeede, thinkyng the Campe hadde béene taken, and fearyng the fyre of the burnyng Tentes, leapt of themſelues from them, and went into the fielde, as into a more ſure place, where as they came by partes, they were miſerably killed, and as they fell into the Romaine horſemen that had compaſſed al, they were diſpatched.

This feare is ΠΑΝΙΟΝ ſuch as cōmeth of a cauſe vnknowen, and can not be ſtaied, as *Iuſtine* put among the *Titanes*.

Feare in the *Carthagies* campe.

Syphax

An other victorye of the Romanes.

Syphax hearing this crye in the nighte, and seeyng the fire, came not forth, but sent certaine horsemen to helpe *Asdrubal*. Uppon whom *Massinissa* came sodainely, and killed out of hand. When daye was come, and *Syphax* hadde learned that *Asdrubal* was gone, and that part of his army was destroyed, and part taken of the ennimye, and some dispersed, and that the *Romanes* had his campe with all the munition, he departed and fledde to the midde land for feare, leauing all behinde hym, thinking that after this ouerthrowe of the *Carthaginians*, *Scipio* would followe him: so his Campe and all the furniture *Massinissa* toke. Thus the Romanes, in a little part of one night did take two campes, and ouerthrew two armies greater than themselues. There died of the Romanes aboute an hundred, and of the enimies, little lesse than thirty thousand: and of prisoners, two thousande fiue hundred were taken, and fiue hundred horsemen yelded to *Scipio* as he retourned. The Elephants, some were wounded, and some were killed. *Scipio*, of the golde, siluer, armoure, and much ryche, and horses, as wel of the *Numidians* as other whiche hee hadde gote, and by one victorie moste noble, casting the *Carthaginians* on their knees, gaue gifts to the souldioures, and sent the moste precious thinges to *Rome*, and exercised hys souldioures chearefullye, thinkyng that *Annibal* woulde shortelye come oute of *Italie*, and *Mago* from *Liguria*. And thys dydde *Scipio*.

Syphax fleeth.

Scipio rewardeth hys souldioures.

Asdrubal the Generall of the *Carthaginians* in the fighte by night, being hurte, fled to *Anea* with fyue hundred horsemen, where he gathered some of the hyred souldioures that were escaped from the fight, and the *Numidians*, and called bondmen to libertye. And when he heard the *Carthaginians* had determined his deathe, as an euill Generall, and had chosen *Hanno*, *Bomilchares* sonne, in his place, he made an armye of hys owne, and receyued all malefactours, and ledde them where he mighte haue relefe, and trayned them, hauing three thousande horse, and eight thousand footemen, as hauing his truste onely in fight. In doing this, he kepte it long hid from both from the Romanes and *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* led his army to the walles of *Carthage*, and boldlye

Asdrubal fleeth and is condemned, and ryseth againste hys Countrey.

Anea.

called

called them to fight, but none came forth.

Amilchar Admirall of *Carthage*, with an hundred shippes came vppon the nauy of *Scipio*, thinking to destroye it in his absence, hoping easily to take twenty gallies with an hundred.

When *Scipio* sawe him vnder saple, he sent to shut the mouth of the Porte, and that the greate Shippes shoulde lye at anker with a distaunce one from another, that the gallies might come by them, as out of a gate, when neede shoulde require, and that they shoulde fasten and tye the ships togither with their saple yardes, that they might be as a wall: and he came to them and furthered their worke.

Scipio saueth the *Romane* shippes.

The *Carthaginians* were receyued both by sea and lande, and from the wall with shot and artillerie, their shippes were brused, and other being weary, went away at night. And when they were going, the *Romane* galleis wente out of the spaces, as was appointed, and sette vpon them, and when they were to weake, they retired, one they toke boyde of men, and broughte hir to *Scipio*. Then they went both to their wintring harbours. The *Romanes* had plenty from the sea: the *Vticenses* and *Carthaginians* being in want, robbed the Merchantes, till other *Romane* shippes were sent to *Scipio*, whiche, in set places, kepte the ennimie from robbing. They were more and more in hunger. Toward the end of Winter, *Syphax* being neare, *Maßiniſſa* desired the thirde part of the *Romanes* armye to be ioyned to hys, the which he receiued, and by the leading of *Lelius*, pursued *Syphax*, he fleeyng till hee came to a floude, and there stayed to fight.

Maſſiniſſa and the *Romanes* against *Syphax*.

The *Numidians* (as their manner is) made shotte very thick one againste an other. The Romanes being couered with theyr shieldes, went to the fight. *Syphax* came with fury vppon *Maßiniſſa*, who went cheerefully againſt him, and the fight being greate betweene them, *Syphax* men fleeing, he passed the floude, whose horse being hurte, ouerthrewe his Maister. Then *Maßiniſſa* ran vpon hym, and toke him, and one of his sonnes, and sente them straight to *Scipio*. There were slaine ten thousand of *Syphax* side: of the *Romanes*. lxvv. of *Maßiniſſa* three hundred: of *Syphax* foure thousand were taken prisoners, whereof two thousand fiue hun-

The fighte betweene twoo Kings, *Syphax* and *Maſſiniſſa*.

Maſſiniſſa taketh *Syphax*.

dzed were *Massulians*, whiche fled from *Massinissa* to *Syphax*. *Massinissa* desired them of *Lelio*, whom, when he had receyued, hee killed. Then they ouerranne the *Massulians* and the land of *Syphax*, parte wherof they appointed to *Massinissa*, parte they receyned by submission, and the disobedient sorte they destroyed. There came Ambassadoures to them from *Cyrtij*, to deliuer the Palaice of *Syphax* to them. And some came priuately to *Massinissa*, from *Sophonisba*, *Syphax* wife, to excuse the necessitie of that mariage. *Massinissa* receyueth hir gladly, and went againe to *Scipio*, leauing hir at *Cyrta*, to see what was best to be done hereafter. *Scipio* sayd to *Syphax*: ‘What Spirite toke thee, when thou wast a ‘ friend to me, & praying me to come into *Libya*, to breake thy faith ‘ with God, by whom, thou diddest sweare, & after God to breake ‘ it wt the *Romanes*, & to chose to make warre for *Carthage*, against ‘ the *Romanes*, seing the *Carthaginians* not long before were thyne ‘ enimies. He said: *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdruball*, whome I ‘ loued to my losse, she louing hir Country so dearly, & able to per‘ swade a man to what she list, turned me from you, to hir coũtry, ‘ and from so greate felicitie, hath brought me to so great misery. ‘ Therefore I counsell thee (for nowe being yours, and put from ‘ *Sophonisba*, I ought to be sure vnto you) to keepe *Sophonisba*, least ‘ she turne *Massinissa* to what she will: for it cannnot be hoped that ‘ she wil take the *Romanes* part, so greatly doth she loue hir Citie: This he spake eyther truly, or for gelousie of *Massinissa*, to hinder him as much as he could. *Scipio* perceyuing *Syphax* to bee wise, & expert in that coũtry, led him about with him, & made him priuy of his mind & counsel, as *Cyrus* vsed *Crœsus* king of *Libya*. When *Lelius* was come, & said he heard as much of *Sophonisba* to bee of many reported, *Scipio* commanded *Massinissa* to deliuer *Sophonisba* *Syphax* wife. He refusing it, & excusing that was done afore, *Scipio* commanded him more sharply not to withholde by violence a Romane prisoner, but to bring hir forth, & then to alleadge and say what he could. Then went *Massinissa* with the *Romanes* to deliuer *Sophonisba*. But priuily he came firste to hir, & brought hir a poyson, & told hir she must presently drinke it, or remayne a slaue to the *Romanes*: speaking no more, he toke his horse. Shee

Cyrtij, nowe *Constans*, where *Iugurth* killed *Adherbal*.

A priuie message frõ *Sophonisba* to *Massinissa*.

Syphax biddeth *Scipio* beware of *Sophonisba*.

Scipio vseth *Syphax* friendlyes as *Cyrus* *Crœsus*.

Massinissa is loath to leaue *Sophonisba*.

shewing

shewing the cuppe to hir nurse, prayed hir not to bewaile hir noble death, and dronke the poyson. *Maßiniſſa* shewed hir to the *Romanes*, and when he had buryed hir honorably, he retourned to *Scipio*. He praysed hym, and tolde him he was rid of an euill woman, and crowned hym for his seruice against *Syphax*, and gaue him many gifts. When *Syphax* was come to *Rome*, some thought good to saue hym, bicause he had bin a friend to the *Romanes*, in *Iberia*: some thought to punish him, bycause he had made warre against his friendes: but he being sicke for sorrow, dyed. *Asdrubal* hauing wel exercised hys souldiors, sent to *Mago* ỹ was generall of the *Carthaginians*, that he would make him his fellow in ỹ warr, shewing that there were many *Iberians* with *Scipio*, whom if a man would corrupte with golde & promise, they might burne *Scipio* his Campe: and he, if the time were prescribed, would be at the feate. Whē *Hanno* heard this, he wrought wiles against *Asdrubal*, yet he dyd not refuse the enterprise, but sente a faithfull man with gold, as a run-away into *Scipios* Campe, who persuading suche as he found, corrupted many, & the day being appointed, he returned to *Hanno*, who sent to *Asdrubal* of the day. Whē *Scipio* sacrificed, euident danger of fire was signified, who sent aboute the campe, to sée if there were any great fire, and to put it oute. And thus he sacrificed many dayes, and alwaies the sacrifice shewed fire: wherefore he was grieued, and determined to change his campe. An *Iberian*, seruant to a horseman of *Rome*, being tolde of ỹ conspirators, fained as he had bin made priuie, & so learned al, & told it to his maister, who brought him to *Scipio*, & bewrayed al. *Scipio* killed them, & threwe their heads oute of the campe. *Hanno* perceyued it sone, being so nighe, & came not at the daye appointed. But *Asdrubal* being ignorant, came, & when he saw the number of ỹ dead, he suspected the matter & retired. Whē dyd *Hanno* greatlye accuse hym to the multitude, that he shoulde come to *Scipio* to betray him, & he would not receyue him. And *Asdrubal* after this was in more hate at *Carthage*.

Shee dyeth like a noble hatred Ladye.

Syphax is sent to *Rome*.

Syphax dyeth in prison.

Practise against *Scipio*.

Sacrifices signifying fyre.

The conspiracy bewrayed.

Asdrubal is accused falsly.

About this tyme, *Amilchar* secretlye sayling vppon the Romane fleuye, toke one galley, and fiue shyppes. *Hanno* came vpon them that besieged *Vtica*, and was repulsed.

Romane ships taken.

Scipio leaueth the siege at *Vtica*

Scipio hauing bin so long at the siege of *Vtica*, and doyng no good, dissolued his campe, and sent his munition agaynst the Citie of *Hippon*, and doing no good there, burned his vnprofitable engins, and ranged the Countrey, some he receiued to amitie, and some he destroyed.

Hippon, this seemeth to bee the country of saint *Austen*.

The *Carthaginians* being weary of so many displeasures, made *Annibal* Generall and sent an Admirall with a nauy, to haste hys commyng, and in the meane tyme, they sent Embassadors to *Scipio* for peace, thinking to obtaine one of these either to haue peace, or delay of time, till *Annibal* came. *Scipio* gaue them a truce, and taking the costes of his Campe, gaue them leaue to sende messengers to *Rome*. They sent and yet kepte warde in the Cittie, as they hadde bin still enimies.

Expenses.

Beyng broughte into the Senate, they desired forgiuenesse of their faulte. The Senatours partely accused the *Carthaginians* of their infidelitie, whiche they had so oft made and broken, and what hurt *Annibal* had done the *Romanes*, and their confederats, the *Iberians* and *Italians*. Part of them thought this peace was as profitable for them, as for the *Carthaginians*, *Italie* beyng wasted wyth so many cuills, and vttering their feare of things to come, *Annibal* saplyng out of *Italie*, and *Mago* from *Liguria*, and *Hanno* from *Carthage*, wyth greate armies against *Scipio*. Vppon the which, the Senate doubting, sent counsellours to *Scipio*, with whom he might from henceforth conferre, and do that should seme expedient. He made peace with *Carthage* with these conditions.

A treatie of peace.

Diuerse opinions in the Senate.

1 That *Mago* shoulde saile from *Liguria* out of hande, and from henceforth leade no straunge armies.

2 That they should haue no more but thirtie gallies.

3 That they shoulde not meddle beyonde the altche called *Pharition*.

4 That they should deliuer all the prisoners and run awaies to the *Romanes*.

5 That they should pay them in tyme, 1600. talents of siluer.

6 That *Massinissa* should haue the *Massilians*, and what he could get of *Sychaus* lande.

These

These were the conditions, and ambassadours sayled to *Rome* to sweare to them before the Consuls, and so did some from *Rome*, to have them sworne at *Carthage*.

The Romaynes rewarded *Massinissa*, with giftes of confederacie: they sent him a crown of gold, and a signet of gold, and a Chayre of Ivorie, and a purple garment, and a robe of *Rome*, and a horse trapped with golde, and an armour for hys whole body. When this was done, *Annibal* sayled to *Carthage* against hys will, suspecting the unfaythfulnesse and disobedience of the people to their rulers, and thinking the peace would not be made, and if it were made, would not long hold, he went to a Citie of *Lybya*, *Adrumete*, and gathered victuall, and boughte horses. And he made friendshippe with a prince of *Numidia*, called *Arcacides*. Foure thousand horsemen that fled unto hym, frō *Massinissa*, that had bene *Syphaces*, as suspected he shot to death, he deuided their horse to his souldiours. And *Mesotulos* another Prince, came unto hym with a thousand horsemen, and *Vermina* one of *Syphax* sonnes, having the most part of his fathers kingdome.

Annibal in *Affrica*.

Adrumete is so far from *Carthage* as *Annibal* rode in post, two dayes and two nighes.

Arcacides. *Mesulas*. *Vermina*.

The Cities of *Massinissa* hee gotte, some by yelding, and some by force. *Narces* he got by treason after thys sort: hauing want of victuals, hee sente to them as his friendes, and when he sawe it frame, he sent many with secret weapons, commanding to deale iustly with the sellers, til they heard ỳ trumpets, then to kill every man, and kepe the gates: and so was *Narces* taken.

Annibal getteth *Narces* by treason.

The people of *Carthage*, lately making peace, and their ambassadors not yet come from *Rome*, and *Scipio* still present, spoyled the victuall of *Scipio*, that was driuen to *Carthage* by windes, and bound the bringers of it, the Senate of *Carthage* sore threatning them, and warning them not to breake the league lately made. They blamed the league, as vniustly made, and sayd ther was more feare to bee had of famine, than of breaking league. *Scipio* would not beginne warre againe, after the peace, but desired, as of his friendes, that the offendours might be punished.

People of *Carthage* do spoile the Romanes in time of peace.

They would haue stayed the ambassadours also, till theyr

came from *Rome*. But *Hanno Magnus*, and *Asdrubal Eriphus*, did take them from the multitude, and sent them awaye with two gallies: other perswaded *Asdrubal* the admiral, to go to the tower of *Apollo*, and when the gallies did returne, to set vppon *Scipios* shippes, and be was perswaded. So some of the ambassadours were shotte to death, other wounded of them, got to the port of their power, and leapt out of the ship, ready to be taken: so nere were they to be taken prisoners. When the Romaines in the Citie heard this, they commaunded the ambassadours, that yet were ther about the peace, to depart as enimies. They in their iourney were driuen to *Scipios* nauy. When the admirall asked *Scipio* what was to be done with them, he sayde, not as the *Carthaginians* haue done with vs, and let them goe vntouched. When the olde men of *Carthage* saw this, they rebuked the people of their rashnesse, and counselled them to desire *Scipio* to kepe the league, & to receiue punishment for their offence of ỹ *Carthaginians*. They being offended with the Senate for ỹ long euil gouernment, & being feyred of ỹ cõmon sort, as not loking wel to ỹ cõmon profitte, & being deceiued with vaine hope, called *Annibal* with his army. Ye considering the greatnesse of ỹ war, caused them to cal home *Asdrubal* with his power. Thus *Asdrubal* being quit of his offence, deliuered his armor to *Annibal*: yet durst he not appeare at *Carthage*, but hid himself in the citie. *Scipio* placing his ships before *Carthage*, kept victual from them by sea. At this time was a fight of horsemẽ betwen *Scipio* & *Annibal* at *Zama*, in ỹ which, *Scipio* had ỹ better: & there was dayly skirmishes betwixt thẽ, til *Scipio* heard ỹ *Annibal* was in great wãt, & loked for his fraygers to come, & in the night sent *Thermus* against ỹ bringers of it. *Thermus* toke an hil in a streight passage, & killed 3000. *Libyans*, & toke as many, & brought ỹ victual to *Scipio*. *Annibal* being driuen to extreme want, & musing how he might help ỹ preset necessitie, set ambassadors to *Massinissa*, remẽbring to him his norishing & bringing vp in *Carthage*, & desired him to moue *Scipio* to come to accord again, for ỹ offence was of the people, & of ỹ foolisher sort of ỹ people. *Massinissa* remẽbring in deed, ỹ he was brought vp in *Carthage*, hating ỹ

Modestie of *Scipio*.

Zama.

A fight of horsemen.

Victual taken from *Annibal*.

Annibal maketh meane to *Massinissa* to escape present famine.

worthinesse

worthinesse of the citie in reuerence, & many friends yet there prayed *Scipio*, and brought them again to accord after this sort.

1 That the *Carthaginians* should deliuer the shippes, menand victuals, that they had taken of the Romanes, and all that they had taken beside, or the price of it, as *Scipio* should value it.

2 That they should pay a. M. talents, for a fine, for the fault.

This was agreed, & truce taken, til the *Carthaginians* should heare them, & so *Annibal* escaped beyond al hope. The Senate of *Carthage*, allowed wel of the accord, and exhorted the people to stand to them, remembring the long aduersity that they had, had, and the present neede in the army both of meate and mony: but they, as rude people be wont, foolishly thought their gouernours agreed with the Romanes for their owne commodities, that by them they might rule their countrey, as *Annibal* did nowe, and *Asdrubal* had done afore, betraying the armye to ỳ enimies in ỳ night, not long after meaning to yeld to *Scipio*, & then comming to the campe, and now lurking in the citie, vpon the which, a crye and tumult being made, some of them wente out of the assemblie to seeke *Asdrubal* round about. He preuented them, flying into his fathers Sepulchre, and killed himselfe with a poyson: they dragged out his carcasse, and cut off hys heade, and put it vppon a speares point, and bare it aboute the Citie. Thus *Asdrubal*, first vniustly iniuried, and secondly falsly accused of *Hanno*, & then thus brought to death by the *Carthaginians*, was spyted after his death in this wise. They sente to *Annibal* to breake the truce, and to make warre vppon *Scipio*, & to try it out by speedy fight, because of wãt. He brake the truce. And *Scipio* taking a great Citie called *Parthos*, camped neare to *Annibal*, and he remoued, sending three spies to the Romanes, whome *Scipio* toke, and did not kil them according to the law of armes, but commaunded them to be led about the campe, to see the store of armor & munition, & then let them go to tell *Annibal* of euerye thing. He desired to come to talke, whiche being graunted, he sayd the *Carthaginians* were grieued with the first peace, for the money, if that might be remitted, & the Romanes contented with *Sicilia*, *Iberia*, & ỳ Iles which they haue, ỳ peace

Annibal escapeth famine.

The rude people of *Carthage*

The malice of the people against *Asdrubal*.

Asdrubal killeth himselfe.

The spight of the people against him.

The peace broken.

Parthos.

Scipio causeth *Annibals* espies to be led about his army.

Talke betwen *Scipio* and *Annibal*.

should

should be sure. *Scipio* aunswered *Annibal* should gette a greate rewarde, by flying out of *Italie*, if hée myght obtayne thys of *Scipio* and forbadde him to sende anye more to hym.

And so threatning one another, they departed to their seuerall campes. There was a Cittie nygh called *Cilla*, at the whiche was an hil, fytte for the campe, the which *Annibal* perceyuing, sent to take it vp, and folowed with his army, but finding it taken before of *Scipio*, he was left in the playne field without water, and spent that night in digging of water pittes. The army pickte out the heapes of sande, and dranke little water full of sande, and was grieued without meate or rest, and some were in their armour all night. Which *Scipio* perceyuing, came vpon them by day, they being weary of their way, watch and thyrst.

Cilla.
Annibal in straightes.

The order of *Annibals* battell.

Annibal was loth to come to fighte, yet bycause he shoulde wante water if he tarryed, and, if he fledde, his enimie woulde take courage and set vpon hym, considering all this, he thought it good for the necessitie, to try it. He put in order fifty .M. and lxxx. Elephants. He placed them before the battel with spaces betwéen to make them most terrible. After them was the third parte of the armye, the *Celtians* and *Ligurians*: with these were myxed archers and slyngers of *Marrusia* and *Gymnasias*: after thē was the seconde army, whiche was of *Carthagians* and *Libyans*. The third were of them that folowed him out of *Italie*, in the which, he trusted most, bicause they feared their case. The horsemen were aboute the wings. And thys was *Annibals* order.

Gymnasij be the Ilands called *Baleares* now Maiorca and Nicorca, *Ebusmas.*

Scipio had about xxiij. thousande, and horsemen of *Italie* and *Rome*, a thousand fiue hundred. *Massinissa* was there with many horsemen of *Numidia*, and *Lacamas* another prince with fiue hundred horse. He set his fotemen in thrée battels as *Annibal* did: he made a partition betwéene the bandes, that the horsemenne might passe easily by them: he made to euery bande a defence at the front with strong pertches layde ouer with yron of two Cubits long and very thicke, to kepe backe the Elephantes as an engine, and he warned them and the other fotemen, to giue place to the furie of those beastes, and to cast their dartes vpon them as fast as they coulde, and when they were nigh, to cutte

Scipio his order.

their

their sinowes if they coulde. Thus were they placed of *Scipio*. The *Numidian* horse he placed in the wings, being acquainted with the fight and fury of the Elephants. The *Italians* horse, because they were not vsed to them, he set last of all, to be readye to passe by the distances, when the fotemen had bidden the first violence of the Elephants. Both sorts of horsmen, had companies of shotte ioyned to them, to annoy the beastes. Thus were his horsemen set. The right wing he gaue to *Lælius:* the left, to *Octauius:* in the middest, was both he and *Annibal*, to kepe their glorie, hauing horsemen attending vpon them, to helpe where nede should be. *Annibal* had three thousand, *Scipio* had two thousande, and the three hundred *Italians*, whom he armed in *Sicelie*. When all was ready, both of them encouraged their men. *Scipio* called the Gods to witnesse, before his army, against whom the *Carthaginians* had offended, as ofte as they brake their promise, and required hys army not to loke to the number of their enimies, but to their owne vertue, whom, being more in number they had ouerthrowen euen in that lande: and if they that ouercome, haue anye feare or doubte, muche more of necessitie must they haue that haue bin ouercome. Thus did *Scipio* encourage and stirre his fewe number. *Annibal* recorded to them the feates that he hadde done in *Italie*, as an enterprise of moste great renoume, not among the *Numidians*, but among all the *Italians* in *Italie*, and shewed how fewe the enimies were now, and exhorted them, not to be worse than a fewe they being moe, and in their own countrey. Both of them did declare vnto their souldiours the daunger and greatnesse of the present fight.

Scipio to his souldiours.

Annibal to his souldiours.

Annibal shewed that *Carthage* and all *Libya* was to be tryed in thys fighte, whether they shoulde be slaues being ouercome, or rule hereafter ouer all they had wonne. *Scipio* tolde hys, that if they were defeated, they had no safe returne: if they dyd ouercome, a great dominion shoulde fall vnto them, and a rest of their present paynes, a going home to their country, and a renoume for euer.

Thus eyther of them encouraging other, they went to the fight: *Annibal* sounded first: *Scipio* commaunded to aunswere

him.

The Elephants put backe at the wings.

The Elephants beganne the fight in moſt terrible manner, being ſpurred with prickes of the riders. The *Numidian* horſemen ranne about them, and threwe their dartes thicke vppon them, ſo as being wounded, they fledde, and troubled their own parte, that their kepers led them away: and this was the firſt enterpriſe with the Elephants at the wings of the army, but in the middle battel of the Romaines, they trode downe the footemē, being vnacquainted with this fight, and ſo heauy harniſed, that they could hardly giue place, or goe forewarde, tyll *Scipio* brought forth the *Italian* horſemenne that were placed behynde, and with them the ſhotte, commaundyng them to leaue their horſes that were afrayde, and to goe aboute and ſhote at the Elephants. He was the firſt that alighted, and wounded the Elephant that came afore.

The Elephants trouble the Romanes footemen, in the battel

Scipio leaueth his horſe to fight vvith the Elephants.

The other ſouldiours encouraged therby, and hurtyng the beaſtes, made them alſo to go out of the battel. The fighte being cleared of the beaſts, and nowe only of men and horſes, the right wing of the Romaines whyche *Lalius* ledde, putte to flighte the *Numidians* that were agaynſte them, when *Maſſiniſſa* had wounded *Maſſinitha* their prince, and *Annibal* comming quickly vnto them, ſette them againe to fight.

Maſiniſſa vvoūdeth *Maſimba.*

The left battayle, whyche *Octauius* gouerned, had very much adoe with their enimies, the French and *Ligurians*.

Scipio ſente *Thermus* to helpe them wyth choyſe men. *Annibal*, hauing ſlayde his lefte battayle, roade to the *Ligurians* and Frenchmen, bryngyng another bande of *Libyans* and *Carthaginians*. Whiche when *Scipio* ſawe, he came againſte them with another band.

Scipio and *Annibal* fighte.

When theſe two moſte noble captaines dyd thus contend, there was euidente emulation and care on both ſides, no diligence was lefte on eyther parte: the laboure was no ſharper, than their exhortations were vehement. The fighte beyng long doubtfull, and the Captaines hauing pittie of their weary ſouldiours, coupled togither, that by them, the ende might be the ſhorter. They threw one at another. *Scipio* hytte *Annibals*

bals shielde, *Annibal* stroke *Scipios* Horse, and the Horse, for the wounde, ouerthrewe *Scipio*. He was mounted agayne, and threw at *Annibal*, but milled him, and hurt the Horse was next him.

Massiniſſa vnderstanding, came thyther, and the Romaynes seeing their Capitayne fighting lyke a Souldiour, toke the more courage agaynſt their enimies, and putte them backe, and chased them, *Annibal* ryding aboute in vaine, prayeing them to staye, and perswading them to turne agayne to the fight. *Massiniſſa* commeth to the danger that *Scipio* vvas in.

Annibal being in greate doubte, broughte the *Italians* that came with hym, and not yet sturring from the place of succoure, into the fighte, hoping to breake the Romaynes arape the more easily, bycause they were folowing the enimye: but they seeing that deuise, called one another diligently from the chase, and put themselues againe in order for the fighte. Nowe hauing no Horse, and their shotte being spent, they fought togyther with their blades. Great was the slaughter, and manye were the woundes and the grones of them that fell, and the shoutes of them that dyd kyll, tyll the Romaynes putte them backe and made them flye also. The Romanes skil in fight.

Then was the victorye euident. *Annibal* seeing the *Numidian* Horsemen stande styl, ranne to them, and prayed them not to forsake hym, whom when he had perswaded, he brought them againſt them that chased, thinking to do a notable feate againe. *Annibal* renevv-eth the fight.

Firſte he mette with the *Massulians* and fought with them: and this fighte was onely betweene *Massiniſſa* and *Annibal*. They fiercelye going to it, *Massiniſſa* stroke *Annibals* target, he hitte *Massiniſſas* Horse, who being a forte, fle we vpon *Annibal*, and killed his Horse, comming vppon hym before all other. The dartes of the other he receyued vppon hys shielde, and threwe one of them that stucke vppon it, and threw it at *Annibal*, milling him, and killed the nexte Horse. *Massiniſſa* and *Annibal* fighteth.

Then drawing out another, he was wounded on the arme, and went oute of the battell for a whyle. When *Scipio* hearde of it, he was afrayde of *Maßiniſſa*, and came to the fraye, and found *Maßiniſſa* horſed and going to the field againe, haumyd ed his wound.

Scipio commeth in relieſe of *Maſiniſſa*.

The fight was equall agayne, and very ſore on both ſides, eyther being afrayde of their capitaynes, tyll *Annibal* dydde ſée the *Iberians* and Frenchmenne ſtaying vppon an hill, and roade to them to bring them forth againe. They that foughte, not knowing the cauſe, thinkyng his going had bin a flying, lefte the fighte willyngly, and fledde diſordredly, not lokyng toward *Annibal*, but euery man where he coulde. Thus they brake, and the Romaines, as the fielde hadde bene fully gotte, purſued them out of order, neyther they vnderſtanding of *Annibals* purpoſe, who returned with the Spaniards and Frenchmen.

Errour in the battel.

Wherefore *Scipio* called his men againe from the chaſe with ſpéde, and ſet them in order, being more than they that came from the hyll, wherefore he mighte the more eaſily reſiſt them. *Annibal* being decepued of this laſte hope, fledde, now vtterly diſpayring of all things.

Annibal flyeth.

Manye horſemen followed him, ſpecially *Maßiniſſa*, beyng grieued with his wounde, euer at hande, and deſirous to haue brought him priſoner to *Scipio*: but the night diuided them, and *Annibal* in the darke, with twentie horſemen, that could folow him, fled into a Cittie called *Thonne*, whither, when he vnderſtoode that many horſemen of *Brutia* and *Iberia* were come from the field, and fearing the *Iberians* as barbarous and cruel, and doubting the *Brutians* being *Italians* and countrey men to *Scipio*, leaſt they woulde leade him to *Scipio*, to be forgiuen their faulte againſt *Italie*, priuily he fled with one horſeman, whom he truſted beſt, and running three thouſand furlongs in two nightes and two dayes, he came to a Cittie at the ſea called *Adrumete*, where parte of his armye was for victuall, ſending aboute, and gathering them that fledde, he made armoure and munition.

Annibal flyeth to *Thonne*.

Annibal cõmeth in haſt to *Adrume.o.*

Scipio

Scipio hauing got so noble a victorie, burned the vnprofytable spoyle, beyng gyrded, as the Romanes Generalls be wont. He sent to Rome ten talents of golde, and.ij.M.v.C. of siluer, and wrought Iuorie, and the most noble prysoners, *Lelius* being the messenger of the victorie. The reste he toke to honor his souldyours, and gaue giftes to them that did beste, and to *Massinissa* a Crowne, and then he went, and toke the Cities. And this was the ende of *Annibal* and *Scipios* fighte in *Libya*, and the first time that they fought togither. There dyed of the Romaynes two thousand fiue hundred, and of *Massinissas*, more: of the ennmies, fiue and twenty thousand: of prysoners were taken eighte thousande fiue hundred: of the *Iberians* three hundred yelded to *Scipio*: of the *Numidians* eight hundred to *Massinissa*. Neyther the *Carthaginians*, nor the Romanes yet hearing of it, they of *Carthage* sent to *Mago*, gathering yet Frenchemen, to inuade *Italie* if hee coulde, or to saple into *Libya* wyth hys hyred souldioures. The Romanes intercepting these letters, sent to *Scipio* an other armye of horse, and fotemen, and Shyppes and money. *Scipio* sent *Octauius* by lande to *Carthage*, and hymselfe went by water. When they of *Carthage* vnderstode *Annibals* ouerthrow, they set Ambassadours in a pynnesse, of the which *Hanno Magnus* and *Asdrubal Hædus* were chiefe. They set vp a banner of peace on the stemme, and held vp their hands to *Scipio*, desiring pardon. He willed them to go to the Campe, where he being placed vpon an highe seate, gaue them audience.

Scipio sendeth *Lelius* with the newes to Rome.

Carthage sueth to *Scipio* for peace.

Carthage sueth for peace.

They, with teares fell to the grounde, and being taken vp of the officers, were commaunded to say what they woulde. Then *Annibal Hædus* spake.

It is my parte (O *Romanes*,) and this *Hanno*, and as manye, as be wise in *Carthage*, to cleare oure selues of this faulte that you put vppon vs. For your Embassadoures, whom oure people, being driuen by hunger offended, we saued and sent home, yet wee muste not blame all *Carthage*, for some desired peace firste, and they had it, and kepte it firmely. Cities be seene drawne to the worst, & that whiche is pleasant, prenayleth euer with the multitude, whiche we haue proued, beyng neither able to perswade

People in free cities disobedient.

them,nor to stay them. For they that did accuse vs,and take frē
speche from vs,do not iudge vs (O Romanes) of our obedience
or counsell:but if it seemeth a faulte to be slowe to obey, blame
hunger and the necessitie that droue vs to it,for it was not a cō-
strained act of them,to desire peace before,and gyue so much mo-
ney,and to deliuer al our long ships, saue a fewe, and to yelde a
great parte of oure dominion,and to sweare to them,and to send
our othe to *Rome*,our Ambassadors being yet with you, and wil-
lingly to offend. But a manne may blame God chiefly, and the
storme that droue your corne to *Carthage*.Beside the storme, hū-
ger toke you, (that cannot consider well of other mens things)
being in neede of all thinges, nor require good reason of a rude
and mysserable multitude.But if you iudge vs to do vnrightye, &
not to be in miserye,we confesse and pray forgiuenesse. Iustifi-
cation is of them, that do not offend,and submission of them that
do offende, to the which, the mercy of them that be in prosperi-
tie ought to be the readier, beholding the chaunces of men, and
considering the sodaine mutations,that now we do crie for par-
don, that yesterday were able to do hurte:as the citie of *Car-
thage*, the greatest and mightiest of *Libya*,both in shippes,money
and Elephants, and in army of foote and horsemen,& many sub-
iectes haue flourished these .700. yeares,and ruled al *Libya*,and o-
ther nations and Ilandes, and so great a part of the sea, & com-
ming against you many times in contention, and nowe neyther
in Shyppes nor Elephants,nor horse, nor subiectes, (all the
whiche you haue taken from vs) haue any hope of helpe,but in
you,whom we haue euill vsed before. The whiche you consider-
yng,and marking the alteration of them,ought to vse your feli-
citie the more temperately, and doe that shall seeme worthye for
your magnanimitie(O Romanes) and the fortune that *Carthage*
sometime had,& to put the mutations of fate in our misfortunes
voide of enuy,you may be without blame afore God,and deserue
prayse of all men. There is no feare nowe that the *Carthaginians*
wyll rebel, whom so great repentance and paine of their former
follie,doth fall vppon . God counsell is the keper of Innocen-

Iustification.
Submission.

cie

cie to wiſe men, to offendoures to repent them, for that they, haue ſuffered, whom, it is like to be the more conſtant in theyr, duetie, than they that had neuer ſuche experience. Neither is it, fit for you to folow the *Carthaginians*, whome you accuſe of cru-, elty, and wickednelle. For in them that be in miſery, want and, calamitie, is the beginning of offence: to them that be in proſpe-, ritie, it is at their pleaſure to vſe humanitie. It ſhall be as ho-, norable, as profitable for your authoritie, rather to ſaue than to, kill ſo greate a Cittie: you bée nowe the better Iudges of youre, commodities. Wée bring but two thynges to the aſſurance, thereof: the worthineſſe of dominion that *Carthage* ſomtime, hath had, and youre moderation towarde all men, which beyng, ioyned wyth armes, hath brought you to ſo great Empire and, power. What conditions you will gyue vs of peace, we will, take them, of the whiche, we can ſay no more, committing all to, you.

When *Hædus* had ſaide thus muche, he ceaſed. *Scipio* willing them to auoid, conferred with the officers a while, and when he had determined, he called them, and ſaid:

Scipio to the Embaſſadoures of Carthage.

You be worthy no pardon that ſo ofte haue broken peace, and laſtely defiled oure Embaſſadoures, ſo manifeſtly and wic-, kedly offending againſte vs, that you can neyther purge youre, ſelues, nor ſhewe any matter to the contrary, but that you are, worthy extreame puniſhement. What nede I to accuſe them, that confeſſe? you flée to prayer, that woulde not haue lefte the, name of *Rome*, if you had got the victory: but we haue done no, ſuche thyng to you, your Embaſſadours being yet in *Rome*, af-, ter you had broken the league, and violated oure Embaſſadors, our Citie deliuered, and beeyng drawen to myne armye, I ſente, vnhurte to you, when you made warre on vs. Therefore you, ought to thinke it gaine, whatſoeuer you receiue, hauing condē-, ned your ſelues. I will ſaye what I thinke good, and the Senate, ſhall determine what ſhal pleaſe them.

Wée giue you peace once agayne (O *Carthaginians*) if, you gyue all youre long Shyppes vnto the Romaynes, except,

except ten, and all the Elephants you haue, and those you take before, and pay for thē that be lost, I being iudge of the doubts, and all the prisoners and run awayes, and so many, as *Annibal* brought out of *Italie*: and thus within thirty dayes after the peace is made. And that in threescore dayes *Mago* shall departe out of *Liguria*, and that you take your garrisons oute of the Cities, whiche be without the ditche of *Phœnicia*, and deliuer the pledges you haue of them.

And that euery yeare you shall bring two hundred talentes, of *Eubœa*, for fifty yeares.

That you shall haue no more Frenchmen or *Ligurians*.

That you shal make no warre vpon *Massinissi*, nor any other friend of ours, nor any of *Carthage* war against them by the common consent.

That you shall haue your citie, and so muche lande, with the *Phœnicians* ditche, as you had when I sayled into *Libya*.

That you shal be friends to the Romaynes bothe by sea and lande, if the Senate do confirme it: and if they do confirme it, that the Romanes shall go out of *Libya* in a hundred and fiftye dayes, and if you will haue truce, to send to *Rome*.

You shall giue vs out of hand, an hundred and fifty Otages, of such children, as I shall chose.

And you shall giue to the expences of the warre, a thousand talents more, and victuall for the army, and when the peace is concluded, you shall receiue your pledges.

When *Scipio* had said thus, the Embassadours bare the faults to *Carthage*.

The people resorting many dayes to the counsell, the beste sorte thought it good to accept the conditions, and not to putte al in hazarde, in sticking for somewhat.

People resiste peace.

When the corne shoulde go away, the people not considering more the present perill, than the taking awaye of that they had, did resist, and were grieued, that the rulers should take away their corne for the Romanes, in their famine, and giue it them in steade of Citizens, during the truce. They stode aboute euery of them, and threatned to burne their houses, and spoyle them.

them.

In the ende knowing that *Annibal* hadde gathered fyre thousand fotemen, and fiue hundred horſemen, kaping at a Citie named *Marthma*, they called him to be of counſell in theſe matters. He came, and the ſober ſorte being afraide, that he, being a man of warre, woulde haue ſtirred the people. He perſwaded verye grauely to receiue the peace. The people outragiouſly ſpake euill of him, and threatned all, till the noble men fledde, ſome to *Maſsiniſſa*, and ſome to the Romanes willingly, deſpayring of the Citie. The *Carthaginians* vnderſtanding that *Annibal* hadde gathered corne plentifullye into a Store houſe, they made muche adoe for it, tyll they gote it, and diuided it among them. *Annibal* perſuadeth peace.

In this meane time, was newes come to *Rome*, of the newe peace, that *Scipio* had made with them of *Carthage*. And the matter being debated in the Senate houſe, one of the Senatoures ſaide thus: In this place the Greeke texte is vnperfect.

If wee ſhoulde not agree to this peace, it were both iniurious and vnmeete to *Scipio*, the whiche he ſuſpecting, as it ſeemeth, when he had declared his minde vnto vs. He added: That if wee made delay, he woulde make peace. It is like that hee conſidereth the matter better than we, and ſeeth more in it, bycauſe he hath al before him: if wee doe otherwiſe, we ſhall offende hys eſtimation, a good Citizen, and a noble Capitayne, who prouoked vs vnwilling to ſende into *Affrica*, and hauyng no army of vs, did gette one himſelfe, and hathe promoted vs ſo farre as we could not hope. Therefore it is to be wondered, that you that were ſo faint at the beginning in the warre, are nowe ſo earneſt and vehement. Nowe if any man thinketh all to bee well, and yet feareth that the *Carthaginians* will breake thys league, it is nowe moſte like they wyll keepe the peace, being ſo ofte afflicted for breaking of it, and that henceforth they will keepe Iuſtice better, beyng fallen on the knee, by vnrighteouſnelle. It is not a like counſell, nowe to deſpiſe the *Carthaginians*, as of no power, and againe to feare, that they might rebell. It is more eaſie for vs to keepe them, that they ſhall no more, Diſcorde in the Senate houſe touching the peace.

rise, than to destroy them presently. For nowe they wil fighte of desperation, whom we might kepe vnder with feare. They haue enuis pnow without vs, wyth whome all their neighbours are grieued for their crueltie. And *Massinissa* a man moste faithfull to vs, shall euer lye in wait of thē. But if any man do contemne al this, and thinketh only how he may succēde *Scipio*, and of hys owne commoditie, and to haue the like succesſe that hē hath had in the ende, what shall we do with the Citie if we happe to take it? shall we destroy it vtterly, bicause they spoyled our ships and victualls whiche they are content to deliuer with muche more? but we wil not do this, to auoide the anger of Gods, and hate of men. Shall we giue it to *Massinissa*? thoughe he be our friend, yet is not he to be made to strong, but to let him and them contende togither, for the common weale of *Rome*. Wil wee make a rent of the Country? The armye that we shall kepe there, will spende all the reuenue, for we shall stand in feare of manye of the nighe nations, and of all the *Barbarians*. But we will send inhabitants in the middeſt of the *Numidians*, they beyng moſt strong of the *Barbarians*, will alwaies worke oure wo, and if they get the better hande, they shall be terrible and hatefull to vs euer after, hauing so gret a land, and much better than ours. The whiche *Scipio*, as I iudge, perceyuing, thoughte good for vs to heare the prayers of *Carthage*, therefore let vs consent to their prayers, and our Generall. Thus he said.

Contention in *Rome* for peace with *Carthage*.

What is to be considered in warre.

P. Cornelius speaketh against the peace that *Scipio* offered to the *Carthaginians*.

P. Cornelius, *Cornelius Lentulus* kinsman, being then Consull, and thoughte good to succēde *Scipio*, spake agaynste it in thys sorte.

In warres onely profite is to be considered: and bicause it hathe bin declared, that this cittie being yet of power, is to bē maintained, we ought to take away their vnfaithfulnelle, togyther with their power and might: but their vnfaithfulneſſe we shall neuer take away. There is no tyme so fit for vs to be deliuered from the feare of *Carthage*, as thys present, in the which they all bē poore and weake, before they growe to strength againe: yet doe I not swarue from consideration of Iuſtice, nor thinke

thinke oure Cittie shall seme to deale sute of reason with the *Carthaginians*, who when they be in weale, doe iniurie and despite to al men: in their wo, they fal to prayers: if they obtaine, they forsake their agreement againe: neyther haue they regarde of promise, nor respect of othe, whome we muste saue for the feare of God and enuy of men. I thinke the Gods themselues haue brought the *Carthaginians* to that point, to suffer for their wickednesse, which violating the peace they made with vs in *Sicilie*, *Iberia*, and *Italie*, and in *Libya* it selfe, and with all other haue wrought great mischiefe and trouble to vs, of the which I will shewe some examples of strange nations, before I come to ours, that you may see that all will agree that *Carthage* shoulde be punished. They destroyed *Sagunt* a noble citie of *Iberia*, confederat to them, and a friend to vs, sparing no age without cause.

Sagunt is nowe called *Murnedre*

When they hadde taken *Nuceria*, a Citie subiect to vs, vppon conditions, and swearing that euery man shoulde departe wyth two garmentes, they shut the chiefe of them within the Baths, and set the Hot-houses afyre, and killed them, and when the people went forth, they shot them to death. They putte the Senate of *Acerra*, after they hadde giuen their faith, into pittes, and ouerwhelmed them with earth. They brought *M. Cornelius* oure Consull, vppon their othes, to ses their Captaine that was sicke, and carried him out of *Sicilie* into *Libya* with.xxij. shippes. They killed *Regulus* with torments, an other Captaine of ours, returning to them to keepe his othe. What *Annibal* hathe done, by force, by deceites, by periurie, againste our Cities and armies, and at length againste his owne confederates, ouerthrowing cities, killing his confederates, it were to long to tell. They defaced foure hundred of dure cities, oure prisoners they putte in ditches and riuers, and vsed them for bridges: some they threw to their Elephants, some they commaunded to fighte togither, matching brethren againste brethren, & fathers againste sonnes. Shortly after this, they sent hither Ambassadors for peace, they made request, and gaue their othe, and they spoyled our ships in *Libya*, and putte our Souldioures in prison, whiles their Embas-

Examples of the *Carthaginians* crueltie and vnfaithfulnesse.

Nuceria, nowe *Nocera*.

Acerra, one in *Umbria*, an other in *Campania*.

Foure hundred cities destroyed in *Italy* by *Annibal*.

'sadoures were here present, to so greate madnesse diode their 'cruelty driue them. What pittie or moderation is to be vsed, 'with them of others, that vse modestie or courtesie with none, 'who, if they might ouercome vs (as *Scipio* saieth) woulde not 'leaue the name of *Rome*? But Faith and Promise is sure. What 'faith? what promise? what oth haue they not broken? what coue-'naunt or pardon haue not they violated? but they saye we may 'not folowed them. What couenaunt doe we breake, whiche yet 'haue made none? but we may not followe their crueltie, there-'fore we muste make most cruell men, oure friendes and confe-'derates: neyther of these is conuenient. But let them yeld vn-'to vs after the lawe of them that be ouercome, as manye haue 'yelded themselues. We will consider of them, and what wee 'giue them, let them thanke vs, and not thinke it to come of a-'greement, for those two differ thus: As long as they couenant 'with vs, they will breake, as they haue done afore, allwayes 'makyng some pretence for theyr purpose, as not wel vsed in the 'conditions, for there are euer deuises to be made to call a matter 'in question. When they giue themselues, wee shall receiue them 'and their armoure, and their bodies shall be with vs, they shall 'suppose nothing to be theirs, and so their pride shall fall. They 'shall loue whatsoeuer they shall receyue of vs, as of a thing not 'theirs. If *Scipio* thinketh otherwise, you haue to iudge by sētēce: 'if hee agreeth with the *Carthaginians*, wythout vs, why sendeth 'hee vnto vs? I haue saide my minde to you that be Lords, whi-'che I thinke fitte for the Citie. This saide *Publius*. The Senate 'gaue their voices seuerallye, and the more parte agreed wyth '*Scipio*.

Causes that made *Scipio* to make peace with the *Carthaginians*.

Thus the thirde league was made betweene the *Romanes* & *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* seemed to moue the *Romanes* hereto either for ỹ reasōs declared, or because he thought the *Romane* Felicitie to be knowē, if they toke away the rule of *Carthage*. There be ỹ think, that he wouldde haue this mighe Citie, and an enimy to be left to keepe the *Romanes* in good temperaunce, least they shoulde grow insolent thorough ydle libertie & quietnesse. Whyche consideration of *Scipio*, not long after, *Cato* rehersed to the *Romanes*, being

Rhodes is a goodlye Iland in the *Carpathian* sea, adioyning to *Caria*.

griued

grieued, they were incensed against the *Rhodians*. When *Scipio* had set order, he sayled to *Rome* with all his armye, and entred with a triumph, more goodly than had bene before time. And the manner of it, whyche they nowe vse also, was this:

All ware garlands. The trumpetours goe before, and the wagons laden with the spoyle. Towers are borne with the Images of the Cities taken, and pictures and figures of the things done. Then the gold and siluer vncoyned and coyned, and other things of that sorte, and so many Crownes as the Cities confederats, or armies, had giuen y generall for his vertue. Then the whyte kyne and the Elephantes. Then the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* that were taken. Before the general, the Macebearers went in purple garmẽts, and a company of musitiãs & Satyres, after the *Tuscane* maner, being gyrded and wearing a Crowne of gold, they go in order againe with song and daunce. They call them, *Ludi*, bycause as I thinke, the *Thoscanes* be an inhabitance from *Lydia*. In the middest of them, one in a robe of purple, decked with rings & bracelets of gold, maketh diuerse shewes to moue laughter, as flouting of enimies. After him a multitude of Perfumers, and the generall among these Perfumers in a chariote, diuersly garnished, for it was set with gold and stone of great price. He was clad with a purple robe with barres of gold, after his Countrey maner, and a Scepter of Iuorie, and a laurel, which the Romane thinketh a token of victorie.

In the same Chariot be carried boyes and gyrles, and on eyther side going men that be of kin. Then follow they that haue bin scribes, ministers, and pages in the warre. After them the army in bandes and companies, with garlands and Laurell, euery man with his giftes according to his worthynesse: some of the rulers they prayse, some they mocke, and some they taunt. For the triumph is priuileged, and lawfull to say what they will.

When *Scipio* was come to the Capitol, the triumph ceased, and he feasted his friendes as the manner is, at the Temple.

The Greeke vvord sometime signifyed pypers but here it is *Satiri* after the *Tuscane* manner.

Laurel or Bay, dedicate to triumphes and to the gates of Emperours houses.

Priuiledge of triumph.

Thys ende had the seconde warre betweene the Romaynes and *Carthage*, begonne in *Spaine*, and ending in *Libya*, with these conditions, about the hundred fourtie foure Greeke *Olympiade*.

Maſsiniſſa falleth out with the *Carthages*.

Maſsiniſſa falling out with the *Carthaginians*, and trusting to the Romaines, toke a great part of the *Carthagies* lande, as belonging to him.

Partialitie of the Romaines.

The *Carthaginians* desired the Romaynes to agree *Maſsiniſſa* and them. They sente arbitrours, with instructions to helpe *Maſsiniſſa* as much as they might. So *Maſsiniſſa* hadde the lande, and a league was made betwene them for fiftie yeares, in the whiche, the *Carthaginians* having peace, growe into great power and welth by the plentye of their ground, and trafficke of the sea: and againe, as men be wonte in prosperitie, were diuided, some for the Romaines, some for the people, and some for *Maſsiniſſa*. Of euery of these the chiefe in fame and vertue gouerned: for the Romaines, *Hanno Magnus*: for the people, *Amilchar Sānū*, and *Carthalo*: for *Maſsiniſſa*, *Annibal* called *Opſar*.

Factions in *Carthage*.

Celtiberia is that part of Spaine which nowe they cal *Aragon*. *Boetarch* was an office of the state hyeer as appeareth in *Plutarch*.

They wayting the Romaynes being at warre with the *Celtiberians*, and *Maſsiniſſa* at debate with other *Iberians*, perswaded *Carthalo* the *Boetarche*, and for that office going aboute the countrey, to make a fray vpon such as kept the land for *Maſsiniſſa*. He killed some of them, and chased the other, and stirred the *Libyans* of that Countrey againste *Maſsiniſſa*, and many conflictes were betweene them, till the Romaines sent other ambassadours to agree them, to whome was sayde the like, that they should secretely fauour *Maſsiniſſa*: & they cõfirmed to *Maſsiniſſa* al that he had taken by this craft. They said nothing, nor they heard nothing, leaſt *Maſsiniſſa* should haue had the worſt: but being in the middeſt betweene thẽ both, they held vp their hands: and thys was the cõmaundement, and the Attonement. Not long after, *Maſsiniſſa* called into controuerſie the greate lande and playnes, of fifty Cities, which they cal *Tyſca*, in the whiche the *Carthaginians* ſtodde againe to the Romaynes.

The Romaines partial.

To hold vp hands in the greeke phrase is to decide and determine.

Tyſca a country of fiftie Cities.

They

They promiſed to ſende ambaſſadours, and deferred ſo long, till they thought *Maſſiniſſa* had the better. Then they ſent the ambaſſadours and *Cato*. They comming to the bateable land, required both partes to ſtande to their arbitrement. *Maſſiniſſa* was cõtent, becauſe hée truſted the Romanes and got by them. The *Carthaginians* ſuſpected, as them that before hadde iudged not rightly. They ſayde the league made by *Scipio* néeded no iudgemente nor correctours, becauſe there was no breach of them. *Cato, Arbiter.*

The ambaſſadours not allowed to iudge of parte, wente their waye, and diligentlye marked the grounde, verye well laboured, with great preparation, and when they went into the Citie, perceiued of what ſtrength it was, and howe the people was encreaſed ſince *Scipio* hadde ouercome them, whiche was not long. Being come to *Rome*, they ſayde they had not ſuſpition ynough of *Carthage*, a Citie aduerſarie, and a neighbour, that was exceedinglye increaſed. And *Cato* chiefelye ſayde, that *Rome* coulde not be ſure, nor in libertie, till *Carthage* was deſtroyed. The Senate vnderſtanding it, mynded to make warre on the *Carthaginians*, but tarried for an occaſion, and kepte their iudgement cloſe. And *Cato* continuallye from that tyme, ſayde in the Counſell, that *Carthage* muſte not ſtande. But *Scipio Naſica* ſaide the contrarye, that *Carthage* muſte be ſuffered, to kepe the *Romanes* in feare and good order. *Cato* againſt *Carthage.* *Scipio* contrary to *Cato.*

The peoples parte preuayling in *Carthage*, putte out the friendes of *Maſſiniſſa*, aboute the number of fourtye, and they made a decrée of banniſhmente, and ſware the people, that they ſhoulde neyther receyue them againe, nor ſuffer any ſpéeche to be hadde of their reſtoring. They being banniſhed, fledde to *Maſſiniſſa*, and prouoked him to warre. Tumult in *Carthage.*

He ſent his two ſonnes, *Galoſſa* and *Miſipſa*, to require them to receiue the banniſhed men. The ruler ſhut the gates againſt them, leaſt the kinſemen of the banniſhed, might moue the people with their teares. Two ſonnes of *Maſiniſſa* ſent to *Carthage.* *Amilchar Samnis*

And

And *Amilchar Samnis* laye in wayte for them, and set vpon *Geloſſa*, and killed some of his mē, and made him afrayd. Wherfore to giue occasion of warre, *Maſſiniſſa* toke the Citie of *Oroſcopa*, couetyng it aboue the conditions.

Oroſcopa.

The *Carthaginians*, with fiue and twenty thousande fotemen and four hundred horsemen of the Citie, the ruler of ỹ prouiſion being Captaine, made warre against *Maſſiniſſa*, and encamping nigh *Aſaſis* & *Sybas*, Captaines of *Maſſiniſſa*, contendyng with the kings children, fledde from him, and ledde awaye fiue thousand. *Aſdrubal* encouraged by this, camped nearer *Maſſiniſſa*, and in the skirmiches had the better. *Maſſiniſſa* to deceyue him, went backe by little and little, as though he had fledde, vntill he had brought him into a deſart field ful of hils and rocks, and voyde of victual. Then he turned and camped in the playn, and *Aſdrubal* ranne to the hils as the more ſurer, and then entended to come the next day to fight.

Captaines of Maſſiniſſa reuolte to the enimies.

Scipio the yōger. *Scipio* the yonger that afterwarde toke *Carthage*, ſeruing vnder *Lucullus* in *Celtiberia*, came to *Maſſiniſſa* to deſire him to ſend Elephants, *Maſſiniſſa* preparing his body for the fight againſte the next daye, ſente horſemen to receiue him and diuerſe of his ſonnes. He, by breake of day, ordered his army being. lxxv. yeares of age, ryding yet very ſtrongly, and leaping vppon the bare horſe, as the manner is of the *Numidians*, being a good captaine, and a fighting ſouldiour.

The age, ſtrēgth and valiantneſſe of Maſſiniſſa.

Numidians of long life. The *Numidians* be moſt ſtrong, and among them that liue long, of moſte long life. The cauſe is peraduenture, that they haue no ſharpe winter, by the which euery thing is deſtroyed, nor the ſommer ſo hotte as the *Aethiopians* and *Indians*, therefore this region bringeth forth moſte ſtrong beaſtes, and the men be alwayes in the ayre and in laboure, they drinke little wine, and their diet is very ſimple and thinne.

Maſſiniſſa on horſebacke, directed hys armye, and *Aſdrubal* brought his people, which were very manye, againſte him, for manye were come to hym out of the Countrey.

Scipio beholdeth the fight betwene the *Carthagies* and *Maſſiniſſa.*

Scipio behelde the fighte from an hyghe place, as from a Theatre. He was wont to ſay that he had ſene manye fieldes, but

but neuer none with suche pleasure, for he alone without care sawe a hundred and tenne thousande menne fighting togyther, and he sayde that only two beside him, had seene the lyke warre at *Troy*. *Iupiter* from *Ida*, and *Neptune* from *Samothracia*. This fight continued from morning till night, and after many slayne on both sides, *Massinissa* seemed to haue the better. *Scipio* met with him as he returned, and reioyced with him: he receyued him as an auntient friende, and shewed him all pleasure he coulde.

Ida an hill in Troade.

When the *Carthaginians* heard that *Scipio* was come, they prayed him that he woulde make an ende betweene *Massinissa* and them: he brought them togither, and for the agreement, the *Carthaginians* offered *Massinissa* the lande they had at *Emporium*, and to giue him two hundred talents of siluer presently, and eight hundred in time: and when he desired the outlawes to be restored, they coulde not abyde to heare it. And so they departed doing nothing. *Scipio* returned to *Spain*, with his Elephãtes. *Massinissa* laye aboute the hyll of his enimies, wayting that no victual should be brought them. There was none nygh hande, and to himselfe, a great way off, it was brought with muche ado, and very little. *Asdrubal* at the firste, might haue passed thorow his enimies, hys armye beyng strong and sounde: but because he was better stored of victuall than *Massinissa*, he thought he would haue sued for peace: and he tarried also, hearing that Ambassadours came from *Rome* to make peace: To whome it was sayde: That if *Massinissa* were ouercome, they should ende the matter, but if he had the better, they shoulde encourage him. And so they did.

Scipio is made Vmpier betwixt *Massinissa*, and the *Carthagies*.

Partialitie of the Romaines.

Priuie instructions giuen the ambassadours.

The famine consumed *Asdrubal* and the *Carthaginians*, who were so weake in bodie, that they could not force the enimie. First they eate their beastes, then their horses of cariage, then they sodde their horse gyrthes and eate them. Many diseases toke them, as well for their euill sustenaunce, as for their lack of labour, and heate of the yeare. For a multitude of men in a campe was thronged togyther in a little space, and heate of *Libya*, and when woode fayled them to seeth their meate, they

Famine in the Carthagies camp.

burned their Targets. The dead men were not carried away, for *Maßiniſſa* would not ſuffer it, nor they were not burned for lacke of woode. The peſtilence was greate amongſt them, and daunger, for the ſauours and corrupted bodyes. The moſte part of the army died, and the reſte had no hope of life. Therefore they promiſed to reſtore to *Maßiniſſa* his runawayes, & to pay him 5000. talents of ſiluer in fifty yeres, & to receiue their bannished men contrary to their othes, & they to paſſe throughe one gate, by their enimies, only in their coates. *Celoſſa*, being yet grieued with them for the iniurie they did him, whither by his fathers conſent, or of himſelfe, ſent the *Numidian* horſemē vpon thē as they wente away, to be reuenged of them, they neyther hauing armour to defend, nor ſtrength to flye, ſo that of. 58000. men fewe came ſafe to *Carthage*, and with them *Aſdrubal* the captaine, and other of the noble men. This was the ende of the warre betweene *Maßiniſſa* and the *Carthagies*. Then followed the thirde and laſt warre of the Romaines in *Libya*. When the *Carthaginians* were thus weakened by the ouerthrow of *Maßiniſſa*, and their Citie in moſt feeble ſtate, they were afrayde of *Maßiniſſa*, being at hande with ſo great an army, and of the Romaynes, euer their heauy enimies, and ſeking occaſion, for ỹ was done againſt *Maßiniſſa*, in neyther of the which they were deceyued: for as ſone as the Romaynes hearde of it, they appointed an army ouer all *Italie*, not ſhewing to what vſe, that they might be ready when they ſhoulde be called. The *Carthaginians* thinking to put away this occaſion, cōdemned *Aſdrubal* that was Captaine of the warre againſt *Maßiniſſa*, and *Carthalone* the *Boetharch*, and all other that were occaſions of it, putting the blame of the warre vpō them. They ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, that accuſed *Maßiniſſa*, and alſo accuſed theſe men, that ſo raſhly and ſodenly made the buſineſſe, and brought the Citie into daunger of enimitie. One of the Senatours aſked them, why they did not puniſhe the authours of the warre at the beginning, but after they were ouercome, and had good will to make war again vpon vs, and ſought occaſion of it: to him they anſwered, that the *Carthaginians* in deed had not yet ſatiſfied the

The *Carthagies* yelde to *Maßiniſſa*.

The *Carthagies* ſlaine.

The third vvar vvith *Carthage*.

Aſdrubal is condemned.

Boetharch vvas a chiefe office in *Thebes*, and *Beotia*.

Ambaſſadours from *Carthage* to *Rome*.

Romaines.

Romaines. Therefore being troubled againe, they asked if they were thought to offend, what they might doe to make amendes? They sayde thus, to this worde: If you shal satisfie the Romaynes. Some thoughte, in debating what this satisfaction should be, that the Romaines would adde more money to that *Scipio* had appointed. Some thoughte to graunte *Massinissa* the lande that was in controuersie. Then they sente ambassadours againe to *Rome*, to knowe expressye, what would satisfie the Romaynes, to whom it was aunswered, that the *Carthaginians* knew well ynough, and so sent thē away. Then they were in doubt and feare of thys matter. *Vtica* was the greatest Citie in *Libya* next *Carthage*, hauing fayre portes, and a countrey plentifull to sustaine an army, lx. furlongs from it, & fit to make warre against thē: being in doubt of *Carthage*, & vttering their old hate against thē in time, sent ambassadours to *Rome*, to yelde *Vtica* to the Romaines. The Senate that before was enclined and prepared to this warre, by the comming of so myghtie and conuenient a Citie vnto them, opened theyr mynde, and being assembled in the Capitoll, where they were wont to consulte of warre, decrēde the warre againste *Carthage*. They sent out of hande the Consuls, *Marcus Manilius* with the fotemenne, and *Lucius Marcius Censorinus* with the nauy, to whome was giuen in secrete, that they shoulde not leaue the warre, till *Carthage* were taken.

The doubtful dealing of the Senate with the Carthagies.

Vtica is giuen to the Romanes.

The third warre with Carthage is determined.

When they hadde sacrifised, they sayled into *Sicelie*, to goe from thence to *Vtica*. They had fiftie gallies, a hundered foysts, & many Crayers, Barkes and Hoyes. They had an army of .xx. thousand fotemen, and foure thousand horsemen, al of the best sort, euery citizen & confederate, being desirous to go to so noble a voyage, and many willingly put their names in the roll. Warning, and warr it selfe was giuen the *Carthagies* by one messenger. For he carried the decrée of warre, and shewed the ships that sailed againste thē. They wer amazed & in despaire, for want of ships, & so great a losse of their youth, neyther hauing confederates nor hired souldiers, nor victuals to endure a siege, nor any thing els in warr soden & not proclaimed,

VVar made vvithout proclamation.

nor bring able to resist the Romaines and *Massinissa* to. They sent other ambassadors to *Rome* with ful authoritie, to satisfie for the present, as well as they could. The Senate sayd to the ... of the *Carthaginians* within .xxx. dayes shall deliuer to the Consuls that be yet in *Sicelie*, three hundred of your most noble children for pledges, and shall do in other things as they shal wil them, it is lawefull for *Carthage* to be free and of it selfe, and haue all their lande in *Libya*. Thus they decreed openly, and gaue the *Carthaginians* the decree, to cary to *Carthage*: but in secrete they sent to to the Consuls, to keepe their former instructions. The *Carthaginians* suspected this determination, that the peace wold not bee firme, though they delinered their children: but beingin such a danger, nor hauing where to put their trust, but with diligence to shew their readinesse, they caried their children to *Sicilie*, their parents and their friends lamenting, specially their mothers, the which, like madde women folowed their children and the shippes, and helde the souldiours and the Ancres, and pulled the tackle, and stopped the Marriners, and stayed the sayles: some followed swimming a great way in the sea, weeping that they were taken from their children. Some vpon the lande, did teare their haire and beate their breasts, as they are wonte in a funerall. For it seemed in worde, a deliuerie of children, for a confermitie, but in deede, it was a verye yelding of the Citie, their children being deliuered vpon no certaine condition: and many did prophesie in the deliuerie of their childre, that it shoulde not profitte the Citie. This was the manner of the conueying of the children at *Carthage*. When they were come to *Sicelie*, the Consuls sente them to *Rome*. And there it was sayde vnto them, that they shoulde heare the ende of the war in *Vtica*.

The Senate sayeth one thing and meaneth another.

Euident double dealing of the Romanes.

The Romaynes arriue at *Vtica*.

The Romaines being come thyther, laye with their armye, where *Scipio* did before, their nauye harboured in the ports of *Vtica*. The ambassadours being come from *Carthage*, the Consuls satte on high seates, the Colonels and Marishals standing about them. The army on eyther side in a greate length, apparelled with fayre armour, their ensignes they holde vppe, that

the

the Embassadours might see the multitude of them. Then the Consulls commaunded silence with a Trumpet. The Trumpet called the *Carthaginians* to come neare. They were led thorough the long army, not very nighe the seate of State, but at a barre in the middest. The Consuls commaunded them to saye theyr message. They spake muche to moue pitie, and diuers things, touching the leagues made betweene them and the Romanes, & of *Carthage*, a Cittie of so long continuaunce, of people and power, & both by sea and land of most great dominion, which they spake not, (they saide) to extoll themselues, for in aduersitie it is no tyme to vaunte: but you (O Romanes) may be moued to reason, and modestie by our sodaine mutation. They be beste that pitie them that fall, for they make their owne hope the better, that do not deale cruil with them that be in misfortune. This is a thing fit for you & your modestie, to haue chiefly consideratiō of men. But if we haue founde you sharpe ennimies, the misfortunes we haue suffered, maye satisfie you, whiche are spoyled of the power we had by sea and land, and haue gyuen our ships to you, and made no moze, and haue refrained from hunting and possessing of Elephants, & haue giuen our best pledges both before and now, and haue payed our tributes truely, whiche were wont to receiue of other. And this was sufficient to poure fathers, with whom we made warre, who, when they hadde made peace with vs, vsed vs as friends and confederates. The othe that is made in a league, is alike to both: and they were faythful to vs in peace, after we had made an end of war. But you, with whome we haue not contended, what can you alledge for breaking of couenants, or that you should so sodainely decree war, & come vppon vs, before it was proclaymed? haue we not payed you our tributes? haue we ships or Elephants to be enuied? are we not to be pitied, that of late loste fiftie thousand men by famine? but we haue made war vppon *Massinissa*, who is encreased by it, and all we haue suffered for you, for beyng rigorous and iniurious to vs, and to the soyle in which he was nourished and brought vppe. He gote from vs oure lande at *Emporio*, whiche when he hadde, he inuaded moze, till agreement was

Embassadours of *Carthage* to the Consuls at *Vtica*.

A Iuersitie.

Mutation of Fortune.

Auntient *Romanes* kept couenauntes.

Othe in league.

Emporia.

made betweene hym and vs, by you: if this be the pretence of this warre, we condemned the offendours of him by proclamation, and sent Ambassadoures to you, that myght purge vs, and others after that, with ful power to make peace, as you would. What nedeth then, ships, and nauy, and armye against me nne, not only confessing to haue offended, but yelding themselues vnto you? That we meant no deceite to you, nor refuse to suffer anye paine that you woulde put vppon vs, it appeareth plainelye, when we sent our best children in pledges to you, as you required, and that within .xxx. dayes, as the decree commanded. The tenor of whiche decree is, that if we deliuer oure pledges: that *Carthage* should be free, and of it selfe, and enioy the land we haue. Thus said the Embassadors. Then *Censorinus* stode vp and said: What nede we shew the causes of war to you (O *Carthaginians*) seding Ambassadors to *Rome*, and learning that of the Senate: what ye sayde vntruly of vs, that I will reproue. For the decree is manifest, and we saide before vnto you in *Sicilie*, when we receiued youre pledges, that you should haue the rest of oure commaundements at *Vtica*. For the choice and spedye bringing of your pledges, we praise you. What nedeth armour to them that kepe peace purely? Deliuer all youre publike and priuate armoure that euery man hathe: Bring to vs youre shot and munition. Thus he saide. The Ambassadoures saide, that they woulde obey thys also, but were afraid, that *Asdrubal* being condemned by proclamation, and leading .xx.M. men, and encamping at *Carthage*, woulde resist it. The Consulls saide, that the Romanes would see to that. Then they promised to deliuer this also: There was sent with them *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *Cneus Cornelius Hispalus*: they brought forth .ij.C.M. harnesses, arrowes, & darts an infinite number, & slings that threw headed arrows, and stones .2000. The sight of this cariage was faire & straunge, so many wagons being carried of the enimies. The Ambassadours folowed them, and the best of the auntient sorte in the Citie, the priests and other of estimation, and all to moue the Consuls to chaunge, or to mercy. Being brought with that order to the Consulls, *Censorinus* that was more eloquent than hys

Decree, if pledges were deliuered.

The Romane Consull to the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthagi-nians* deliuer their armoure.

his fellowe, stode vp, and with a seuere countenaunce, said thus: We praise you of *Carthage* for your obedience, and readinesse in deliuering both your pledges and your armour. To men in necessitie, short speche behoueth. Forsake you *Carthage*, and dwel where you wil, four score furlongs from the sea, for we be determined to deface *Carthage*. Whiles he was saying thys, they held vp their handes with a crie to the heauens, and called vppon the Goddes, as men deceyued, and wished all euils vppon the Romanes, as mē that would die, or were beside themselues, or prouoke the Romanes into hate of the Embassadors. They fel vpon the earthe, and with their handes and heads dit beate it, some tore their garments, and defiled their bodies, as diuers beside themselues. When the passion was passe, a great silence and astonishmēt appeared, as though they had bin dead. The *Romanes* were amazed, and the Consulls knew they were stricken wyth the strange commandement, & wold be in that passion for a time, perceiuing very well, that greatest griefs doe strike most vehemently at the first, but in time, necessitie causeth boldnesse to obey.

The *Carthaginians* are commanded to forsake the Citie.

So daine passion

Thus were the *Carthaginians* afflicted, and with their silence feeling greater matter, they ceased their disdainefulnesse, & fel to weeping and lamenting themselues, and their children, and their wiues by name, and their Country, as though it hadde hearde them, as a man, speaking many lamentable things. The priests called vppon their holy things, and their Gods, as thoughe they had bin present, laying their destruction vppon them. There was a confused and miserable mourning of them that brought both publique and priuate things, that it made the *Romaynes* themselues to weepe. The Consulls were also stricken wyth suche humaine mutation, and with seuere manner abode the fulnesse of the matter.

When they had ceased weeping, they waxed silent again, considering that their city was naked and vnarmed, hauing neither ship, sword, dart, nor engine, nor mē sufficient to resist. l. M. being destroyed of late: straungers ayde had they none, nor friend, nor confederate, nor tyme. Their enimies had all, their children,

their

their armour, their land, and came armed againſte their Citie with Shyppes, ſwtmen, engines and horſe. *Maſſiniſſa* another enimye, was at their ſides. They refrained from rage and choller, as nothing profiting in calamities. They turned againe to reaſō. And *Hanno* that is called *Gylla*, obtaining licence to ſpeak, ſaid thus:

Hanno Gylla, to the Romanes.

If there be any regarde with you, (O Romanes) of oure former ſpeeches, we would ſpeake, not as they that can bring forth any thing to iuſtifie vs, for there is no reſiſtaunce in tyme to the afflicted, but that you maye learne, it is not without reaſon or cauſe that you ſhoulde haue pitie of vs. We hauing dominion in *Libya* and the ſea, haue manye times contended with you for the Soueraintie, and at length gaue place to *Scipio*, when we deliuered our ſhips and Elephants to you, and agreed to giue you tribute, and gaue them in time. Then for the Goos that be iudges, ſpare vs, ſpare vs alſo for the othe that *Scipio* made vs, that the Romanes ſhoulde be friends and confederates to the *Carthaginians*. There is not, wherein we haue offended: we haue neither ſhips nor Elephants, nor haue lefte oure tributes, but wee haue taken your part againſt *Philippus*. *Perſeus*. *Antiochus*. Kings, and it ought not to diſpleaſe you, if wee ſaide thys before, when we deliuered you our armoure. For miſery maketh men ſpeake muche: nothyng is more ſtrong in ſupplications, than couenaunts made, nor wee haue any other thing for our refuge but words, ſeeyng we haue deliuered to you all oure ſtrength. Of theſe former thinges, *Scipio* (O *Romanes*) was our aſſurance. Of the preſent, you Conſuls be Authours and witneſſe with vs. You required pledges, and he brought them to you of the beſte ſorte. You required armour, and you haue it al, which they that are taken with ſiege, will not willingly deliuer: we haue truſted the Romane cuſtome and manner, for the Senate commaunded vs, and you when you required pledges, ſaide that *Carthage* ſhoulde be free, when you hadde them, but if it were added, that we ſhoulde receyue the reſte of the commaundements, it is not right that you, affyrmyng in plaine ſpeeche, that oure Citie ſhoulde be free after the receit of the pledges, to appointe the ouerthrowe of *Carthage*

Miſery cauſe of muche ſpeache.

Miſery.

thage it selfe. If you thinke you may destroy it, how can you giue it libertie, or to be of it selfe, as you say? This wee haue to saye of the former league, and of that your selues haue done. If thys will not be accepted of you, wee giue ouer all, and that which is onely lefte to men in miserye, we flee to complainte and prayer: Much prayer is requisite for the multitude of euills. Wee beseeche you for the auntient Citie, inhabited by the Oracle of the Gods, and for the great glorie that it had, and the name that is spred ouer all the earth, and for the holy things that be so manye in it, and for the Goddes that haue not offended, whose solemnities, pompes, and feastes do not spoile, nor the sepultures and funeralls, since none of the deade men haue done you anye iniurie. If any pitie be in you, saying, you pitie vs, if you suffer vs to haue dwelling place, spare the place of publique assemblye, spare the Countrey Ceremonies, spare the God of Counsell, and all other that to them that be aliue be fruiteful and honorable. What neede you haue anye feare of *Carthage*, when you haue oure Shippes, armoure, and our Elephantes that be enuied? Touching our habitation, if you wil so comfort vs, is it impossible for men that haue liued in the sea, to dwel in ỹ maine land? of them an infinite number doth occupy the sea. We giue you a choice more for our contentation, and your glorie. Suffer the Cittie to stande, that hathe hurte none of you, and kill vs, whom you woulde haue remoue. So shall you seeme to be angry with men, and not with holy things, Gods and Sepulchres, and the Cittie that hathe not offended. You Romanes haue had regard of good fame, and rightwiseneſſe in all your workes, and you shewe modestie in prosperitie, add this you vse toward all that you take. Remembre *Iupiter* and the other Goddes, that yet haue *Carthage*, and doe not bring euills vppon you and youre children, do not blotte your good fame first vppon vs, nor deface youre glorye with suche an acte, euill to be done, and euill to bee hearde of, and begon first of you afore all other lyuing. There haue beene manye warres betweene the *Gretians* and the *Barbarians*, and manye betweene you *Romanes*, and others, yet was there neuer anye that defaced a Ci-

ee. tye,

'tie, giuing their handes afore fight, and deliuering their ar-
'mour and children, and if there be any hurte in the worlde, to su-
Reuengement belongeth to God. 'fer it patiently: Bringing to you the Goddes sworne, the for-
'tune of man, and the moste fearfull Goddes of reuengeaunce,
'to them that be in felicitie. We beseeche you not to dishonoure
'your selues vpon our state, that hath prospered, neyther to bring
'youre felicitie into infampe: giue vs leaue, if you will not suffer
'vs to haue oure Cittie, to sende Embassadoures againe to the
'Senate, to make intercession. You see a little distance of time,
'but bringing an heape of long torments in a shorte while, for
'the duety of the thing to come: For it is in youre power to doe
'what you will, either nowe or shortly after: Let pittie and hu-
'manitie be present with you. This said *Hanno*.

The Consulls euidently semed sad all the while he spake, by-cause they could graunt them nothing, and when they had made an end, *Censorinus* said.

The *Romane* Consull to the *Carthaginians*. 'Of that the Senate hathe commmaunded, what nede we
'speake much? for that it hathe commaunded, it must be obeyed,
'neither can we staye that they haue commaunded to bee done.
'For what we commaunde oure ennimyes to do, we doe but
'speake it, and it muste be done. And bycause the common profit
'is in talke, bothe ours, and muche more yours, (O *Carthagini-*
'ans) I will not refuse to speake to you by reason, if you can be
Sea occasion of offence. 'perswaded rather than compelled. The Sea putting you in
'mynde of your power and dominion, stirreth you to offende, and
'by that to fal into aduersitie. For by that, you haue ouercome
Sicilie. '*Sicilie*, which being done, you sayled into *Spaine*, and toke it, in the
Spaine. 'tyme of truce: ye robbed all Merchaunts, and chiefly cures: and
'that it might not be knowne, ye drowned them, till ye were ta-
'ken, and paide *Sardinia* for a penaltie. So you losse *Sardinia*, by
'the Sea, whiche naturally prouoketh all men to couet too much,
'bicause of the spedy commoditie of it. The *Athenienses* by be-
Sea like Marchauntes. 'ing Sea-men, dide winne muche and losse all. For the Sea is
'like marchauntes gaines, it hathe great encrease, and is losse
'at once. You know that they whome I nowe named, dilating

theyr

they? dominion from the *Ionian* sea, to the Ile of *Sicilie*, did not cease of coueting moze, befoze they hadde loste all their power, and giuen Poztes and Shippes to their enmimies, and receyued a garrison into their Cittie, and pulled downe their long wall, and then were made to dwell vppon the highe lande, the whiche saued the moste parte of them. Surer is the life (*Carthaginians*) vppon the lande, labouring the earth with quyetnesse, peraduenture the gaine is lesse, but surer. And lesse dangerous certainly is husbandry, than Merchaundise. And to me, a Cittie in the sea semeth rather a shippe than a lande, hauing muche tossing of businesse and mutabilitie. In the Inland, the profitte is without perill, as vppon the grounde. And for thys, the auncient Kingdomes for the moste parte were in the middest, and of it, were the greatest made, as of the *Medians*, the *Assirians*, and the *Persians*, and others. But I wyll cease off examples of Kynges, whyche do not agree wyth you. Loke vpon youre owne *Libya*, in the whyche you shall haue neighboures, as you wyll chose, that you maye take awaye the sighte and memorye that stirre you to the thynges that nowe trouble you, when you loke to the Sea, voyde of Shyppes, remembring the number of Shippes you haue hadde, and the prayes you haue taken, and to what Poztes you brought them plentifullye, and filled youre storehouses both of Shippes and Treasure-houses of all preparation. Whereto serueth youre walls, the receipte of youre armies, horses and Elephantes? Whereto is the memorie of them to you, but griefe and a stirring, to come agayne to the same, if you can? It is the affection of manne, by the remembraunce of former fortune, to hope to come againe to the like. The best remedy against euill fortune, is forgetfulnesse, which you cannot haue, except you take away the sighte. And thys is a manifest proofe, that beingmany times pardoned for the breache of your promise, you haue broke it stil, if you yet couet rule, & beare vs euil wil, that haue taken it from you, & wait your time: then haue you néede of such a citie, of such ports, & Arsenalls and walls to be made to receiue your army.

Athenienses lost all by coueting too much by sea

Gaine vppon land, lesse, but more sure.

A Cittie in the sea like a shippe

The great Monarchies on the lande.

Forgetfulnesse remedie against misery.

‘ And why ſhoulde we pardon you, ſince we finde you ſuche ad-
‘ uerſaries? If you will leaue your dominion in dæde, not in woꝛd,
‘ rather than in ſentence, being content with the lande you haue
‘ in *Libya*, and minde to kæpe without diſſimulation with vs, do it
‘ & ſhew it in dæde, go dwell in *Libya*, which you haue, and leaue
‘ the Sea, which you haue loſte. Neyther counterfaite pitie by
‘ holy thinges, country Goddes, common place, and ſepulchres.
‘ Whoſe ſepulchres ſhall remaine vntouched, and to make the ce-
‘ remonies to them, you may come and ſacrifice to youre holye
‘ Goddes if you will. The reſte we will take away. Foꝛ you to
‘ not ſacrifice in Arſenals, noꝛ ye make no yeare-minds vpon the
‘ walles, Altares, houſes, and Palaices, you may buꝛde where
‘ you goe, and they ſhall foꝛthwith be youre Countrey: as you
Carthaginians come of Tyrus. ‘ left *Tyrus* and came into *Libya*, and that you poſſeſſed here, you
‘ call your country. And to be ſhoꝛt, learne, that we do not enioine
‘ you this foꝛ euill will, but foꝛ ſure agrément, and publique con-
Alba. ‘ coꝛde. If you can remember, that *Alba*, not an enimie, but a
‘ mother-citie, not of euill minde, but willing inhabitaunce, foꝛ
‘ the common pꝛofite, wée tranſlated to *Rome*, and it was pꝛofy-
‘ table to both people. But ye ſaye there be many with you, that
Sea men. ‘ woꝛke foꝛ theyꝛ liuing by the ſea. This wée haue foꝛeſéene, that
‘ you maye haue eaſie traffike by ſea, and maye carrye and re-
‘ ceiue veꝛye commodiouſlye: foꝛ we put you not far from the
‘ Sea, but foure ſcoꝛe furlongs. Wée that do commaunde you
‘ this, bée a hundꝛed furlongs from it: wée gyue you a place,
‘ chooſe it your ſelfe, and when you are there, to bée of your ſelfe.
‘ Thys is it wée ſaide beforꝛe, that *Carthage* ſhoulde be free, if ſhée
Men be the citie, and not houſes. ‘ obeyed vs. Wée thinke you to be *Carthage*, and not the ground.
‘ When *Cenſorinus* had ſaid thys, he ceaſed. The *Carthagies* being
‘ aſtonished, ſaid nothing. Then he ſaide againe. I haue ſpoken
‘ what I thought might perſwade you, and comfoꝛte you. But
‘ the Senates commaundement muſte bée done, and that oute of
‘ hande. Theꝛefoꝛe goe youꝛ waye, foꝛ yet you be Embaſſadoꝛs.
‘ Thus he ſpake, and they were remoued by the Sergeants. And
‘ foꝛeſéeing what might follow of it at *Carthage*, they deſired leaue
‘ to ſpeake againe, and bæyng bꝛought in, they ſaide:

We

We see your commaundement must be obeyed, for you wyll not let us sende to *Rome*, we do not hope to returne to you, for we shall be killed of the *Carthaginians*, while we tell them your commaundement: we beseech you, not for our selues, for we be ready to suffer all things, but for *Carthage*, if it maye be driuen to suffer calamitie by feare, sende your shippes thyther, whiles we go, that hearing and seeing your cõmaundement, they may beare it if they can. Into such extreme necessitie, we are driuen, as we desire you to sende your shippes against our owne countrey. When they had thus sayde, they went their way. *Carthagies speak against.*

Censorinus with twentie gallies, shoared about the Cittie. Some of the ambassadours stodde in the waye, the more parte wente on with silence. The *Carthaginians* seking for the ambassadours comming on the wals, were troubled with their tarriaunce. and some tore their heare, some woulde not tarry, but went to mete them, so desirous to learne the trueth. When they sawe them heauye, they stroke their faces, and did aske some, of them al, some of their friends and acquaintaunce, and when they had saluted them, and asked them, and had none answere, they lamented, as in an euident distruction: and some that heard them from the wals, lamented with them, not knowing any thing, as in a manifest and gret aduersitie. At the entry of the gates, they had almost thrust one another to death, & almoste torne the ambassadours in pieces, but that this saued them, that they must first speake with the Seniors. Some left them, and some went on with them, desirous to know with the soneest. When they were entred the Senate house, the Seniors commaunded the other to auoyde, and they onely remayned, the people stode without. The Ambassadours shewed the commaundement of the Consuls. The Senate cryed out, the people without did the like. The ambassadours shewing further what they had alleaged to the contrary, and what prayers they had made to sende ambassadours to *Rome*, the Senate was in a deepe silence again, abyding to heare the ende, and the people was in silence also, but when they heard, they might not sēd to *Rome*, they were turned into an exceeding shryking. The Trouble in *Carthage* at the sight of the Ambassadours.

Fury of the *Carthagins*.

people ranne into them. Then fell they to a furye like madde men without reason, as the ministers of *Bacchus* be wont, which they saye, shewe their madnes in diuerse maners. Some were angry with the Senatours, which wer the cause why the pledgies were sent, and spoyled and tore them, as authours of the deceyt: some for letting the armor go: some misused the ambassadours, as tellers of euil newes, and dragged them aboute the Citie. Some tormented the *Italians* that were yet there, the case being sodayne and not proclaymed, sundry wayes, saying they were reuenged of their pledgies and armour. The Cittie was full of anger, feare, and threates. In the way, they called vpon their best beloued things, they fledde into the temples, as to Sanctuaries, they reuiled their goddes that coulde not helpe them. Other went to the armaries, and cryed when they found them empty. Some went into the Arsenals and lamented their shippes, as giuen to men without fayth, and called some of the Elephants by name, as they had bene presente: some rebuked their auncestours and themselues, that should neither haue giuen shippes, rentes, nor armour, but had dyed wyth their armed Countrey. And the mothers of the pledgies, did moste moue them to rage, which, like vnto tragical Furies, ranne to euery man with shryking, and obiected the deliuerie of their children, and their speaking against it, and tolde them, God did punishe them, for their children. A few, that were sober, shut the gates, and filled the walles full of stones in steade of other weapons. The Senate decréed warre that day, and gaue libertie to bond men. They chose generals, *Asdrubal* for the outward affaires, that was condemned to death, hauing then togither twentye thousand men, and one wente to him in haste to desire him not to forsake his afflicted countrey in extréme perils, nor to thinke nowe on the iniurie that was done him for feare of the Romaines. Within the walles, another *Asdruball* was chosen, a nephewe of *Massinissa* by his daughter. They sente to the Consuls for thirtie dayes respight to sende to *Rome*. Being denyed this also, they fell into a maruellous change of courage, whyther they shoulde suffer it, or leaue their Cittie,

The feastes of *Bacchus* be shewed by tunes, for the dronken sort do differ little from mad folke.

The rage of the people of *Carthage*.

Carthage determined to stand to defence.

The *Carthagies* are denied to send to Rome.

and

and forthwith, were filled with boldenesse, with a new change. The common houses, the publique Temples, and all the holy places, and euerie other worke of anye strength, they wrought vppon daye and night, men and women, not ceasing, and gathered victualles by partes, as the time did serue: euerye daye they made a hundred shieldes, three hundered swordes, and a thousand arrowes to shote, fiue hundred speares and pykes, and as many bowes and slinges as they could. The women shaued their haire to make strings for them, bycause they wanted other matter, and continued in thys prouision. The Consuls, peraduenture stayed to beginne so monstrous a matter with leysure, thinking to take the citie vnarmed when they would, and supposed that they wold giue ouer for want, as in hard cases men be wont at the first, to be earneste, but wyth time & reason being perswaded, giue place to feare, by ẏ whiche one of the *Carthagies*, supposing feare had possessed them, durste come into the common place, as though he would haue spoken of some other matter, & sayd, that they being vnarmed, ought to take the meaner euill, euen so playnelye speaking his sentence.

The marueilous diligence of the *Carthagies*.

Of euills the lesser.

Now was *Masinissa* angry & greuously offended with the *Romanes*, ẏ he bringing the *Carthagies* forre vpō their knées now he saw other run for the title, and came to the thing, not makyng him priuy as they were wont to do in other wars. The Consuls likewise, hadde him in some suspition, and sent to him for ayde: he answered, he would send them ayde, when he shoulde vnderstande they had nēde, and sending not long after, asked if they had anye nēde, They not suffering his pride, and distrusting him as one offended, aunswered they woulde sende to hym when they nēded. For victuall for the armye they hadde only from *Adrumeto*, *Leptis*, *Saxo*, *Vtica* and *Colle*. All the the rest of *Libya* was *Asdrubals*, from the whiche, he sente victuals to *Carthage*. Being victualled for a fewe dayes, the Consulles marched to the Cittie of *Carthage* prepared to fight.

Masinissa offended.

Masinissa offended vvith the Romaines.

The

The discription of Carthage.

The Citie standeth in a gret deepe gulfe, almost as an Iland: a place called a neck did diuide it frō the lād, 25. furlongs broade, from the which, a narrow piece of ground called a towne halfe a furlong broade, goeth to the weast in the midest of the pole and the sea, with a simple wall among the rockes, towarde the south lande warde, where the olde Citie *Byrsa* was. In the neck was a triple wall. Euerye one of these, was thirtie Cubites high, beside the batlements, and towers, distaunt two acres asunder, stayde by foure planchers, thirtie fote deepe, at the plācher was the higth of euery wall, and in it, being rounde and strong, three hundred Elephants were placed belowe, and the treasure of their store. Upon thē was stables for four thousand horses, with granaries for wheate and barley. There was receytes for men, twentie thousand a fote, and foure thousande on horse: so greate prouision of warre, was appointed to be placed in the walles only. One nooke about the narow part, did bow from the wall to the portes, which was only weake and lowe, not regarded at the beginning. They sayled out of one porte to another, and from the sea there was one entrye lxx. fote broade, which they did shut with chaynes of yron. The firste was for merchauntes, in the which were manye and diuerse places of receyt. Within this in the middest was an Ile, and both the Ile and the pole was compassed with greate holowe corners, the which were full of munition for shippes, able to receiue two hundered & twentie ships, and Cellers for preparation of shippes and gallies furniture: two pillers of *Ionian* fashion, stode before euery porte of shippes, like a gallery in the sight of them that passed by the Iland and the port. In the Ile was the store for the admiral, frō whēce the Trumpeter must giue warning, and the crier tel the time, and the Admirall sēe abroad. The Iland was right against them that sayled, drawn a great length, that the Admirall might sēe all in the sea, and they that sayled by, should not sēe the places of the portes perfectly. Neyther could the Merchaunts in their port, sēe the store for the shippes For a double wall was set about them, & gates did receiue the Merchaunts to go into the Citie, not passing by

One vveake place.

The admirals port.

the

the storehouses of the shippes. At that time thus stode the Citie of *Carthage*.

The Consuls diuided their businesse and came against their enimies. *Manlius*, from the lande, against the necke, to fil the ditch, to beate down the little wal, and so to approch to the high walles. *Censorinus* brought ladders both from the lande and the shippes, against the part of the bowing wall. They both made little accompte, as of vnarmed men: tyll they founde them to haue new armour, and great courage, at the wounder of the whiche, they gaue backe, and at the beginning fayled of their purpose, thinking to get the Citie without any fighte. The seconde time attempting, and againe reiected, the courage of the *Carthagies* encreased. The Consuls being afrayde of *Asdruball*, which had his campe at their backe not far off, at the poole, defensed both their campes. *Censorinus*, at the Poole, vnder the walles of the Citie, *Manlius*, in the necke, the way to the lande. And thus their camps being made strong, *Censorinus* with his, passed the Poole, for stuffe to make engines, where hee left fiue hundered workemen, and much armoure, *Imilco* the generall of the horse of *Carthage*, comming sodaynely vppon hym, who was surnamed *Phameas*. Yet getting matter, he made engines and ladders, and agayne they both gaue assault, and were repulsed.

The Consuls against *Carthage* by sea and land.

Imilco.

Ceforinus loseth men.

The Romaines haue three repulses.

Manlius beginning a little, and hardly breaking any part of the wall, dispayred and left it off. *Censorinus* filling a trenche next the narrow earth at the Poole, to make it the more passable, brought two greate engines that caried rammes, the one was heaued with fiue thousand fotemen, the Colonels guiding it, the other of the Mariners by the conduct of the Admiralles. And contention being which should doe best, both of the Captaines and souldiours, a piece of the wall was throwen down, and they might see into the Cittie.

The *Carthaginians* to repulse them, repayred the breach in the night: and bycause they could not finishe all by night, and were afrayde, that that was already done, shoulde be throwen down in the daye by the Romaynes engines, being newe made and

greẽ, they ranne vpon the engines of the enimies, some armed, some naked, hauing only burning lampes. They burned not all, bycause they could not preuent the Romanes, but that they came out: yet they made them all vnprofytable, and returned. Day being come, the Romanes had boloneſſe to aſſault ẏ place that was fallen & not fully made vp: for within apeared a plain fit for to fight, in the fronte of the which, the armed *Carthagies* ſtode, & behynde, the vnarmed, with ſtones & ſtaues: & other placed in the next houſes, to entertaine the approching enimie, the which, ſeeing ſuch contempt of naked men, leapt in boldly. *Scipio* (that not long after deſtroyed *Carthage*, & was called *Affricane*,) being a Marſhall at that time, ſtayed, & diuiding his bands into many partes, and ſtanding a diſtaunce from the wal, would not let anye of his to enter the Citie, but receyued them that were driuen out by the *Carthaginians*, and ſaued them. And this was the beginning of his glorie, appearing more wiſe than the Cõſul. The army of *Cenſorinus* was ſicke, lying at the Fenne ful of ſtanding and corrupt water, & not receiuing winde from ẏ ſea, bycauſe of the high wals. Therfore *Cenſorinus* remoued into the ſea.

The Carthagies burn part of the Romanes engines.

Scipio ſhewveth his vviſedome being an inferiour officer in the campe.

In this place is a vvant of text.

The Carthagies burne part of the Romanes nauy.

The *Carthaginians*, whẽ ẏ winde blew toward the Romanes, filled their boates with flaxe and bruſhe, within the wals, that the enimyes ſhould not ſée it from the ſhippes, and when they came forth and ſhould be ſéene, they layd on ſulphure and pitch, and then ſet vp ſayle, and threw fire into the veſſels, the which being carried with the winde ẏ blewe luſtily, into the Romane nauye, ſette the ſhippes on fire and almoſt burned them all.

Not long after, *Cenſorinus* went to *Rome* for the election.

The *Carthagies* were the bolder vppon *Manlius*, and in the night ſome armed and ſome vnarmed carying bridges, aſſaulted the next trenche of *Manlius*, and beganne to pull downe the rampire.

The ſouldiours within beyng troubled in the nighte time, *Scipio* came with his horſemen by a contrarye parte, where no enimies were, and feared the *Carthagies*, when he was comming vpon them, and they retired into the Citie.

In

In this fight the souldiours disordered by night, *Scipio* was thought to haue saued them once againe very nobly, and *Manlius* kepte his campe more sure, making a wall where the rampire was, and erecting a tower towarde the sea, for the shippes that brought him victual. Then turning to the lande with ten thousande fotemenne, and two thousande horse, he walked the countrey, gathering wode, corne and victuall, and one Tribune after another, did serue the turne. *Phameas* the Captaine of the horsemen, being yong, and desirous to fight, and vsing little and light horses, that were fedde with grasse, when they had none other, and to suffer hunger and thirste, when nede was, képing secret in vallies and woods, whē he saw thē negligēt, came forth of the sodayn, like an Eagle, and when he had spoyled, he retired, but whē *Scipio* cōmaunded ẏ armye, he wold not apeare. *Phameas.*

For *Scipio* led his people euer in order, the horsemen képing on horsebacke, and in his raunging, woulde not dissolue hys order, before he had beset the field which he would spoyle, with horsemen and armed fotemen. And he roade about with other bandes, and kepte in the forragers that lefte their companie, or went out of the compasse. Therfore *Phameas* wold not come vpon him. And this being often done, *Scipio* had great glorye. The other Captaynes enuying, gaue out, that there was friendshyp betwéen the auncestours of *Phamea*, and the grandfather of this *Scipio*. The *Libyans* that fledde into towers and fortes, that were many in ẏ countrey, the other Tribunes would couenaunt with them to depart, & assaile thē as they went, but *Scipio* would send them home. Therfore there was such a fame of his valiātnesse and faith, as they would not trust, except *Scipio* gaue his word, so as he was honoured both of his own & of his enimies. Comming from forraging, the *Libyans* assaulted the castle of the nauy, in the night: & the cōfusion being great, by the eschries ẏ the *Carthagies* made, to cause ẏ more terror, *Mālius* kept his mē within, not knowing the matter. *Scipio* takyng two bandes of horsemen, came forth with burning lightes, commaunding his men not to fight, because of the darke, but onely to run about wyth the fire, to séeme ẏ more, & affray the enimy, so as the *Carthaginiās* The circumspection of *Scipio.* Enuie against *Scipio.* *Scipio* iust of promise.

being made afrayde both wayes, fledde into the citie. Thys alſo redounded muche to *Scipio* his glorie. Wherefore he was well ſpoken of by euerie man, and thought a worthy ſonne, of *Paulus* that conquered *Macedonie*, and of the *Scipios*, into whoſe family he was adopted.

The progenie of *Scipio*.

Nepheris.

Manlius going to *Nepheris* againſt *Aſdrubal*, *Scipio* was not contente, ſeeing al woddes and hylly places, and the high places gotten before: and as they were three furlongs from *Aſdrubal*, and coming to a riuer muſt aſcend to *Aſdrubal*, he ſtayd then, and counſelled him to retire, and that another time and pollicie ſhould be more fitte to match with *Aſdrubal*. The other Tribunes ſpeaking againſt him for enuy and malice, not thinking it good counſell to giue place in the ſight of the enimye, whereby they might contemne them, and ſet vpon them as flying, hee againe deſired them, to put their campe on the hyther ſide of the riuer, that if they were put to it, they might haue a place to reſorte, where as nowe they hadde none, whereunto they might flye. They laughed at this, and one threatned to caſte away his ſworde, if not *Manlius*, but *Scipio* did rule. Therefore *Manlius* went on, not verye ſkilfull in the warre. *Aſdrubal* encountred with him, and there was greate ſlaughter on both ſides. Then *Aſdrubal* ranne into a caſtle where was no peril,

Scipio Counſel is reiected.

The Romanes are ouerthrovvn by *Aſdrubal*.

and wayted to ſet on them as they wente, who repenting that they had done, they retired to the ſloud in order, but the ſloud being hard to paſſe, bycauſe of fewe fordes and painful, they wer forced to breake their order. Which, when *Aſdrubal* ſaw, he came downe manfully, and killed many, that did not reſiſte, but fledde, and three of the Captaines were ſlaine, that brought the army to that conflicte. But *Scipio* with three hundred horſemen that he had, and as manye as he coulde get togither, diuided into three companies, gaue charge vpon the enimie with greate vehemence, by portions darting at them, and retyring then vppon them, and agayne returning. For ſo he tolde them, that halfe of them ſhould aſſayle the enimies, and throw their dartes, as being in a circle. This being eft done, and the *Libyans* without any ſtaye, being ſhotte at continuallye, and all

Scipio ſaueth the Conſul and his army.

turning

turning vppon *Scipio*, the other had the leſſe trouble to paſſe the riuer. And *Scipio* rode after them, being ſtroke at verye ſore. Foure companies at the beginning of the fray being put from the ſloude by the enimies, ranne to an hill, where *Aſdrubal* beſieged them, vnknowne to the Romanes, till they ſtayed. When they knewe it, ſome thoughte good to goe their waye and not to aduenture many for a fewe. *Scipio* tolde them, that before a matter is begonne, good counſell muſte be hadde, but ſo manye Counſell before doyng. menne and enſignes being in daunger, the vttermoſte boldeneſſe muſte be vſed. He choſe certaine troupes of horſemen, and ſaid he would returne with them, or gladly die with them. He toke with him two dayes victuall, and ſtreight went forth, all the army being afraide, leaſt he alſo ſhoulde periſh. When he came to the hill where they were beſieged, he with great ſpæde toke an other hill ouer-againſte it, diuided by a little valley. Then the *Libyans* didde giue an hote charge vpon them that were beſieged, thinking *Scipio* coulde not ſuccoure them, being in ſo long a iorney. But he ſeing the bottomes of the hills compaſſing the valley, did not omit the occaſion, but ranne and toke a place aboue the enimies. They beyng now beſet rounde aboute, fled without order, *Scipio* ſuffering them to go freely, becauſe they were a great deale more than he.

Thus *Scipio* ſaued theſe alſo, that were in deſperation. When *Scipio* ſaueth 4. bands that were in daunger. the army ſawe him come a farre off, beyng ſaued beyond hope, and hauing ſaued the other, they made great reioyce, and thoughte God wrought with him, as he did with his Grandfather, Opinio of Gods working in *Scipio*. that ſeemed to knowe what was to come. *Manlius* led his army to the Cittie againe, putting great faulte in them that woulde not obey *Scipio*, when he counſelled to retire with the army. All Griefe for the vnburied ſouldioures. were muche grieued, that they that were killed, laye vnburied, ſpecially the Tribunes. Therfore *Scipio* loſed a priſoner, and ſent him to *Aſdrubal*, praying him to bury the Tribunes. He ſought among the dead bodies, and found them by their rings of golde. For the Tribunes of an army weare gold, and the inferiours, yron. He buried them, either as an acte of humanitie, Tribunes were rings of golde, the other of yron. and comon among warriors, or reuerencing and ſeruing *Scipios*

glozie.

When the Romaynes were come from *Asdrubal*, *Phamea* troubled them, being yet afraide of their losse. And some issued oute of *Carthage*, and killed some of their cariage.

At this time the Senate sent certaine men to sée the Campe, and to marke euery thing diligently. And *Manlius* and the counsel, and the Tribunes that were left, enuy beyng now extinct by vertue, & al the army, testified what actes *Scipio* had done for thé. The which, the Ambassadors at their returne, tolde the Senate what diligence and experience was in *Scipio*, and what goodwill of the army was toward him.

A general good reporte of *Scipio*

The Senate was glad of it. And bicause of their many losses, they sent to *Massinissa*, and required him to send friendlye aide to them againste *Carthage*. But he was not found of the Embassadors. For being decayed with age and infirmitie, and hauing many base sonnes, to whome he had giuen much, and thée lawfull, of diuers conditiõs, he called *Scipio*, for the amitie that was betwéne him and his grandfather, to be a counsellet for hys children and kinsmen. He went oute of hande, but before hée came, *Massinissa* dying, commaunded his children to obey *Scipio*, as he shoulde take order for them. Which, when he had saide, hée died, a man in all thinges fortunate, to whome, God graunted to recouer his fathers kingdom from the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*, and to encrease it from a greate parte of *Mauritania* by Sea, to the dominion of *Cyrene* by land, and caused a great portion to be inhabited. And many of the *Numidiãs* that liued with hearbs, and vsed no tillage, he left them with treasures of mony and army well practised. Of his ennimies, he toke *Syphax* prisoner with his own hand. Beyng the cause of the variance with *Carthage*, he left it weake to the *Romanes*. He hadde a body big, and strong of nature, to his laste age, and tried fight till hys death, and would leape on horse without stirrops. And this may be a great coniecture of hys good health, for hauing many children, & they sometime dying, he hadde tenne little ones, and lefte one of foure yeares of age, when he was .900. years olde. Thus *Massiniss*, of these yeares and body, ryed.

Massinissa maketh *Scipio* hys executor.

Massinissa dyeth. A fortunate mã.

Cyrene, nowe *Corene*, containing the prouince of fyue Cities.

Massinissa of .900. yeares of age had a childe of foure yeares olde.

Scipio

Scipio gaue to the baſtardes, other gifts, to the Legitimate, treaſures and reuenue, and to haue the name of a kyng common to them, and diuided other things among them, as he thoughte good. To *Micipſa* that was eldeſt, and moſte deſirous of peace, he gaue the Citie of *Cyrta*, and all the royall thinges in it. To *Geloſſa* that was a ſouldiour, and ſecond in age, he appointed to be the Lorde of peace and warre. To *Maſtanaba* the youngeſt, and giuen to Juſtice, he gaue the authoritie of iudgements and deciding controuerſies. The order that *Scipio* tooke vpon *Maſiniſſas* children. *Micipſa*, *Geleſſa*, and *Maſtanaba*.

Thus did *Scipio* diuide the kingdome and ſubſtaunce of *Maſſiniſſa* to his children, and preſently made *Geloſſa* a companion of the warre: and he founde oute the traynes, by the whiche, *Phameas* many times vexed the Romanes, and ſtayed them.

In a winter *Scipio* and *Phameas* encamped nighe togither, hauing in the middeſt a valley that could not be paſſed, nor doe any thing the one againſt the other.

And *Scipio* fearing that ſome traine might be laide before him, went to viewe it with three friends. When *Phameas* ſawe him, he came toward him with one. *Scipio* thinking he wold ſay ſomewhat, rode towarde him with one alſo. And when they might heare one another, *Scipio* ſaide: The *Carthaginians* being gone before why doſt thou not conſider of thine owne health, ſeeyng thou canſte doe nothing for the common wealth? Howe can I (quoth he) ſée for my ſafety, the *Carthaginians* ſtanding as they do, and the Romanes being ſo oft hurte by me? I promiſe thée (ſaid *Scipio*) if I be worthy to be truſted, ſafetie and forgiuenelle of the Romanes, and to haue thankes. He accepting him to bée moſt worthy, ſaide: I thinke ſo of thée, and if it be poſſible thou canſt tel, and ſo they departed. The talke betwene *Scipio* & *Pharneas*.

Manlius being aſhamed of the loſſe he had of *Aſdrubal*, marched againe to *Nepheris*, taking with him .xv. dayes victualles, and being at hande, made a trenche, and encamped (as *Scipio* counſelled him) in the former forney. And doyng no good, he was in a more feare and greater ſhame, leaſt *Aſdrubal* ſhould come vpon him, as he went away. And whiles he was in this doubt, one of *Geloſſas* army brought a letter to *Scipio*, and he deliuered it A newe rodde of *Manlius* to *Nepheris*. A letter to Scipio.

ſealed

sealed as it was, to the Generall. When they had opened it, they founde thys. Suche a daye I will take suche a place, come thou with as many as thou wilte, and bid the foremoste watche, receiue him that shall come in the night. The letter without anye name saide thus muche. *Scipio* thought it was touching *Phameas*. *Manlius* was afraide of *Scipio*, leaste he shoulde be deceyued of a man that was all bent to deceites. But when he sawe him haue good hope in the matter, he sente him, willing him to giue assurance for *Phameas* safety, but for his thankes, to determine nothing, but to promise him that the Romanes shoulde consider of him. There was no neede of suche premises. For when *Phameas* was come to the place appointed, he trusted *Scipio* for his safetie, giuing him his right hande: and as for thankes, let the *Romanes* consider it. When he had said thus, he determined to fighte the nexte day, & going before with his Captains, as to consider some other matter, he said: If I could any longer helpe my country, I am ready: But that standing as it doth, I am to forsee for mine owne safety, hauing receyued assurance for my selfe, I will receiue it for you, that will be perswaded by me: nowe is the time for you to consider for your selues. Thus he saide. Some of the captaines with their bands yelded, and were in number. 2200. horsemen. The rest, *Hanno*, called The White, did retaine. Whe *Scipio* came, *Phameas* army met with hym, and extolled *Scipio*, as in a triumphe. *Manlius* beyng very glad, not thinking any longer his returne to be rebukefull to him, nor afraide that *Asdrubal* woulde folow him, he remoued streight for want, being now the .xbij. daie, appointing but .xb. and so muste suffer paine for three daies. *Scipio* taking *Phamea* and *Gelossa*, with their horsemen, and certaine *Italians*, went to a field called the Great Dungeō, and from thence brought much pray and victuall for their camp by night. *Manlius* vnderstanding that *Calphurnius Piso* shold come as his successor, set *Scipio* and *Phamea* to *Rome* afore, and the army following *Scipio* to the ship, praised *Scipio*, and prayed he might be sent Consul into *Libya*, as he that only could ouerthrow *Carthage*. For it was an opinion among the people proceeding from God, ỹ only *Scipio* could conquere *Carthage*. And many wrote so to their friendes

Phameas yeelderth to *Scipio*.

Phameas to hys Captraynes.

Hanno the vvhite.

The great dungeon.

Scipio and *Phameas* to *Rome*.

The peoples opinion of *Scipio*.

frends in *Rome*. The Senate commended *Siphax*, and honored *Phameas* with pretious gifts of golde and purple, and an horse trapped with golde, and an armour for his whole body, and .v. C. siluer drammes, & an hundred pound waite of siluer plate, and a tent & furniture according, and badde him hope for better gifts, if he did his endeuor in the reste of the warre. He promised so to do, and sailed into *Libya* to the Romanes camp. At the Spring, *Calphurnius Piso* the Consul came, & with him, *Lucius Mancinus* to the nauy. They neither did any thing against *Carthage* nor *Asdrubal*, but besieged Cities, & were driuen frō *Clupea*, when they had beset it both by sea and land. *Piso* tooke another city nigh, & spoiled it, offring to come to accorde. From thence they went to *Hypozareta*, a great Cittie, wel walled, with a Castle, Ports, ships and houses, which *Agathocles* the Tyranne of *Sicilie* did builde very fayre. It was in the middest betweē *Carthage* & *Libya*, whiche robbed the Romanes prouision by sea, & therfore was very rich. *Calphurnius* thought to punishe the same, and to take awaye the profit, but being at it an whole sommer, did no good, & they twice sallying oute with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, burned the engins of *Calphurnius*, and he hauing done nothing, retired to *Vtica* to winter. The *Carthaginians* hauing *Asdrubals* army safe, and they the stronger for the fight, with *Piso* at *Hypozareta*, for *Bythias Nonius* was fled to them from *Gelosa* with eight hundred horse, & seeing that *Micipsa* and *Mastanaba* the sons of *Massinissa*, did euer promise the Romanes armor and money, and deferred and lyked for the ende, were encreased in their harts, & went boldly about *Libya*, winning grounde, & speaking euill of the Romanes, in the assemblies of euery citie, shewing their faintnesse at *Nepheris* twice, & what they had lately losse at *Hyppagreta*, & could not yet get *Carthage*, beyng vnarmed and vnprouided. They sent to *Micipsa* and *Mastanaba*, and to the free *Mauritanians*, exhorting them, and also shewing them, that they were in daunger, if the Romanes ouercame them. They sent some into *Macedonia*, to him that was thought to be the sonne of *Perseus*, & at war with the Romanes, and persuaded him to follow the warre earnestly, & they should not lacke ships nor mony frō *Carthage*. And

Hypozareta. This citie of *Hippo*, was builded of the horsemen, and was the Country of *S. Austen.* Another *Hippo* was builded in the Fenne, and called therfore, *Diluuia*, builded also by the horsemen.

They burne the Consulls munition.

Bythias reuolteth to the *Carthaginians*

The *Carthaginians* procure frendes.

The lustinesse of the *Carthaginians.*

in summe, set not a little by themselues, now that they were armed, but encreased by degrée, in harte, courage and preparation.

Asdrubal vvithout, accuseth *Asdrubal* vvithin.

And *Asdrubal* for his parte, was aloft to, chiefe of the warre abroade: for ouercomming *Manlius* twice, and coueting the rule of the Cittie also, did accuse *Asdrubal* the Generall of it, to the Senate of *Carthage*, beyng nephewe to *Gelassa*, that he would betrap *Carthage* to him. When he was examined of thys matter, and for the sodaine, could not answere for hymselfe, he was killed with the seates of the house.

Asdrubal vvithin is killed.

When the small doings of *Piso*, and the prouision of *Carthage*, was tolde at *Rome*, the people was grieued, and feared that if the warre encreased, beyng greate, continuall and at hande, they coulde loke for no rest, bicause they had broken faith wyth them before. And remembryng the actes that *Scipio* had lately done in *Libya* when he was a Tribune, and comparyng them, with the present, & the letters that were sent from the Camp euery man to his friendes, they required that *Scipio* might be sente Consull into *Libya*, for the Election was at hande. But the lawe forbad *Scipio* to be Consull yet, bicause of his age. He desired to bée an Edile, but they would haue him Consul. Which beyng against the Lawe, and the Consuls bringing forth the Lawe, they were grieued and offended, affirming, that by the Lawes of *Romulus* and *Tullius*, the people was Lorde of the Elections, and might allowe and disallowe what Law they would.

Ediles had rule of houses and prouision.

Authoritie of people.

In the ende, one of the Tribunes saide, if the Consuls would not agrée to the people, they woulde take the Election from the Consulls. So the Senate perswaded the people to breake the Lawe for one yeare, and then to resume it againe. As the *Lacedemonians* in a necessitie dissolued a Lawe for them that were taken at *Pylo*, and saide: Let the Lawes sléepe for thys daye. So *Scipio* desiring to be Edile, was made Consull, whose fellowe *Drusius* required to allotte the prouinces, til one of the Tribunes saide, that the iudgement of prouinces, was the peoples, the whiche people chose *Scipio*.

Scipio is chosen Consull before his tymes, and the Lawe broken for one yeare, by example of the *Lacedemonians*. *Pylus* a cittie or two in *Peloponeso*.

Scipio is appointed to *Libya* by the people.

An army was giuen him of ordinarie, so many as might supplie the number of the deade, and to take as manye confederates

as

as he coulde perſwade, and to write to Kings and Citties in the people of *Romes* name, as many as he thoughte would ſend him aide. So had he helpe from Cities and Kings. He went into *Sicilie*, and from *Sicilie* to *Vtica*. *Calphurnius Piſo* made war in the land, and *Mancinus* lay at *Carthage*, a parte of the wall he perceiued to be neglected, where were rocks that could not be attempted. He thinking he ſhoulde not be perceyued, prepared hys ladders to get the wall. He did ſo, and ſome of the ſouldiours went to it boldely.

Piſo attempteth the vvall.

The *Carthaginians* ſéeing them ſo fewe, deſpiſed them, and ſet open the gates that goe to the rockes, and ranne vppon the Romanes. And the Romanes driuing them backe, and following them, ranne into the Citie at the gate with them. Then making a crie of victorie, *Mancinus* leaping for ioy, and in other things raſhe and light, with the other multitude leauing their Shippes, ranne to the wall, halfe armed and naked. The Sunne nowe being ready to ſet, they toke a forte before the wall, and reſted.

Mancinus giueth a raſhe attempt.

And *Mancinus* wanting victuall, ſente to *Piſo* and the rulers of *Vtica*, to helpe him in his daunger, and to bring him ſode with ſpéede. So was he in daunger, leaſt by breake of daye, the *Carthaginians* ſhould throwe him headlong from the rockes. *Scipio* that night came to *Vtica*, and at midnight, vnderſtanding what *Mancinus* had written, ſounded to the battaile, & ſent the meſſengers to call the ſeamen of *Italie* and *Vtica*. He bad the auntients carye victualls into the gallies, and deliuered a priſoner of *Carthage*, to go tell them that *Scipio* was comming. And he ſent to *Piſo* horſmen after horſmen, to call him awaye with all ſpéede. When the laſte watch was come, he commaunded to ſayle, and they to ſtand right vppe in the decktes, to ſéeme the more to the ennimyes. Thus he did.

Mancinus in daunger.

Scipio at his arriuall doth a feate.

Mancinus, when the *Carthagies*, early in the morning fel vpon him, cõpaſſed three thouſãd being naked, with only fiue hundred which he had armed: being hurte and beaten of them, he was driuen into the rockes of the wall. Then *Scipios* Shippes were ſéen, ſayling with al force, & euery where ful of armed ſouldiors.

Mancinus is hurt and beaten.

The *Carthaginians* hearing it by the prisoner, did not thinke the contrary, and brought the Romanes an helpe vnlooked for. The *Carthaginians* giuing place by little and little, *Scipio* receiued the Romanes that were in danger, into hys ships, and by and by sent *Manlius* to *Rome*. *Serranus* was come to be his successor in the nauy. *Scipio* encamped not far off *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* comming fiue furlongs oute of the towne, made a trench against him. And to this trenche came to them, *Asdrubal* the Captaine of the army abroad, and *Bythias* Captaine of the horsemen, leading fiue thousand footemen, and a thousande horsmen, practised with time and diligence. *Scipio* perceiuing no order, nor good rule among the souldiours, but giuen to violence, & spoyle, and rauine vnder *Piso*, and an other straunge multitude among them, that for spoile followed the bolder sorte, and ranne wyth them to robbe, going without warning, where the law of war taketh him for a forsaker of the army, that goeth without the sound of the Trumpe: and what offence they make, is imputed to the whole army: and the desire of spoile to be occasion of other euils and contention among them. Many contemning their felowes for lucre, made murders, hurtes and mischiefe against the lawes, the which *Scipio* considering, & thinking neuer to ouercome his enimie, except he coulde rule hys owne, called them by an assemblye, and going vp to the highe seate, thus rebuked them: When I was a souldior wyth you vnder *Manlius*, I gaue you experience to witnesse of mine obedience: the which now being Generall I require of you, hauing power to punishe the disobedient to ỹ vttermost, I haue thought it good to warne you: You know what you do, and what should I speake that I am ashamed of? Ye rob rather than make warre: yea, and you scatter, not encampe, and be like seekers of praye, & not segers of Cities. You will liue delicatelye, yet being in warre without victorie. Whereby the enimies power beyond all hope, the little tyme that I haue bin away, is growne so greate, that by thys negligence, my labour is growne the greater. The causes, if I diddo find to be in you, I would punishe them oute of hand, but bycause I impute them to an other, I now forgiue all you haue done

Scipio saueth *Manlius*.

Serranus.

Asdrubal Bythias

Lawe of armes.

The exhortatiõ of *Scipio* to the souldiours that were out of order.

done till this time. I come not to rob, but to conquer: not to get
mony before victorie, but firste to beate mine enimies, Goe you
al from the army this day that be no souldioures, except them
that shall haue leaue of me to tarry: and they that do go, I wil
not suffer to come againe till they bring some victuall fit for the
camp & good. A time shall be appointed, in the which they shal
place their things, & the price of them, I, & the treasorer, shall ap-
point. And this he saide to the superfluous. But to you that be
my souldiors, let one cõmandement be common to you all, in al
affaires, that is, my maner & labor. For if you follow them, you
shal not erre in youre enterprises, nor be voide of thankes. For
nowe we muste labour where perill is. Lette lucre alone, till
a fitte time maye serue vs to be merye. Thus doe I commaund
and the law. and they that will be obedient shal be partakers of
muche good, and they that be disobedient, shall repent. Thus *Sci-*
pio said, & by and by put away al ỹ multitude of vnprofitable mẽ,
& with them, al things that wer superfluous, baine, and delicate.
His army being purged, & with reuerence readie to do his com-
maundement, he attempted a place called *Megara*, in two places
in one night. *Megara* is a very great place in the Cittie, ioyning
to the wall, into the whiche sending other about, he went with
pike-axes, ladders & bars, vnsẽn, & with silence. Whẽ they alone
heard them come nere, they made a crie from the wall, he made
the countre crie firste, & after him the army, & in diuerse parts it
was made very great. This was the first feare the *Carthaginians*
had, so many enimies in the sides of them; so sodainelye being
come wpon them. He coulde do no good against the wall, though
he proued al wayes, but he gote a Tower, of a priuate Citizen,
voide, without the wall, & as high as the wall, by the courage of
his yong men, which droue away the watch from the wall with
their darts, & laying bridges & planckes the space betweene, gote
into *Megara*, and breaking down the gate, let in *Scipio*. He entred
with his armen & the *Carthaginians* fled into *Byrsa*, as the reste of
the Cittie had taken. There was a strange crie and tumulte,
some were taken, some left their camp without, & ran with o-
ther into *Byrsa*. For *Megara* was full of Marchãdes &

Example good lesson.

Megara one of the strong places of *Carthage*.

Scipio gayneth a Tovver.

Great alteratiõ in *Carthage*.

groues of fruite, diuided with hedges, and sets and briers, and with riuers running diuerselye, fearing least the army folowing him, shoulde finde a troublesome passage without waye, and ignorantly going in ꝑ night, might haply fal into some traynes, blew the retreate. When day was come, *Asdrubal* being angry with the taking of *Megara*, as many prisoners as he had of the Romaynes he brought them to the wall, where the Romaynes might see what shoulde be done, he pulled out their eyes, their tongs, the sinowes, and priuie members, with hookes of yron: of some he pulled of the skinne of their bodye: some he cutte the soles of their fete: of some he cut of the fingers, and threw them downe being yet aliue, shewing there was no hope of concorde betweene the Romaines, and the *Carthagies*. Thus did he stirre them to haue their hope only in fight. But it came otherwise to passe than he thoughte, for the *Carthagies*, by conscience of these horrible actes, were made fearefull in steade of blond, and they hated *Asdrubal* that hadde taken awaye hope of pardon, and specially the Senate who exclaymed agaynst him, as one that committed to cruell and proude dedes, in the countries calamitie. But he toke certaine of the Senate and killed them, and being waren fearefull toward all, was rather a Tiranne, than a Captaine, as he that had his safety only in this, to be terrible vnto them, and therefore ware intollerable:

The cruelties of *Asdrubal*.

Cruelties oute of time.

Scipio burned the campe of his enimies, which they left when they fled into *Byrsa*, and hauing gotten the grounde betweene the water, he trenched it from sea to sea, separate from the enimie, as far as they might caste a darte. They resisted it, and the worke was from the head, fiue and twenty furlongs, and was fayne to worke and fight at once: When he had finished this, he made another ditch equall to it, not farre from the former, drawing it towarde the land, and after that, two more, that his whole trenche was a quadrate. He made it strong with pale sharpe at the end, and at the pale, he made other ditches. That part that was towarde *Carthage*, he fensed with a wall fiue and twenty furlongs, in higth twelue cubite, beside towers & holds, which were set with a distaunce on the wal. The breadth was

The *Carthaginians* flee into *Byrsa*.

VVorkes of *Scipio*.

halfe

halfe so much as the higth. The tower in the middest was highest of all, and in it a kepe of woodde foure square, from the whiche he might see all that was done in the Cittie. This he dyd in twentie dayes and nightes, all the armye labouring, and working, and fighting by turne, and not greatly passing for their victuals. He brought the army within the trēch, which serued both as a long wall against the enimie, when he woulde, & to take the reliefe that was brought to *Carthage* by land also: for except this part that was called the necke, the water dyd beate on *Carthage* every where. And this was the chiefe cause of their hunger and destruction. For what the multitude of the Cittie had from the fielde, neyther coulde it be brought for thys siege, nor strangers comming to them, for the warre, only they had their victuall of *Libya*, a little, and by sea, when wynde woulde serue, the reste came by lande, the whiche waye after it was stopped, they were sore vexed with famine. *Bythias* that was the Captaine of horsemen, and was sent for victual a long tyme, neyther durst come neare, nor passe *Scipios* trenche, but seldome and slowly sent them some by ship, albeit the Romanes navy, laye at the towne, not continually, nor many at once, bicause the sea was dangerous and tempestuous, and they could not approche the Cittie, the *Carthagies* being on the walles, and the waues being great there, bycause of the rocke. Therefore the Hopes of *Bithyas*, or if any merchant came for gaine caring nothing for perill, they obserued when the winde was greate, and made full sayle, the gallies not being able to folowe them, when they were blowen in with such vehemence from the sea. And whatsoeuer these ships brought, *Asdrubal* distributed it, vpō thirtie thousād, which he had for the war, little regardyng the other people: wherefore they were soare troubled wyth famine.

The great trēch that *Scipio* made

Straightnesse of victuall in *Carthage*.

The only vvay to victuall *Carthage*.

Asdrubal feedeth his souldiours.

When *Scipio* perceyued this, he purposed to shutte the mouthe of the porte towarde the Weaste, and not farre from the lande, hee made a long Trenche, beginnyng from the streighte betweene the Fenne and the Sea called the Tongue. He wrought in the sea, and stopped the passage,

passage, making it sure with great thicke stones, that it should not be broken of the billow. And the breadth of the trenche, was foure and twenty fote, and square in the bottome. The *Carthaginians* at the beginning condemned the worke, as a thing asking long time, and paraduenture, impossible to be done. But the army applying it earnestly, ceasling neither daye nor night, they were afrayde, and digged out another mouth on the other side of the porte, into the midde sea, where no trench coulde come for the depth and vehement windes: Women and children digged within, and were not perceyued: and they made shippes of olde stuffe, both great and little gallies, leauing for no want of courage and boldnesse. They kepte all so secrete, that neuer a prisoner could tell *Scipio* what they did certainely, but that there was a noyse within their portes day and nighte not ceasling, but to what vse, they coulde not tell: till al being readye, the *Carthagies* brake open the mouthe by dawning of the daye, and then shewed with fiftie gallies, Foystes and Brigandines, and many other small vessels, wel set forth for terrour.

Scipio stoppeth the port of *Carthage*.

The *Carthagies* make a newe port, and newe shippes.

The Romaines were so amazed at the sodayn opening of the mouth, and at such a company of shippes, that if the *Carthagies* had then set vpon the Romayne nauy, the men being occupied at the wall, and neyther Mariner nor other present to defend it, they mighte haue gotten al the fame. But it was nowe come, that *Carthage* must perish. They made a shew only, with a bolde countenaunce, and returned. The thirde daye after, they came forth to fight, when the Romaines had their shippes and other thinges prepared to resiste. The crie and call being made on both sides, and courage shewed both of Mariners and maisters, the *Carthagies*, for their lines, and the Romaines for the full victory, there were many hurt and slaine on both sides, til it was midde day. In this fight, the little boates of the *Carthagies*, ran vnder the great shippes sides of the Romanes, and now brake at the stemmes, and nowe, the sternes and the oares, and did much other hurt, easily flying, and easily returning. The fighte being doubtfull, and toward nighte, the *Carthagies* thoughte it

Carthagies come forth with a newe nauy, and lose their occasion. Fate vnresistable

The fight on the sea by the *Carthagies*.

Carthagies giue place and confounde themselues.

good

good to retire, not as ouercome, but to prepare themselues against the next day. The small vessels fledde first, and shutte the mouth, being altogither, so as the great shippes were put from the mouth, and fledde to the trenche, whiche was made for the Merchaunts before the wall, large to receyue the packes of ỹ occupiers, and a little bray was made in this warre, that the enimies should not plant in so playne a place. To this trenche, the *Carthagies* shippes fledde, for lacke of a porte, and stode with their stemmes against their enimies, whom some resisted from the shippes, some from the trenche, and some from the bray. The Romaynes easilye gaue onset vppon them, bycause they fought with shippes that stode: but their departing, for the turning of their long shippes, was slow and hurtful, so as they had little aduauntage, for when they turned, they were beaten of the *Carthagies*.

Fiue shippes of the *Sidents* that accompanied *Scipio* for good will, renued the fight in this wise: They let fal their ancres alowe off in the sea, and waying their longest Cables, being fast moored, charged their enimie, and when they had encountred them, shortning vp their Cables, retyred backe, and so haled forward and backewarde, alwayes fighting with their faces vpon the enimie. A feate of the *Sidents*.

The rest of the nauy, seeing ỹ deuise of the *Sidents*, folowed it, & did their enimies much hurt, night making an end. The rest of the *Carthage* shippes fled into the Citie. *Scipio* by day toke the trench, for it was a place fitte to annoy the porte. Therfore beating the bray with his rammes, and bringing manye engines, he toke part of it. The *Carthagies*, although they were afflycted with famine and diuerse euils, they ranne vpon the Romanes engines in the night, not by lande, for there was no way, nor by shippe, for the sea was shallowe, but naked, with linckes not light, that they should not be seene a far off. They came by sea where no man would haue thought, some to the breastes waded in the shalowes, some swamme, til they came to the engines, they threw the fire, and were perceyued, receyuing much hurt, bycause they were naked, and did much by their boldnesse, for being stroke on the breasts and faces, with dartes and speares, The *Carthagies* run vpõ the Romanes munition vvith desperatnesse.

they woulde not giue place, as wilde beasts offering themselues to the strikers, til they had set the artillery on fyre, and driue the Romanes away that kepte them with confusion, as there was suche feare and trouble in the Camp and whole army, as hadde not béene before, and all by the furie of naked enimies. Wherefore *Scipio* being afraide, came forth with his horsmen, and commaunded to beate them down that would not leaue their flight, And some he beate downe and killed, till they retourned to the Camp, for necessitie to saue themselues, and watched that night in armes, fearing the desperation of the enimies, who when they had burned the artillerie, swamme home againe.

Feare in the Romanes Campe.

Scipio is forced to kil his owne souldiors to kepe them frō flying.

When it was daye, the *Carthaginians* being sure from the engines, builded vppe the fore parte of the wall againe, and made many Towers vpon it, by a certaine distaunce. The Romanes made other engines, and erected a trenche against the Towers, making fire worke of pitche and sulphure, and threw them vpon yenimie. And when they had burned many of the Towers, they chased the *Carthaginians* that fledde. But where the ground was slippery with bloud and myre, they left the chase of themselues. *Scipio* hauing got all the trench, compassed it with a ditch, & wyth a wall of stone, not verye neare, nor farre off the ennimies. And when the wall was vppe, he put in foure thousand, whiche did not much passe of the enimie, throwing dartes and weapons vpon them with contempt, and bicause they were of like heigth, they were sure to hit them. And thus the Sommer was spente. Winter being come, *Scipio* determined to take from the *Carthaginians*, al the power and frends that they had by lande, and sente some one way, and some another, & he himselfe went to *Nepheris* by water, where *Diogenes* that fauoured *Asdrubal*, lay in camp, and sent *C. Lelius* thither by land. Whē they were come, they encamped two furlongs from *Diogenes*. There he left *Gelossa* to molest *Diogenes* continually, and returned to *Carthage*, & so vsed to go betwéen *Carthage* and *Nepheris*, to sée the doings. Two of *Diogenes* Towers fel, wherfore *Scipio* went and laid a choice souldiors behind in an ambush, and brought. 3000. tried men against the front, & willed them to giue the assault at the broken towers, not al at once, but by rankes, stil following one another, that the former being putte backe, should not hinder them that followed.

The *Carthagies* trenche gotten.

Scipio endamageth the *Carthaginians* by lande.

The assaulte at *Nepheris*.

The Crie being greate, and the fraye hotte, al the *Libyans* turned to the defence, thē the thousand, as was appointed thē, came forth, and were not sēne: and when the first were entred they were sone perceyued: wherfore the *Libyans* fled, not sēing how many they wer, but thinking they had bin many moe thā they were. *Celessa* set vpon thē with his *Numidians* & Elephāts, and made great slaughter, so as there were killed, lxx. M. with them of the countrey, & 10000. taken, and 4000. fled. Thē was the Citie of *Nepheris* taken in xvij. dayes with greate difficultie, for the winter and the moyst place: & this feate did chiefly cause the destruction of *Carthage*. For this army sent them victuals, & by this campe, the *Libyans* were the bolder to come abrode, but when it was taken, the other places of *Libya* yelded to *Scipios* Captaines without any businesse: and victuall was to sēke at *Carthage*, neyther hauing it out of *Libya*, being an other mans power, nor by sea, because of the war and winter season.

Nepheris taken with a great slaughter.

Victual kept frō *Carthage*.

In the beginning of the spring, *Scipio* set vpon *Byrsa*, & the port called *Agatho*, *Asdrubal* in the night burned that parte of *Agatho* that was quadrate, and thinking that *Scipio* would haue come vpon him there, he being ready to resist with the *Carthagies*, *Lælius* on the other side, set on that part which was round. And shoute being made as in a victorie, they were afrayde, and the Romanes without dreade, clymed vp, and set their beames, engines and bridges, vpon the brokē places, the warders being weake in bodyes for hunger, and out of hart. The wall ỳ was about *Cathon* being taken, ỳ market place that was nigh, *Scipio* also toke, & bycause he could not passe further being night, hē remayned in armes till it was day, which being come he called other 3000. fresh men, & they went into *Apollos* tēple, & stale his picture, & the roufe couered with leaues of gold, waying a M. talents, cutting it with their swords, their captains forbidding them, til they had diuided it, & then went to their businesse. *Scipio* was earnestly bent to take *Byrsa*, which was ỳ strōgest place of the Citie, & the most part was got into it. And wher there was three ways frō ỳ market place to it, many houses & very hyghe were on euery side, where ỳ Romanes being shot at, they toke ỳ first of thē, & those defēded thēselues frō the next, & whē they had

Agatho one of the port of *Carthage*.

Lælius assault.

Three Streetes to *Byrsa*.

gotten them, they layde plankes and boardes betweene the
The miserable murder. strengthes of them, and went as vpon bridges. And the battell was now, as vpon chambers, and vpon the streightes, as they mette there. All was filled with sighes, cries, and lamentes for diuerse passions, some being killed at hande, and some throwen downe from the lofte to the grounde, and some receiued vpon the speares being held vp, or swordes, or pykes. Nothing was burned, for them that were on the Solares, till *Scipio* came to
The attempt against *Byrsa*. *Byrsa*.

Then were three narrow places burned at once, and as they were burned, they were bidden to go to the next, that the army
Grieuous sight. might haue an easie way. An other sight ful of griefe ther was of the flaming fire consuming all, of men and houses, not falling by little and little, but by heapes violentlye ouerthrowen: a great noyse followed, for men some deade, some aliue, specially olde men, women, and children that fell with the stones, that were hid in the secrete places, some, full of woundes, some halfe burned, making most pitifull crie. Other driuen frō the solares, fell with the fire and tymber, being broken and torne horiblye diuerse ways to behold. Yet was not this ẏ end of ẏ euils. For ẏ masons with their ares and rāmers, & some with the pointes of their forkes, did rake the deade, and the liuing also, into holowe places of the earth, turning and tolling them like stones and tymber. The holes were filled with men, turned vpside downe. Some were set on their heades, with their legges shaking aboue the ground. Some with their fæte downewarde, stode with their heads aboue the ground. The horses treading vpon them, brake their faces and their braynes, not for that they were put on by other, but of purpose, and the makers of ẏ way, did all things of purpose, the vehemence of the fight, and the glorie of the victorie that was at hande, and the forwardenesse of the army, the Trumpets and the criers, making noyse euery where, the Tribunes and the Capitaines, going wyth their men, and encouraging them, made all men furious, and not to passe of that they did see for great desire. This continued in this broyle fiue dayes and nightes, euer freshe men beyng sette in, that they shoulde not be ouerladen with watche and

labour,

labour, and slaughter, and grieuous fighte. But *Scipio* continued without ceasling, encouragyng them, without slépe, and taking meate as he wente aboute his businesse, tyll beyng tyred he stayed and stode aboue to sée what was done. Many be being yet slaine, and the euill like to continue longer, some the seauenth day sledde with garlandes, suche as were vsed for *Aesculapius*, who had a temple in the Castle moste rich & goodly. They desiring pardon, prayed *Scipio* ỳ they that wold go out of the Castle might haue their liues onely. He graunted it, the fugitiues only except, and there came forth by & by, fifty thousande men and women, being thrust togither in a maruellous streightnesse, whom he commaunded to be kepte. The runnawayes of *Rome* which were about nine hundred, being without al hope, fled into *Aesculapius* temple, with *Asdrubal*, his wife & two male children, frō whence they fought fiercely, although they were but fewe, from the high and rockye places of the temple, to the whiche, in time of peace, men went vp three score payre of stayres. But when hunger, watche, feare, and payne of the euil at hand beset them, they left the low parte of the temple, and sledde to the toppe of it, in the which time, *Asdrubal* fled secretly to *Scipio* with braunches of Olive. *Scipio* put him at his féete, and shewed him to the runnawayes, whiche when they saw, they desired a silence to be giuen them. which being done, they reuiled *Asdrubal* many and diuerse wayes, and then burned the temple and themselues. And they say that the wife of *Asdrubal*, when the fire toke, being ouer against *Scipio*, in as good behauiour as the time would suffer, and shewing hir children, sayde in the hearing of *Scipio*: To the (O Romayne,) there is no reuenge of god, for thou doest accordyng to ỳ order of war. But *Asdrubal* my husbande, the betrayer of his countrey, of the temples, & of me & his children, ỳ gods of *Carthage* shal punishe, & thou, with the gods. And turning to *Asdrubal*, saide: Thou wicked, vnfaithfull, and moste cowarde of al men, me, and these children, this fire shall burye, but thou shalt honor the triumphe, that arte the great Captaine of *Carthage*, what paine shalt thou not suffer, by him, before whome

Scipios paine and abstinence.

Aesculapius temple. *Carthagines* aske pardon and .50. thousand goe out of *Byrsa*.

Renavvayes of *Rome*.

Asdrubal flyeth to *Scipio*.

The fugitiues set themselues on fire.

thou now knéelest? Whē she had thus vpbraided him, she killed hir children, and threw them in the fire, and hir selfe after. Thus they say *Asdrubals* wife spake, and died, which had rather haue bin fit for *Asdrubal* himselfe to haue done.

The death of *Asdrubals* wife.

Scipio séeing the Citie that hadde continued seauen hundreth yeares, ruling ouer so many nations abonte them of such power on the lande, and also of shippes by sea, and Hands in the same, full of armor, nauie, Elephants and mony, equall with the greatest kingdoms, and in boldnesse and courage surpassing: the whiche, when they were spoyled of their ships, and al their armor, yet abode the warre three whole yeares, wyth so greate famine. Then séeing it vtterly destroyed by extreame siege, they saye hée wept, and openly pitied them that were ouercome, calling to his remembrance, and perceyuing, that al cities, nations and kingdoms, were subiect to mutation, as the destinies of meme. So suffred *Troy* a noble citie. So suffred the *Assyrians*, the *Medians*, and *Persians*, whiche were the great Monarches of the worlde, & lastlye, the moste glorious state of *Macedonie*, so that eyther of purpose, or by chaunce, this worde fel from him.

Scipio weepeth at the sight of *Carthage* ouerthrowne. Mutations of states in the worlde.

The wordes of *Scipio*.

The day shall come when mighty *Troy* muste fall,
And *Priamus* and his warlike nation all.

Polibius that was his Schoolemaister, did aske him freely, what he ment by that speach, and that he said, not forbearing to name his own country plainely, of the whiche he was afraide for the alteration of men. Thus doth *Polibius* write of him that hearde him. When *Carthage* was taken, *Scipio* gaue the souldiors leaue for certaine daies to spoile it, onelye excepting golde, siluer, and holy things. Then he gaue giftes to al, except to them that had spoiled *Appollos* Temple. Then he sent a swift ship laden wyth spoiles, to signifie the victorie at *Rome*. He sent into *Sicilie*, that al the sacred & publique things, that the *Carthagies* had taken from them in the war, which they could challenge & know, shoulde bée restored, which got him great loue of the people, as one, that with authoritie shed humanitie, diuiding the spoile that remained to be sold, he sacrificed the vnprofitable ship-armes and engins, to *Mars* and *Minerua*, gyrded after the Romane manner. They at

Polibius was schoolemaister to *Scipio* borne in *Arcadia*.

Scipio giueth the spoile to the souldiours.

Scipio giueth no giftes to them that spoiled *Appollo*.

The goodnesse of *Scipio*.

Rome seeing the Shippes, and learning the newes, in the euening, came into the stretes, and spente all that nighte in ioye and embracements, as nowe made free of feare, nowe ruling other with safety, not hauing their Citie firme and sure, & hauing such a victorie, as they neuer had the like. Many noble feates came to their remembraunce, what their fathers hadde done in *Macedonia*, in *Iberia*, and against *Antiochus* the great, and in *Italie* it selfe: but no war was so feareful vnto them as this at their owne doores, for the manhode, politie and boldnesse of the enimie, and the more dangerous for their vnfaythfulnesse. They rehearsed what they had suffred of ỹ *Carthagies* in *Sicelie*, *Iberia* and *Italie* it selfe, sixtene yeares, when *Annibal* toke .iij. hundred Cities, and ouerthrewe in fighte onlye three hundred thousande men, manye tymes approching to the Cittie, and putting that in great feare: for all the whiche, they were like men beside themselues, for the victorie, that was beyonde their hope. And again, they asked one of another, if *Carthage* were taken in deede? They spente all the night in talke, howe the armour was taken from them, and how they, beyond all hope, made more. Howe their shippes were taken from them, and howe they made a newe nauy of olde matter: howe the mouth of the porte was shutte, and howe in fewe dayes they opened another, and howe highe the walles were aboute the mouth, and the greatnesse of the stones, and the fire whiche manye tymes they brought against the Engines: and sette out a plat of all the warre, as thoughe they hadde then seene it done, and expressed the fantasies of their mindes with the motions of their bodyes, thinking they sawe *Scipio* wyth the scaling ladders, with the shippes at the gates, at the fyghtes euer occupied. Thus did the Romaynes spende the night.

The Romane make feastes of the report of the newes.

Remembraunce of former vyar in *Rome*.

When day was come, sacrifices & feasts were made to the Gods by the cõpanies, & playes with thẽ, & diuers shews. The Senat sent tenne of the best of them into *Libya*, to appoint that country with *Scipio*. They commanded that *Scipio* shold destroy that was left in *Carthage*, and forbadde any man to dwel there. They accused al them that should dwel in *Byrsa*, or in the place that

Supplications made at *Rome*.

Ten men sent into *Libya*.

The inhabitãce of *Carthage* forbidden.

Punishments.

Rewardes.

ȳ was called *Megara*. But to come thither they did not forbid. So many cities as holpe the enimies, they commaunded to destroy, & to giue to cities that were friends to ȳ *Romanes*, the land that was conquered: and chiefly to *Vtica*, that, which was as far as *Carthage* and *Hippo*, on bothe sides. The other they made tributarie, aswel lands as bodies, men and womē alike, and determined to send euery yere a Presidēt to them from *Rome*. Whē they had done this, they sayled to *Rome*. *Scipio* hauing done all things accordingly, finished the sacrifices, and the plaies for the victory. And things being ordered, he sayled home, and made as passing a triumphe, as euer manne didde, full of golde and monuments of holy things, which the *Carthaginians* in so long time, and so ofte victories had brought from all the worlde into *Libya*.

Scipio triūpheth.

Pseudophilippus Andriscus counterfaited to bee *Philippes* sonne King of *Macedonie*.

This hapned when they triumphed of *Macedonia* the third time. *Andriscꝰ* that counterfaited himselfe to be *Philips* sonne being ouercome, & the first of *Grecia* by *Mummius*. And this was about ȳ CLX. *Olympiade*. Afterwarde, when *Caius Gracchus* was Tribune in *Rome*, and Insurrection being made for want, he thought good to sēd. 6000. to inhabite in *Libya*. And whē they had drawn the plat about *Carthage*, the Wolues destroyed all the plat, & confounded it. So the Senate refrained from sēding that habitatiō. But again in time, when *Caius Cæsar*, who was made the second Dictator, after his victorie, had giuen *Pompey* into *Egipt*, & *Pompeis* friendes from *Aegipt* to *Libya*, they saye, when hē encamped at *Carthage*, a mighty army appered to him in his slēpe, wēping, which troubling him, he called to remembrance, and made a note, that *Carthage* should be inhabited. And not long after, the power souldiors requiring land of him at *Rome*, he gaue order that some shoulde be sent to *Carthage* and some to *Corinth*, but he bēing shortly after killed in the Senate house of his enimies, hys son *Cæsar*, called *Augustus*, finding thēse remembrāces of his father, sent an inhabitation of that *Carthage*, that nowe is, as nigh the olde as might be, to auoide the olde execration. The *Romanes* sente thither. 3000. to inhabite, & to place the rest in the country about. Thus *Libya*, that was vnder *Carthage*, was conquered of the *Romanes*, and *Carthage* destroyed, and inhabited againe after the destruction two hundred and two yeares.

C. Gracchus was brother to *Semproni⁹ Gracchus*.

The plat of the habitation at *Carthage* is confounded.

A vision that *Cæsar* had, caused a newe cite to be made, not farre from the olde, by his successor *Octauius*. The Author calleth *Augustus Iulius Cæsar*.

The ende of the *Romane* warres with the *Carthaginians*

¶ Appianus Alexandrinus, of the *Romane warres with the* Parthians.



After them that folowed *Pōpey* to rule *Syria* being ouercome, *Gabinius* an officer of the *Romanes*, was sent to gouerne the same. He marching againste the *Arabians*, *Mithridates* king of *Parthia*, being driuen oute of his kingdome by *Orodes* his brother, tourned hym from the *Arabians* to the *Parthians*. But *Ptolomeus* the eleauenth king of *Aegypt* perswaded him by mony, to leaue the *Parthians*, and make warre vppon *Alexandria*. And he ouercomming them of *Alexandria*, restored *Ptolomeus* to his kingdome, but being banished of the *Romanes*, bicause he made warre againste the *Aegiptians*, which they accompted vniuste, bycause it was forbidden by *Sybyllas* bookes, he fleede. After *Gabinius*, I thinke, *Crassus* gouerned *Syria*, and making warre vpon the *Parthians*, was ouerthrowen with great calamitie, after whome *Bibulus* being president, the *Parthians* inuaded *Syria*. And in the time of *Saxa* ruling after *Bibulus*, they ranne as farre as *Ionia*, the Romanes being at debate among themselues. They didde no greate thing worthye of writing, rather like robbers than warriors. These things folowed after the ouerthrow of *Crassus*, by ꝑ which they toke so gret boldnesse, whiche was repressed by *Antony*. Howe *Crassus* made his voiage againste them, we thinke it méete to shewe.

Parthia, a Region of *Assyria*, the inhabitaunce, of the whiche came out of *Syria*.

Gabinius is banished for making warre vppon *Aegipt*.

Crassus.

Bibulus.

Saxa.

When the day of election of chiefe officers was come, there were three Competitors of the Consulshippe, *Caius Caesar*, *Pompey* the Great, and *Crassus* called *Marcus*. These reiecting *Cicero*, *Cato* and other resisters, by force gote the office, and gaue *Caesar* fiue yeares more, to be Lieutenaunt of *Fraunce*. *Crassus* & *Pompey*

Caesar. *Pompey*. *Crassus*.

ii. casting

Prouinces by lotte.

casting lottes for the prouinces of *Spaine* and *Syria*, *Spaine* fell to *Pompey*, and *Syria* to *Crassus*. The lot fell acceptable vnto bothe.

Pompey, *Vxorius*.

For the people would haue *Pompey* from the Cittie, and *Pompey* louing his wife, was desirous to tarrye moste there.

Crassus proude of his prouince.

Crassus shewed openly that he was glad that the lot had so fallen, thinking no greater felicitie could hap vnto him than this prouince, insomuchas he could not bee quiet, but made great auauntes and bragges among his friendes, otherwise in al his life being a verye smal boaster or setter forth of himselfe. But now beyng puffed and exalted, he had not onely an hope to get *Parthia* to *Syria*, and vp make it the boundes of his Dominion, making but a play of that *Lucullus* dydde agaynste *Tigranes*, or *Pompey* agaynste *Mithridates*, but also to winne *Bactria* and *Indus*, and all beyonde the Sea. Yet in the decree of warre, the *Parthians* were not contained.

The *Parthians* were not in the decree.

Lucullus.
Tigranes.
Pompey.

Euery man did feare that *Crassus* would meddle with it. And *Cæsar* wrote letters, praysing hys purpose, and prouoking hym to the warre.

But when *Atteius* the Tribune dydde stop his voyage with threats, and manye consented to him, being grieued that anye man shoulde make warre vpon men that had offended nothing, but also were in league, *Crassus* was afraide, and prayed *Pompey* to helpe to set him forwarde: For great was the peoples opinion of him. Notwythstanding, when he sawe manye readye to resist and exclame, then with a gentle looke & countenance he appeased thē, ỹ they were quiet, and suffred them to passe. Yet *Atteius* stoppedt them first with voice, forbidding and protesting not to go. Then he commanded the officer to lay hands vpon his body and deteine him: which when the other Tribunes would not suffer, he lette goe *Crassus*.

Cæsar stirreth *Crassus* to the warre of the *Parthians*.

Atteius ran to the gate, and set there a burning harth, and as *Crassus* came with incense and sacrifice, he pronounced sharpe execrations, & horrible, calling and naming cruell and straunge Gods therwith. The Romanes thinke that these curses secret & auncient haue such a power, as no man can auoide them against whom they be made, and that they do naughte that vse them.

Execrations against *Crassus*.

Curses not to be vsed.

There-

Wherfore they be not vsed vnaduisedly, nor in manye cases. And many blamed *Atteius*, that by this cursing of *Crassus* he brought the Cittie into misfortune. *Crassus* for all this went to *Brundusie*, the Sea being yet vnnauigable for the winter, and would not tarry the tyme, but toke the Sea, and lost many Shyppes. *Atteius* blamed.

And receyuing an other power of footemen, he rode them alongest *Galatia*, and finding King *Deiotarus* a very olde manne, builoing of a Cittie, he iested, saying: O King, you beginne to builde at twelue of the clocke. The King laughing saide: And you (O Generall) while ye are as I can see, goe not against the *Parthians* very early. For *Crassus* was threescore years of age, when he went, and olver to see to, than he was indeede. Marching forth, matters at the first fell oute according to his hope. For easilye hee made a bridge ouer *Euphrates*, and conueyed ouer his armye safely, and got many Cities in *Mesopotamia*, by yeelding vnto hym. In one of them, *Appollonius* was Tyranne, who had slaine one hundred souldiors. He brought his power thither, and wanne it, toke the money, and solde the men. *Galatia* is *Asia* the lesse. A iest betwene *Deiotarus* and *Crassus*. Age of *Crassus*.

The Grekes call the Cittie *Zenodotium* By taking of this, he woulde nedes be called *Imperator* of his souldioures, which caused muche discredite vnto him, and was the lesse esteemed, as one that distrusted of any greate victorie, taking occasion of so little matter. *Zenodotium* a Cittie of *Osroene*.

He sette garrisons in the Cities that were taken, the number whereof, was seauen thousande footemenne, and one thousande horse. And he went into *Syria* to winter, where hys son came to him from *Cæsar* oute of *Fraunce*, rewarded with the greate honoures of a souldioure, bringing one thousande picked horsemen. And this was the first great error of *Crassus*, after the greate offence of leading his armye, that where he oughte to haue gone to *Babilon* and *Seleucia*, Cities euer enimies to the *Parthians*, he gaue the enimies time to prepare themselues. His tarrying in *Syria* was blamed, beyng rather lyke a receyuer of Rentes, than a Captayne of Souldioures. *Crassus* sonne from *Cæsar*. Errour of *Crassus*. *Babilon* the chiefe cittie of *Chaldea*.

He did not searche the number of his souldiors, nor vse them

with exercises, but he gathered the reuenues of Cities, and spent many dayes in waying and peysing the Goddes money, in the holy Citie, appointyng Cities and Princes to finde him souldiors, and after sending them awaye againe for mony, whereby he came into contempt and disdayne. The first token he had of this Goddesse, which some call *Venus*, some *Iuno*, some name hir *Nature*, the beginning and seede to al things ministring cause by moisture: for going oute of the Temple, firste yong *Crassus* fell at the dores. Then the olde man fell vppon hym.

Hierapolis is a wee-againſt *Laodicia.*

The Goddeſſe of *Hierapolis.* *Nature.*

Nowe gathering his power from the wester places, Embaſſadors came to him from *Arsaces*, with a briefe speach, for thus he saide: If the army were sent against them of the Romanes, the warre was made contrary to the league, and neuer woulde ende. But if he, without authoritie of hys countrey, and for hys owne gaine, (as they hearde) did come in armes againſte the *Parthians*, and take their lande, *Arsaces* woulde temper hymself, and pitie *Crassus* age, and let the Romanes go, that were rather like a garriſon, than an army. *Crassus* swelling at this, sayde, he woulde make an answere at *Seleucide.*

The *Parthians* meſſage to *Craſſus.* *Arsaces* King of *Parthia*, for vvhoſe good rule, the *Parthians* call all their Kings *Arsaces.* *Seleucia*, one in *Syria Antiochena* other at *Euphrates*, third at *Bes lus.*

Then the moſt auntient of the Embaſſadours *Vagises*, shewing the bare palme of his hollowe hand, said: Sooner shall hairs grow here, than thou shalt see *Seleucia.* Thus he boldelye spake, signifying, that *Orodes* muſt first be ouercome.

The *Italian* text varieth.

They of the Romane garriſons in the Cities of *Meſopotamia*, escaping with muche danger, did tell fearefull matter, that they saiwe the multitude of their enimies and their exercises, e howe they hadde fortified their Cities, and some of purpose telling all things to the vttermoſt, that they were vnreſiſtable when they came to fight, and vnrecouerable when they fled.

A sharp anſvver

Report encreaſing feare.

Their arrowes swifte woulde preuent the sight, and before they coulde see the shoter, he woulde be at hande to strike them thorowe. The men of armes beate downe all afore them, and coulde not be reſiſted. When the army hearde this, they began to faint, thinking the *Parthians* had differed nothing from the *Armenians* or *Cappadocians*, whome *Lucullus* ouercame without any reſiſtaunce, therefore thought all the paine shoulde be in the

Armenia is betvveene *Taurus* and *Caucaſus.* *Cappadocia* a Region of *Pontus*, called *Leucoſyria.*

long

long iorney. But when they shoulde come to blowes, the enimies woulde not abide them, whereas nowe otherwise than they supposed, they had a great trauaile and daunger in hande, insomuche, as some of the officers of the Campe, thought it good to stape *Crassus*, and to take a newe aduise of all the matter, and secreatlye the Paisters of the Sacrifices, shewed that manye euill and harde tokens appeared to *Crassus* in the Sacrifices: But hee, neither woulde heare them, nor no other, but them that erhorted hym to goe forwarde. Among the whych, *Artabases* King of *Armenia* didde not let to prouoke him, who was come to the Campe, with fiue thousande horsemenne, and these were called the Guarde and Defence of the King, promisyng other tenne thousande menne of armes, and three thousande fotemenne at his charges. Hee perswaded *Crassus* to inuade *Parthia* by *Armenia*, whereby he shoulde leade his armye not onely safely, he ministring all thynges for him, but also throwe Mountaynes and continuall hills, places combersome to the *Parthian* horsemenne, wherein consisted all theyr strength, *Crassus* praised the good wyll of hym, and his goodly preparation, yet hee sayde hee woulde enter by *Mesopotamia*, where he had lefte many good Romane Souldiours, and the *Armenian* went his way.

Sacrifices shewe euill tokens.

Artabases King of *Armenia* endued with all learning, whom *Antony* took by treason, and caried him in triumphe at *Alexandria* to please *Cleopatra*.

Crassus refuseth good counsell.

Crassus rode his armye ouer a bridge, when manye terrible thunders brake oute, and greate lightnings flashed in the faces of the Souldiours, and a winde mired with a cloudy perry arose, and brake and consumed muche of the matter of the made bridge. And the place that was appointed for the Campe, was twice stricken with lightnyng. An horse of the Generalls, verye fayre sadde, carrying a waye the rider by violence, was drowned in theyr sight. And they saye that the chiefe Standerd beyng firste taken of the bearer, did turne backe of it selfe. Beside this, it chaunced, that after a iorney, when meate shoulde be giuen the Souldiours, firste of all they hadde Lentilles and Soppes, whyche the Romaynes thinke mournefull, and be vsed at burialls. And when *Crassus* made hys Oration, hys voyce failed hym, whyche the armye tooke

Euill tokens to *Crassus*.

beauily. He sayd he had cut down the bridge, that no man shoulde returne ouer it. The which word being vncomely spoken, wher he shoulde haue repeated it and declared it to them that were made afrayde by it, he would not do it for very frowardnesse. At last when he hadde killed the sacrifice to make the solemne viewe of his armye, and the minister giuen him the bowels, they fell out of his handes: at the whiche, they that were present being most grieued, he smiled, saying: These be the incommodities of age, but my weapon shall neuer fal out of my hãds. Then he ledde his army by the floude, hauing seauen legions, and little lesse than foure thousande horse, and a number of shotte, equal to them.

A folish worde passeth *Crassus*.

Crassus excuseth his weakenes.

The scoutes that went to sée the way, returned and brought worde, that the countrey was voyde of men, but that there were prints of horse féete, that were gone backe. Whereat *Crassus* toke good hope, and all the souldiours beganne to despise the *Parthians*, as afrayde to come to handes: yet *Cassius* and others spake to *Crassus*, perswading him to staye his menne in some Cittie where a garrison was, till he was better instructed of the enimies force, if not, that he would go to *Seleucia* by the floude, where he shoulde haue aboundaunce of victuals, for the souldiours to be solde, and also a defence and safegarde for the armye, not to be enuironed, for the floude, beeyng euer equall to fyghte wyth the enimye at the face.

Crassus in a vaine hope.

Seleucia, a plentifull place.

The Counsel of *Cassius* not followed.

Crassus considering and pondering these things: there came to him a president of *Arabia*, *Acbarus* by name, a subtile and dissembling manne, the greatest prouoker of euill fortune, that was bente to theyr destruction. Some of them that hadde serued vnder *Pompey*, knewe him, receyuing some humanitie at hys hande, and shewing to be a friende to the Romaines. He was sente to *Crassus*, by ỹ consent of the kings counsel, to turne him, if he coulde, from the floude and foote of the hils, into the playn field, where he might be compassed. For they deuised to do any other thing, rather than to come to fight with

Acbarus vseth craft vvith *Crassus*.

wyth the Romanes at hande.

This *Acbarus* came to *Craſſus*, and ſayde probablye, firſte of the prayſe of *Pompey*, that was his benefactoure, then of *Craſſus*, blaming him, that hauing ſo greate a power he loſt time in delay and preparation, as though he had néed of armour, and not rather of handes and ſwifte fáte, againſt mē that alreadye ſéke and gather their moſte precious riches, to carrie them into *Scythia* and *Hircania*: but, ſayde he, if you wyll fighte, you muſt do it quickelye, before the whole power be gathered, the king taking harte to him againe. And nowe *Surenas Sillaces*, commeth to make the warre againſt you, but the king will not be ſéne. All theſe were lyes.

Acbarus deceyueth *Craſſus*.

Scythia in *Aſia*.

Hircania, a playne region moſt aboundant.

For the king went ſtreight with his power to inuade *Armenia*, and punith *Artabazes*, and ſent *Surenas* againſte the Romaynes, not in contempt of them (as ſome ſaye) for it was not like, that he would contemne *Craſſus* ſent againſt hym and one of the chiefe Romaynes, and go againſt *Artabazes* to deſtroye the townes of *Armenia*. But, I thinke he was afrayde of the daunger, and laye in wayte to ſée the ende, and appoynted *Surena*, beyng otherwyſe expert and acquainted wyth the warre.

The Parthian king inuadeth *Armenia* and ſendeth *Surenas* againſt the Romanes.

For *Surenas* was none of the common ſorte, but in riches and glorye, and blonde, nexte the King, and the chiefe of *Parthia*: in ſtrength and youth, in beautye and goodlyneſſe of the bodye, inferiour to none. He carried allwayes with him a thouſand laden Camels, and two hundred chariots of Concubines, and a thouſand men of armes, and more light horſemen. So as he had of his tenaunts and ſeruantes, no leſſe than ten thouſand horſe.

Surenas is ſent againſt *Craſſus*.

And as touching his blood, it was giuen him from the beginning, to ſet the Crowne vpon the kings head, when a new king was made. He called *Orodes* out of exile into hys Kingdome: he toke the great citie of *Seleucia*, & was the firſt that ſcaled the walles, and with his owne hande repulſed them that reſiſted, and was not yet thyrty yeares of age, yet had the greateſt glory for wiſedome and experience, by the which, he did not a litle beguile

The nobility of *Surenas*.

Orodes is brought out of exile by *Surenas*.

beguile *Craſſus*, firſt thorough his pride and boldneſſe, and after by hys feare and aduerſitie, eaſily to be entrapped.

The text varieth.

Acharus that hadde brought *Craſſus* from the floud into the playne fieldes, wythout woodde and water, and wythout any ende to reſte as it appeared, and not only trauelled wyth thirſt and dificultie, but alſo with an vncomfortable proſpect to the eye, ſeeing neyther tree, nor riuer, nor apparaunce of hyl, nor growing of graſſe, but a very ſhape like a ſea of fearful deſarts, did beſette the armye. And then the craſte beganne to be eſpied.

Artabazes ſignifieth he is inuaded.

Furthermore, there came meſſengers from *Artabazes* the king of *Armenia*, ſhewing how he was detayned with greate warre, *Orodes* hauing inuaded him: and that he coulde ſende no helpe to *Craſſus*. Yet he wiſhed hym, in anye wiſe to turne, and make his waye by *Armenia*, that they togither mighte goe againſt *Orodes*, if not, alwayes to marche and encampe ſo, as hee might auoyde the horſemen, and to go by the hylles. *Craſſus* wyting nothing againe, for anger, and ſtraungeneſſe, aunſwered, that nowe he had no leyſure to deale with *Armenia*, but when he returned, he would puniſh *Artabazes* for his treaſon. *Caſſius* and they, were agayne grieued, and leauing *Craſſus*, that wouldoe not heare good Counſel, they playnely rebuked *Acharus*.

Orodes king of *Parthia*.

Craſſus maketh a frowyard aunſwere.

Craſſus miſliketh the iourney.

O you naughty wight, O you moſt wicked mã, who brought thee to vs: with what paſſion or witchcraftes haſt thou made *Craſſus* to leade his army by deſarts and vglye wilderneſſe, fitter for an Archtheefe of *Numidia*, than a chiefe generall of the Romaines?

Acharus deceiueth him and all the reſt.

Acharus a crafty man, dyd ſpeake them fayre, and comforted and erhorted them, to endure a whyle, and riding among the ſouldiours, he teſted at them. You thinke you were goyng by *Campania*, by fountaines, riuers, ſhadowes, brookes and brayes, and oſtanes, all the wayes.

Arabia is two parts barenne. *Aſſiria* the furtheſt part of *Syria*.

Doe you remember that you go by confines of *Arabia* and *Aſſiria*. Thus did *Acharus* playe the ſcholer among the Romaines, and before his craft was perceyued, he road about not

vnknowen

vnknowen to *Crassus*, but agréeing to it, as though he would prouide and defeate the enimies. It is sayde, that *Crassus* that daye came not abroade in purple, as the manner was of a Romaine Generall, but in a blacke garmente, the which he changed againe, when he perceyued it. Some of the ensignebearers could not without great laboure pull vppe their ensignes, they stucke so fast. *Crassus* laughing, went the faster, and bad the legions follow the horsemen. But then came some of the espyes that had bin abroad, in haste, shewing that their felowes were killed of the enimies, and they only escaped, and that the enimies came on, with great power and spéed. This troubled them all, and *Crassus* most of all, so as he set his men in order, not verye orderlye. But *Cassius* moued him to set his legions as thinne as he could, to fill the playne, for fear of compassing, and diuide the horsemen into wings. Then he altered and made the same to serue both wayes, and a square battayle, and euerye of the sides going on with twelue bandes, and with a troupe of horsemen, that no part shoulde be voyde of the helpe of horsemen, but on euery side be a like defended for the fight. He appointed one wing to *Cassius*, and an other to yong *Crassus*, and he went in the middest. Thus marching, they came to a riuer, which they call *Balissus*, not very great, nor full of water, but acceptable to the souldiours, in that hote and dry iourney, with so greate payne and penurie of water. More tokens of euil. *Balissus.*

Many of the Captaines thoughte it good to staye there, til certaine knowledge were come of the enimies force and purpose, and when daye was come, to goe againste them.

But *Crassus* commaunded his sonne and the horsemen wyth hym to go on, and to be ready for the fight. He badde them that did eate, to eate and drinke as they kept their order, and before all was well done, hee led on, not with leysure, nor pausing, as they that should fight, but with much spéede and haste, tyl they sawe their enimies, not in so great a shewe, neyther appearing many, nor fearefull to the Romaynes. For *Sirenes* had putte the multitude behinde, and hyden the brightnesse of their harnesse, with their clokes and skinnes. After they were come

nygh, and a token giuen of the Captaines, firſte they filled all the playne wyth barbarous noyſe and fearefull ſhoutes. For the *Parthians* go not to battell wyth hornes and trumpets, but with drummes, in many places at once, made of leather, and hollow, ſtretched with yron barres, and beate vpon continually. This maketh a noyſe holow and dæpe, like the roaring of wilde beaſtes, intermedled with the ſharpneſſe of thunder, as nothing could be harde for the ſence of hearing, bringeth moſt trouble to the minde, and by it is ſoneſt moued, and moſt troubleth the vnderſtanding. The Romanes being aſtoniſhed at this noyſe, they of *Parthia* threw away the couers of their harneſſe ſodainely, and appeared ſhyning with ſats and armoure made of the beſte ſtæle and bright, and the horſemen barded with Capariſon likewiſe. The goodlieſt and the greateſt was *Surenas*, he being in fineſſe of his womanniſh aray not like the glorie of his valiauntneſſe, but rather decked after the *Median* faſhion, in the trymming of his perſon, and diuiſiō of his haire. The other *Parthians* being vgly of purpoſe, to the terrour ſhedding of their beare. Firſt they gaue ỹ onſet with their ſpears, to diuide and breake the fore warde. But when they ſawe the firmneſſe of the battel, and the ſtable abiding of the men, they went backe, as though they would haue ſcattered and diuided their order: and they compaſſed the battell in a circle, and wēt about it. *Craſſus* commaunded the light harneſſe to giue charge vppon them. They went not farre, but they were ouerlaide with ſhotte, and they turned againe, and thruſte among the legions, and gaue the beginning of diſorder and feare, to them that ſaw the might of the ſhot, and the continuall courſe, breaking harneſſe, and bearing down alike the vnarmed and well armed. The *Parthians* diſtant a little, beganne to ſhote at all auentures, not directing their ſhotte, for the *Romanes* battayle was ſo thicke, as they coulde not myſſe thoughe they woulde, gyuing continuall hurte and woundes with their ſtrong and great bowes, and with their violence of the drawing, driuing the arrow the ſtronger. This was the vndoing of the *Romanes*, for continuing in their order, they were ſtroken, and trying to

The Parthians manner in going to fight.

Surenas.

The beginning of diſorder in the Romanes Campe.

goe

go vpon their enimy, or to kepe close againe, they suffered alike.

The *Parthians*, when they shotte, fledde, and this they thinke the beste feate accordyng to the *Scythians*, being a moste wise parte, to hurte other, and saue themselues, and hid the shame of their fleeing, by this pretence. So long as the Romanes hoped, that their shot being done, they would haue come to hãds, they abode it: but when they saw numbers of Camells come laden with newe shotte, to the whiche, they that firste spente their arrowes, went e to receiue more, then *Crassus* himselfe thought it woulde haue no ende. Wherefore he sente messengers to his sonne, that he shoulde set vppon the enimie, before they were inclosed, for they were moste busy vpon hym, and rode about him, to come vpon his backe. The yong man toke .xiij. C. horse, whereof a thousand were *Cæsars*, and eight bands of the next fotemen, and badde them set vpon the.r enimies. The *Parthians* that were foremoste, either bicause they were in myrie grounde, (as some saye,) or bycause they woulde drawe *Crassus* by pollicie, as farre as they coulde, turned and fledde. Then yoūg *Crassus* crying, as thoughe they would not haue turned againe, gaue them the chase, and with him *Censorinus*, and *Megabacxus*: these passed in valiantnes and strength, *Censorinus* being of the order of a Senatoure and eloquent, friend to yong *Crassus*, and of like age. The horsemen going on, the fotmen folowed with courage and fearefulnesse of hope, for they thoughte to haue the victorie by the chase. They had not gone farre, but they perceyued the deceit. They that seemed to flee, turned againe, many mo comming to them. Then they stayed, thinking they woulde haue come to handes with them, bicause they were so fewe: but they set the men of armes vpon the *Romanes*, and with their other horse, confusedlye rode vppon them, troubling the playne, rayling heapes of Sande, and making all full of duste, that the *Romanes* coulde neither see nor speake. So being driuen and thrust togyther, they were ouerthrowen and dyed, not easily, nor a shorte death, but with shrikyng & sorowfull manner, labouring

The *Parthians* manner in the warre.

The *Parthians* renue their shotte.

Yong *Crassus* with *Censorinus* and *Megabacchus*

The *Romanes* killed.

to breake the arowes in their woundes, prouing by violence, to put out the forked heades that were entred their vaines and sinowes, they tore and lamented themselues. When many were thus dead, they that were alyue were vnprofytable to helpe, and when as *Publius* exhorted them to set vppon the men of armes, they shewed their handes nayled to their shieldes, and their feete fastened to the grounde, that they coulde neyther flye nor fight. Then he brought his horsemen fiercely vpon them, but he was to weake, stryking and defendyng both at once, with weake and little speares, vpon the strong armour of steele, and his *Galatians* being stryken with long speares vpon their vnarmed bodies: in them he trusted muche, and by them he did marueilous feates. For they toke the speares, and bare down the men from their horse, which could not be moued for the waight of their harnesse. Many left their horses, & stroke their enimies horses in the bellies, the which for payne, threwe off their ryders, and trode vpon them and their enimies, tyll they dyed also. But the heate and thirst, most troubled the *Galathians*, being accustomed to neyther of them, and many of them hauing lefte their horses, with their staues, fought with the contrary. Therfore they did what they could to haue gotten to the legions, hauing *Publius* among them, being euill bestadde for his wounds: and seeing an hyll of sande not farre off, they went thyther, putting their horse in the middest, and defending the outwarde partes with their Targets, they thoughte they mighte easilye put backe the *Barbarians*: but it came otherwise to passe, for beeing in the playne, the former kepte the hindermost from hurte: but when they went to a mounting ground, and all was in the daunger, and they that came behinde moste of all, there was none escaped, but al were shotte indifferently, lamenting their deathes voyde of reuenge and glorie. There were about *Publius*, two men, both *Grecians*, dwelling in *Carria*, *Ieronimus* and *Nichomacus*. They moued him to goe with them, and flye to *Irna*, a towne that belde of the Romaynes. He answered, there was no deathe so grieuous, for feare of the whiche, *Publius* woulde leaue them that dyed for him. Therfore he prayed them to saue themselues,

Romanes vnable to helpe.

The valiantnes of the *Galatians*.

Publius Crassus sore wounded.

Carria the great in *Asia*. *Irna*.

A noble answeer of a yong man.

themselues, and gently sent them away. He coulde not vse his hande, for it was hurte with an arrowe. Therfore he commanded his page to take his swoord, and runne him therowe the syde. *Censorinus* died after that sort. *Magabactus* killed himselfe, and so dyed the most noble of the other.

The death of P. *Crassus* his two friendes.

The rest, the *Parthians* killed with their speares, fighting for themselues; and onelye fiue hundred were taken aliue.

When they hadde cutte off the heades of *Publius* and his company, they tourned toward *Crassus*. He stode after this sorte. When he haode sente his sonne to encounter the *Parthians*, and one haddc tolde hym that there was a greate fleeing, and a fore chase of the enimies, and sawe that they came no more vppon him, for they went also from that part, he beganne to take comforte, leading his army to a rising place, thinking his son would haue come straight from the chase. They that were firste sent of *Publius* to tell in what daunger he was, were taken of the enimies and slaine.

Crassus in hope.

The other hardely escaping, shewed that *Publius* was vndone, except spedy and great helpe were sent. Nowe was *Crassus* dyuerslye troubled, he could not see by reason, howe to vse his matters: on the one side, feare of the whole, on the other; desire to saue his sonne, doubting if he might helpe him, or not helpe him, yet in the ende, went forward with his power. Nowe were the enimies come, with terrible showt, declaryng Victorie, and striking many *Armenians*, and feared the Romanes, loking for an other battell. They brought the head of *Publius* vpon a spears point, approchyng nighe, and with despight asking, who was his parents and kinred. For they could not thinke that he was the sonne of *Crassus* so cowardly and lewd a man, being a young man of so noble a renowmed vertue. This sight most of al was grieuous to the Romanes, directing and breaking their harts, not to anger and reuenge, as it oughte, but vtterly to feare and dreade. And then did *Crassus* shew him selfe most noble, as in such a case, (as they say) he went aboute the hoste and cried: This, (O *Romanes*) is my proper losse. The greate glorye and fortune of *Rome*, is in you to kepe vnbroken and vntouched, and if

Crassus perplexed.

The *Parthians* shewe their spight.

Crassus sheweth himselfe noble.

The wordes of *Crassus* to comforte his souldioures.

you haue pitie of me, that haue losse so good a sonne, shewe youre anger vppon your enimies, take away this ioy from them, reuenge the crueltie, be not dismaide with that is done, for they that do great feats, must sometime suffer. *Lucullus* ouercame not *Tigranes* without bloudeshed, nor *Scipio*, *Antiochus*. Our Auncestors losse a thousande Shippes in *Sicilie*. In *Italy* manye Capitaines and armies wouldo not lette for their losse, but to get the victorie againe. The Romanes haue not come to so great dominion by fortune, but by sufferaunce and manhode in calamitie.

A declaration of the Romanes faintnesse.

When *Crassus* had saide this, to encourage them, he diode not see many willingly heare hym, therefore he badde make a noise, the whiche, bewrayed the faintnesse of the army, for they made a feble and weake crie, whiche was answered of the *Barbarians*, with chearefull and bolde sounde. Comming togither, the shotte of the enimies, troubled the Romanes on the sides. The other comming vppon them with their speares at the face, droue them into a litle rowth, yet some sleeyng death by the shotte, came oute to fight at hande, to little purpose, being so dispatched with greate and mortall woundes, many times the sharpe and long speares passing thorowe horse and man.

The fight.

The Parthians feste. *Arsaces*.

Thus the night brake the battaile, they saying they would gratifie *Crassus* with one night to bury his sonne, and to consider with hymselfe, whither it were better for him to go to *Arsaces*, or to be led to him. They thus going to a place nigh hande, were in greate hope. But the Romanes hadde an heauy night, neither burying the deade, nor healing the hurte, some dying, and all lamenting themselues, for all things appeared wythoute helpe.

They remembred the day would bring more care: if they shoulde goe awaye in the night by those huge playnes, and carry the hurte souldioures with them, it would be a lette vnto them: if they lefte them behinde, they would crie and disclose theyr going away.

And althoughe they thoughte *Crassus* to be the Authour of al this euill, yet they desired to see hym and heare hym speake. He was by himselfe with his face couered in the darke. An example

to

to the cõmon sort of fortune, and to the wise, of want of wisedom, and ambition, by the which, he was not contente to be one of the chiefe & greteſt among many thousands suche as he was, but bicause he was iudged inferior onely to two men, he thought himselfe the leaſt of all. *Octauius* his Legate and *Caſſius*, raiſed him, and badde him be of good cheere. *Craſſus* an exemple of fortunes mutabilitie.

But when they sawe him in bitter desperation, they called the officers and captaines, shewing it was no tarrying there, but to departe withoute sounde of trumpe and secreately, whiche being done, and the hurte men perceyuing they were forsaken, a great lamentation with sorowfull crie was made in the Camp, which skaide them, with trouble and feare, as thoughe the enimie had come vpon them.

Then resting to take the wounded men, and to bestow them, and cary them, it was a lette vnto them, saiuing to three hundred whiche *Egnatius* led to *Carras* at midnight, and speaking latin to the watch, he willed to tel *Coponius*, that was captain them of the garrison, that a great fielde was fought betweene *Craſſus* and the *Parthians*. Nore he saide not, nor they asked what he was, and so he went to the bridge and saued his bande: yet he was euill thought of, bicause he forsoke his Generall: Notwithstanding, that worde spoken to *Copenio*, did good to *Craſſus*. For he thinking that all was not well, bicause of the sodaine and straunge speech, gathered his men togither, and went to meete *Craſſus* in the way, and receiue his souldiors into the Cittie. The *Parthians* hearing the going awaye by night, did not folow them. *Egnatius*. *Carras*. *Coponius*. *Egnatius* euill thoughte of, thoughe hee saued his bande.

But when daye was come, they killed them that were lefte, whiche were no lesse than foure thousande. In the playne they ouertoke manye with their horsemen and killed them. Foure bandes that *Vaiunteius* led in the night, losing their waye, were slaine, not without resistance, except twentie. Romanes killed. *Vaiunteius*, hys bandes slaine.

They breaking thorowe with their naked swordes, the enimies maruelling at their manhode, they suffred to passe a souldiors marche to *Carras*. Twentie souldioures are suffred to passe the enimies.

A false tale was tolde *Surena*, that *Craſſus* with the chiefe, was fledde, and the common sorte were receyued at *Carras*. Hee thinking

thinking the victorie was not yet gotten, standing in doubt, and coueting to learne the truthe, that eyther he might besiege the Cittie, or followe *Crassus*, or let hym goe, he sent one of his men that could speake both tongues, to the walls, commaunding him to speake Latine, and to call *Crassus* or *Cassius*, and to tell them that *Surenas* woulde speake with them. He doing so, and it being tolde to *Crassus*, the message was receiued.

Surenas vseth an other craft to get *Crassus*.

Shortly after came certaine *Arabians* that knewe *Crassus* and *Cassius*, hauing bin in their camp before the fight.

They seeing *Cassius* vpon the wall, saide, *Surenas* would make them friendes with the King, and saue them, so they woulde departe with *Mesopotamia*, for so it were better to do, than trie the vttermost.

Cassius accepting it, and requiring a time and place for *Crassus* and him to mete togither, they answering so to doe, departed.

The deceipt of *Surena*.

When *Surenas* hearde this of the messengers, being glad that they were in a place as besieged, he willed the *Parthians* the next daye to goe with a greate crie, and require, that if the Romanes woulde haue peace with the *Parthians*, to sende *Crassus* and *Cassius* bounde to the King.

They were grieued that they were deceiued, and counselled *Crassus* to leaue the long and vaine hope of *Armenia*, and to saue himselfe, and to let none of the *Carrenans* knowe it. But he made it knowne to *Andromachus* a very false fellowe, whome he trusted, and made him guide of the way, so as nothing was kepte from the *Parthians*, all being tolde by *Andromachus*. And where it is not their custome to fight by night, nor no sure thing to the, and where *Crassus* went out by night, that they shoulde not be to farre off in folowing the fleeing Capitaines, *Andromachus* ledde the Romanes this way and that waye, and at laste putte them in a fenny and marrish place, which should be hard for the fotme to folow. Some thought not wel of *Andromachus* turning & compassing & followed not. Therefore *Cassius* went againe to *Carras*, when ỹ guids which were *Arabians*, willed him to make hast, before the Mone were passe *Scorpion*, but I, (saide he) feare more *Sagittarie*, and then went into *Syria* with fiue hundred horses.

Crassus deceiued by *Andromachus*.

Cassius retourneth.

They

They hauing gote good guides, went by the hilly places, whi-
che are called *Synacha*, and they were safe, and before daye hadde ouertaken aboute fiue thousande. *Octauius* a good man, was lea-
der of them. The daye being come, *Crassus* had a weary iorney by the Fenne and strange way, ledde by *Andromachus*. He had foure bandes of Legatemen with him, and fewe horse, and fiue Sergeants, with whome hauing this weary iorney, and scarce-
ly staying for rest, the ennimies were at hand. He hadde a myle and halfe to ioyne with *Octauius*, and therefore to an other lit-
tle hyll, not able to kepe the horse backe, nor otherwise sure, but ioyning to *Synaces*, and stretching with a long space thorowe a large field, that was nighe it. They with *Octauius* might see in what daunger he was, and firste *Octauius* went with a fewe to saue hym. The other reprouing themselues folowed, & kept the ennimies from the hyll, and compassed *Crassus* in the middest, and defended him with their Targats, so as the shot of the *Parthians* shoulde not hurte the Generall, before, they all fighting for him, were slaine. When *Surenas* sawe the *Parthians* slowly doing their feate, & if the night came on, that the Romanes by going in hilly places, should not be ouertaken of them, he wroughte wiles wyth *Crassus*. He caused talke to be in the Campe, so as some Romane captaines might heare it, that the King would not make war continually with the Romanes, but would bee gladde of their friendeship. And vse *Crassus* gently. And they wente and tolde it.

Synacha, hilles.

Octauius cõmeth to helpe *Crassus*.

Nevvevvyles of *Surenas*.

Crassus continually deceiued.

The *Barbarians* ceassed from the fight. *Surenas* with the chiefe went quietly to the hill, he vnbent his bowe, he offred his righte hande, and called *Crassus* to truce, saying: It was agaynste the Kings will, that he had proued his force and power, & nowe hee shoulde willingly feele his clemencie and mildenesse, and beeing confedered, suffer all to goe safe. When *Surena* had saide this, the other were gladde of it, and woulde haue it followed. Only *Crassus* did not credite it, and thoughte this sodaine change was not to be taken, therefore he thoughte it not good to do it, but to take aduice: yet the souldiours cried, and were angry, obiecting he woulde casse them to be villainously slaine of the ennimies,

The ſouldiours compell *Craſſus* to take the worſt way.

to whom he durſt not go to talke, they being vnarmed. He began to deſire them to abide the reſt of the day, & in the night to paſſe by the hilles and ſafe wayes, and ſhewed the waye, and prayed them not to caſte away the hope of health, whiche was at hand. But they reuiling him, and bending their weapons againſt him, compelled him: So he being afraide, went, and turning him, ſaid thus. *Octauio* and *Petronio*, and you other Captaines of the Romanes that be preſente, you ſée the neceſſitie of my going, and you can tell being with me, the ſowle violence that I ſuffer. Therefore tell all other men, if you eſcape, that *Craſſus* being deceyued of his enimies, died, and not forſaken of his citizens. *Octauius* ſouldioures did not tarry, but came from the hill. The Mace-bearers *Craſſus* put away.

Craſſus to the army.

The firſte that came to hym of the *Barbarians*, were two halfe Grécians, who alighting from their horſes, honored him, and ſaluting hym in Gréeke, wiſhed hym to ſende ſome, to whome *Surenas* might ſhewe that he, and they that were with him, were without armor and weapons. To whom *Craſſus* anſwered, that if he haude anye little hope of this life, he woulde not go to them at all. Yet he ſente *Riſcous* two brethren, to learne to what, and howe many ſhoulde come, whome, being me, *Surenas* deteined, and with the chiefe hée came down on horſebacke.

Riſcus

What meaneth this (ſaide hée) the Romane Generall aſkes? and we mounted? and commaunded an horſe to be brought for *Craſſus*. *Craſſus* anſwered, that neyther he nor they did offend: For they came to talke after the maner of their Country. Then *Surena* ſaide, that from henceforth, good peace ſhoulde be betwéene the Romanes and the King. But the conditions muſt be written at the ſloude, whither they woulde goe. For you *Romanes* (ſaid he) are not mindfull of youre couenaunts, and holde forthe his right hand to him. When *Craſſus* called for an horſe, it ſhall not néede, (quoth *Surenas*) for the King giueth thée this, and by and by an horſe was brought to *Craſſus* trapped with gold. They ſetting him vppe, went about him, and ſtroke the horſe to go away with him. *Octauius* was the firſt that toke the bridle, and

A ſcoffe of *Surenas*.

Surenas vvith out faith.

A taunt to the Romanes.

Craſſus horſed and led avvaye.

with

with him, *Petronius* a Tribune, and then the reſt ſtood about him: the one ſtriuing to make the horſe to goe, and the other to kéepe them backe, and to ſtay the horſe, by the whiche a tumulte and fray, began betwéen them.

Octauius drew his ſword, and killed one of the *Barbarian* horſe-kéepers, an other killed *Octauius*, thruſting him thorow behinde. *Petronius* had no weapon, and being ſtroke on the Curet, he eſcaped vnhurte. *Maxarthes* a *Parthian* killed *Craſſus*: they ſaye an other killed him, and that he did cutte off his heade, and his right hande. This is rather coniectured than knowne. For they that were preſent, fought aboute *Craſſus*, and ſome were killed, and ſome fledde againe to the hyll. The *Parthians* went awaye, ſaying, that *Craſſus* had his worthy puniſhment, al the other, *Surenas* badde come downe boldely: ſome yéelded, and ſome fledde by night, of the whiche, very fewe were ſaued. The other were chaſed by the *Arabians* and killed.

Octauius ſlaine.

Maxarthes. *Craſſus* killed.

Miſerable ende of *Craſſus* and the Romanes.

They ſay twenty thouſand were ſlaine, and tenne thouſande taken. *Surenas* ſent *Craſſus* head and his hand to *Orodes* into *Armenia*. He ſpreading rumors at *Seleucia*, that he broughte *Craſſus* aliue, ſente meſſengers to prepare a mocking ſporte, in ieſt calling it a Triumphe. For one *Caius* among the captiues moſt like to *Craſſus*, was cladde with a Quéenes robe, and commanded that whenſoeuer he were called *Craſſus* and Generall, he ſhoulde anſwere, and was ledde on horſebacke. Before him were certaine Trumpeters and Mace-bearers, riding on Camelles. Purſes were tyed to the roddes, and the heades of the Romaynes that were cutte off to the ares. There folowed a greate company of Harlottes, and Bandes of *Seleucia*, ſpeaking many opprobrious and laughing matter againſte the effeminate cowardiſe of *Craſſus*, and al the other followed them.

The number of the Romanes ſlaine.

Caius. Spight done to *Craſſus* after his death.

Then calling the auntients of *Seleucia* togither, he ſhewed the wanton writings of *Ariſtides* of *Mileſia*, and therein he did not lie, for they were founde in the carriage of *Reſcius*, and miniſtred great matter to them, to reproue and blame the Romanes, that euen in their warres doe not refraine from ſuche fonde manner of writing.

Ballades founde and red in ſpite *Ariſtides* of *Mileſi*. *Reſcius*.

To the *Seleucians*, *Aesopus* seemeth a wise man, seeing *Surenas* blame a bag of the *Milesian* ballads before him, and bringing the wantonnesse of *Parthia*, with so many wagons of Concubines, behind him, a certaine shewe of a newe forme of straunge fight mortall and daungerous, thoughe the fore part were fayre, fearful and cruell, carrying speares, bowes, and horses, at the tayle of the hoste, ending with daunsing, singing, and saying, with women, and al kinde of lewdnesse. *Rustius* was to be blamed, and the *Parthians* shameleſſe, that rebuke the *Milesians*, of the which, some of their Kings, called *Arsacides*, haue come of ỹ *Milesian* or *Ionian* strumpets. This being done, *Orodes* made league with *Artabazes* the *Armenian*, and gaue his sister to wife, to his sonne *Pacoro*. There were many feastes betwen them, and other friendships, insomuche as they came to Grecke pastimes. For *Orodes* was not to learne the tongue nor the doctrine of *Greece*. And *Artabanes* made Tragedies, and wrote Histories, of the whiche, some are saued.

Aesopus a writer of verses, by the which, *Surenas* taketh occasion to raile vpon the *Romanes*. *Sybaritida* is the worde signifying thē that follow all wantonnesse. *Arsacidas* the Kinges house of *Parthia* cōmeth oute of *Milesia*. League betweene. the Kings of *Armenia* and *Parthia*. *Barbarian* kinges learned. *Pacoro*.

When *Crassus* head was brought to the boord, the tables were spredde. Then the setterforth of Tragedies, called *Iason* of *Tralia*, shewed *Bacchus* of *Euripides*, touching *Agaue*. He being well liked, *Silaces* came into the dyning Parlour, and making reuerence, threwe *Crassus* heade into the middest. The *Parthians* making a reioice with a showte of ioy, the Ministers putte by *Silaces*, the King commaunding it, and *Iason* deliuered the preparation of *Penthem*, to one of the dauncers, and taking *Crassus* head, he sung these verses of it, like a man caught with a furie.

Agaue in hir fury killed hir son. A play at the bringing of *Crassus* heade. *Silaces* bringeth *Crassus* heade. *Pentheus* was the sonne of *Agaue*.

We bring from the circuite of the Mountaines a newe killed game,
A blessed happy hunting.

This did al they repeate. And when it came aboute agayne, that the Quyre shoulde syng this, Mine, Mine is the reward, *Maxarthes* leapte forth, for he was set at the Table, and toke the head, saying, it appertained more to him, than he that hadde it. The King was glad, for it was to be giuen to him with reward after the Country maner, & to *Iason* he gaue a talent. After thys maner of play did the trauaile of *Crassus* ende as a Tragedie.

The killers of *Crassus* reuarded.

Both

Both *Orodes* for his crueltie, and *Surenas* for his periurie, hadde worthy punishment. For not long after, *Orodes* killed *Surenas* enuying his glorie. *Phraartes*, *Orodes* sonne, after *Pacorus* was slaine of the Romaynes, and *Orodes* sicke of the dropsie, gaue his father poyson, whiche when he vnderstoode it would be consumed by a laske, he left poysoning, & toke a readier way, by choking him: and the *Parthian* army being gone to *Mesopotamia*, the kings Captaines made *Labinius* the Romayne their General, meaning to inuade *Syria*, or to go with hym as farre as *Alexandria*, and he leading the *Parthians* from *Euphrates* and *Syria* to *Lydia* & *Ionia*, walking *Asia*, *Antonie* hearing of it, prepared to go against the *Parthians*, but being called home by the letters of his wife *Fuluia*, sent to him with weping, he turned into *Italie*, and being at accorde with *Cæsar* and *Pompey* that ruled *Sicelie*, he sent againe into *Asia*, *Ventidius*, to repelle the *Parthians* cõming forewarde, and for fauour, was made the holy minister of the former *Cæsar*. Other things they did in cõmõ and friendly, in ciuil and moste greate matters. There was a prophete with him of *Aegipt*, that was cunning in mens natiuities: he eyther to gratifye *Cleopatra*, or to tell the truth, spake to *Antonie* freely, saying. Thy fortune that is moste noble and great, is ouerlayde of *Cæsars*, and counselled him to be as farre of, as he coulde from the yong man. For thine Angel, sayd the wise mã, feareth his Angell, and it appeared that *Antonie* gaue credite to it, and thought the better of the *Aegiptian*. So committyng his things to *Cæsar*, he sayled into *Grecia*. And whyleſt he was at *Athenes*, the first newes came of *Ventidius* good procedings, ỳ he had ouercome the *Parthians*, and slaine *Labinius* and *Phraartes*, the chiefe Captaynes of king *Orodes*. After this, he feasted the *Grecians*, & was made ruler of the *Athenians* schole. When he went to the warre, he ware a garlande of holy Oliue, and according to an oracle, carried with hym a vessel ful of ỳ foũtain of *Clepsidra*. Then was it tolde ỳ *Ventidius* had ouerthrown *Pacorus* the kings sonne, with a great armie of the *Parthians* inuading *Syria* agayne at *Cyriſtica*, and that many were slain, among the whiche, *Pacorus* was one of the firſte. This age was one of the

Surenas is killed of *Orodes*, and *Orodes* of his son *Phraartes*.

Labinius.

Antonie.

Ventidius.

Antonie is made minister of diuine *Cæsar*.

A Southsayer.

Antonies Angel, afraide of *Octauius* Angel.

Ventidius hath good lucke in *Parthia*.

Clepsidra was vsed in the cõsile of *Athens*.

Pacorus slaine.

the noblest, in the which the *Romanes* reuenged the misfortune of *Crassus*, and droue the *Parthians* againe into *Media* and *Mesopotamia*, being ouercome in three battells togither. *Ventidius* refrayned to followe the *Parthians*, any further fearing the enuy of *Antonie*. Them that reuolted he recouered againe, and besieged *Antiochus Comagenus* in the Cittie of *Samosata*, offering a thousand talents, and to doe what *Antonie* should commaund him. *Ventidius* badde him sende to *Antonie*, for he was at hand, and *Ventidius* wold haue *Antiochus* make his peace there, that this acte mighte redounde to his honoure, leaste all shoulde seeme to be done by *Ventidius*. But the siege continuing longer, and the inhabitance for desperatiō of peace, turning to courage of heartes, *Antonie* was content to let *Antiochus* go for three hundred talents. And when he had tarryed a while in *Syria*, he returned to *Athens*, and rewarding *Ventidius*, as he was worthie, sent him to triumphe. He only to that day, did triumphe of the *Parthians*, a man of base byrth, comming to so great an estimation of waighty matters by *Antonies* friendship, which he vsing wisely, made the saying of *Casar* & *Antonie* to be found true, that they were more fortunate by other Captaines, than by themselues. For *Sosius*, *Antonies* Lieutenaunt in *Syria*, dydde many things, and *Canidius* lefte of him in *Armenia*. He ouercame the *Hiberian* and *Albanian* Kings, and droue them as farre as * *Caucasus*, whereby *Antonies* name was renoumed among the *Barbarians*. After that *Phraartes* had killed his father *Orodes*, and taken the Kingdome, many *Parthians* fledde away, & *Monesius* a noble and a mighty man, fledde to *Antonie*. There he waying this mans fortune with *Themistocles*, and comparing his power, with the kings of *Persia*, gaue him three Cities, *Larissa*, *Arethusa*, and *Hierapolis*, whom before they called *Bambyce*. But when *Monesius* was called home againe by the king, he did let him goe, meaning so to deceiue the King by hope of peace, and being desirous to recouer the ensignes of *Crassus*, and the captiues that were aliue, he sent *Cleopatra* into *Aegipt*, and went into *Arabia* and *Armenia*, to gather his power and the confederate kings, for they were many. But the greatest was

Artaba-

Ventidius leaueth to do further against the *Parthians* for feare of *Antonies* enuy.

Samosata bringeth forth an earth that setteth vvater a fire, in that parte of *Syria*, that is called *Comagene*

Antonius is deceyued of his hope and returneth doyng nothing.

Ventidius triumpheth of the *Parthians*.

Octauius and *Antonie* more fortunate by their Lieutenaunts, than themselues.

Sosius.

Canidius.

Phraartes killeth his father *Orodes*

* This *Iberia* is nighe the hyll *Caucasus*, full of venime, from vvhence, they came, that novv inhabite *Spaine*.

Antonie vvoulde giue reyvarde comparable to the kings of *Persia*.

Larissa, there be many of that name. One in *Asia*, nighe *Troius*. *Arethusa*, one in *Syria*, another in *Esbaa*. *Hierapolis* in *Mesopotamia*.

Artabazes of *Armenia*, giuing fiue thousande horse, and seauen thousand footmen. When he mustred his men, there were. lx. M. footemen, and of the Romanes ordinarie horsemen, and the *Iberians* and Frenchmen, ten thousand. Of other nations there was thirty thousand with horsmen and shotte. This so great preparation and power, that maue the *Bactrians* and *Indians* afrayde, and all *Asia* to shake, they saye, that *Cleopatra* made to come to little profite, for making haste to winter with hir, he toke not due time for the warre, doing all things confusedly, not as one that had his wittes, but abused with his sorceries and witchcrafts of hir, that he thought more to make haste to hir, than to get victorie of his ennimies. For where he oughte to haue wintred in *Armenia*, and rested his weary army that had gone. viij. M. furlongs, and before the *Parthians* had come from their winterings, to inuade *Media* in the beginning of ỹ Spring, he would not tarry the time, but so led his army, as he had *Armenia* on his lefte hande, and when he came to *Atropatea*, he wasted that region. Then hauing engines necessarie for to ouerthrowe cities, which followed the campe with three hundred Chariots, in the whiche, there was one called a Ramme, of the length of foure score fote, which if it were broken, coulde not be made againe, bicause he ledde the armye in a Countrey plaine and barren of wood of any length or hardnesse, he left thē behind him, as impediments to his haste, appointing a band and a Captain, to kepe the same, and he besieged *Phraata* a greate Cittie, in the whiche, the wife and children of the King of *Media* were. And then feeling the want of the engines, he knewe he had erred in leauing them behind him, and therefore would winne the Citie by mountes, whiche was a great labour, and a longe diuise. Nowe came the King *Phraartes* with a great army, who hearing of the leauing of the cariage of the engines, sent many horsmē for thē, of whom *Statianus* being chiefe of the Romanes, was killed, and ten thousande with him.

Forces of *Antonie*.

Bactrians, people in Scythia of *Asia*.

Cleopatra is cause of the decay of a greate preparation.

Antonie abused by *Cleopatra*.

Eight furlonges maketh a myle.

Atropatea is part is a parte of *Media*.

Ramme an engine to beate vvalles of a cittie.

Antony leaueth hys artillerie behinde him.

Phraata besieged

Antonies error.

The artillerie is taken, and the keepers killed.

Statianus and *Polemon* be killed.

The *Barbarians* toke the engines, and destroyed manye people, in the whiche was *Polemon* a King. This made *Antonies* army afraide, as it might, to receiue such a losse at the beginning.

Artabazes

Artabasses the *Armenian* king, dyspayring of the Romaines, re-
turned home with his army, albeit he was ỹ cause of the war.
They that were besieged, trusted vpon the *Parthians* so muche,
as they vsed spitefull language. *Antonie*, not thinking good his
souldiours courage shoulde be abated, by lying ydly there, toke
tenne legions, and three bandes of the guarde, and all hys
horsemen, and wente to forage, thinking so to prouoke hys
enimies to fighte, and to deale with them orderly. Being gone
one onely dayes iourney, when he sawe the *Parthians* fetching
their compasse, and seeking to stoppe his waye, hee commaun-
ded the token of fight to be giuen, and the campe to be leauied,
not as though he woulde fight, but marche. He passed by the
Barbarians, who were sette like a cresent, commaunding the
horsemen, that when the fotemen were so nigh as they mighte
fight, that the horsemen should turne vpon them. The *Parthi-*
ans did iudge the Romaines order to be better by reason, and
behelde them marching wyth equall distaunce quietlye, and
with silence, shaking their weapons. When the token was gi-
uen, and they went on with shoute, the horsemen turned vpon
the enimie, who receyued them with defence, although they
were within the shotte. But when the fotemen came with crye
& clashing of armour, the horsemen of the *Parthians* gaue place
with disorder, and fledde before they came to handes. *Antonie*
followed the chase, hauing greate hope to make an ende ey-
ther of the whole warre, or of a great part of it, when they had
followed the chase, the fotemen fiue miles, and the horsemenne
thrice so muche.

Artabasses forsaketh the Romanes.

The *Parthians* maruel at the good order of the Romanes.

The Romanes haue a victorie of small accompt.

They found no more taken but thirtie, nor no more slayne
but foure scoure, euerye manne thinking it an harde case,
that they hauing victorye, shoulde kyll so fewe, and lo-
syng theyr Engines with so manye. When they were ouer-
come, they fell into a greate discourage and doubte of them-
selues.

The next daye they passed to *Phraartes* Campe, and by
the waye, founde firste a fewe enimies, then more, at last all, &
as inuincibly, and not to be hurte, they prouoked him, & euerye
where

where set vpon him, so as hardly, and with muche adoe, the Romanes went to their Campe. And where they of the Citie hadde made a sallie, and put some of the Romanes from their trenche, *Antony* was so angry, as he punished euery tenth mā by death, according to the deserte, taking euery tenth by lotte, that hadde forsaken his place, and to the other instеade of wheate, hee gaue barley. The warre was painefull to bothe, and the continuance more fearefull, *Antonie* perceyuing hunger would folowe, for he coulde get no forage without death and hurte of his soulditors. *Phraates* knowing the *Parthians* had rather doe any thing, than to lie in fielde, and in an other land, in the winter, was afraide, that if the Romanes did hold out and tarry, that they would leaue hym, the ayre beggynning to chaunge, and the time of equall day and night being at hande: he deuised this crafte. The best of the *Parthians*, vsed the Romanes more gently in their forageing and other encounters, suffering them to carry away some things, and praysing their vertue, as of men moste valiaunt in warre, and in great estimation with their king, as they were wel worthy. And by this meane comming nearer togither, and suffring the horsemenne to passe, spake euill of *Antonie*, bicause *Phraates* would gladly haue peace, and spare so good and so many menne, that had giuen none occasion, but that he would tarry and abide two great and large enimies, that is, Winter and Hunger, from the which, they coulde hardely escape, thoughe the *Parthians* would suffer them.

The Romaines hardily gette to their Campe.

The Romaynes punished by lot.

Autumne. A craftie practise.

VVinter and Hunger twoo great enimies.

Many declaring this to *Antonie*, and he deceiued by this hope, deferred to sende an Heraulte to the *Parthians* king, till he knewe of those wel willing *Barbarians*, if they spake so muche with the kings consent. They affirming and promising, that he ought not doubt nor dreade, he sent one of his friendes againe, requiring to receiue the ensigns & the Captiues, that he might not be thought altogither to saue himselfe, and to escape. The *Parthians* answering, he shoulde not passe of that, but if he did departe, he shoulde haue peace and safete by and by: wherefore wythin fewe dayes he brake vppe, and went his way. And whereas he was eloquent in perswading, and was wonte to moue the people, and the ar-

Antony deceyued.

Antonie committeth the, IV speeche to his souldiours, another, contrary to his vvonte.

my by hys oratiõs, now for shame and beautnesse he omitted to speake to the multitude, and commaunded *Domitius Aenobarbus* to do it. Some were angry as though he despised them, but the more parte were content and perceyued the matter, & therefore thought the rather to graunt and obey their Generall.

Mardi be people in *Hyrcania*. *Mardus* taketh vppon him to leade the armye the best vvay.

Being aboute to leade them the playne and barren waye, a man that by kinde was called *Mardus*, acquainted with the *Parthian* fashion, faithfull to the Romanes, and at the fielde of the engins, came to *Antonie*, and willed him to fle on the right hand of the hills, and not to caste his armye laden with harnesse, and weary with iourneys, to suche a mighte of horse and shotte, and that *Phraates* vnder shewe of benevolence, went aboute to entrap him, and that he wouldde leade hym a shorter way, in the whiche he shoulde haue sufficiencie of all things.

Mardus bounde.

When *Antonie* heard this, he toke counsel, and said he would not seme to distrusse the *Parthians*, touching the peace, but for the shortnesse of the way, and the plentifull Townes inhabited, he praysed *Mardus*, and requyred faith of him. He offred to be bound till he brought them into *Armenia*. Being bound, he ledde them .ij. dayes very quietlie. The which done, *Antony* not looking for *Parthians*, and going negligently because of his boldenesse, *Mardus* sawe the banke of the floud newe broken, and much water ouerrunning the place where they shoulde passe. He knewe it was the *Parthians* worke to make their way the harder, and to let that floude as an impediment vnto them, and willed *Antonie* to looke about him, for the enimie was not farre off. Whiles he set hys men in order, and commaunded the shotte to encounter with the, beholde the *Parthians* appeared, and came as they would haue compassed and disclosed the army. The shotte comming vppon them, and hurte being done on both sides, they retyred, and after came againe. Then the *French* horsmen encountred with them, and put to them backe, so as that day they did no more attempte.

The *Parthians* come vppon *Antonie* on the sodaine.

French horsmen.

By this, *Antonie* learning what he shoulde do, he placed maye shotte, not onely at the tailes, but on the sides, leading the armye in a square, commaunding the horsemen to prike backe the enimies, but not to followe them to farre. For the *Parthians*

by

in these foure dayes hauyng done no more hurte than receiued, ware slowe, and entended to goe their waye, making Wynter their pretence. The fifth daye, *Flauius Gallus* a good Souldioure and a forwarde in feates of warre, required *Antonie* to giue him some shotte for hys rereward, and horsmen for hys fore warde, and he woulde do a good seruice. He gaue him, and he kept backe the enimies. But nowe not returning to the fotemen as he did before, but following and fighting with more courage, when the leaders of the taile saw him go to far, they called hym backe, but he would not. They say *Titius* did take the Ensigne to turne him backe, and rebuke *Gallus*, that woulde lose so manye, and so good men, and that he rebuked him agayne, and badde him medle with his owne matters, and so *Titius* went his way.

Flauius Gallus.

The rashenesse of *Gallus*.

The sobernesse of *Titius*.

Gallus setting vppon the face of them, was compassed at the backe, and being besette rounde aboute, sent for more helpe.

They bringing the fotemen, among the whiche was *Canidius*, a man in great fauour with *Antonie*, who seemed to committe a greate errour, for he oughte to haue brought forthe the whole battaile, and to haue sent them forth in bands, one ready to help another, whiche being to weake, to haue supplied more, they perceyued not that it wanted but little that the whole army was not putte to the worse, and to flight, if *Antonie* hadde not by and by brought the legions, and set them in the face of them, and the third legion had not passed among them that fledde, and staied the enimie from further chase. There was slaine no lesse than three thousande, and there came to their tentes wounded fyue thousande And *Gallus* among them, shotte thorowe with four arrowes, coulde not be healed of his woundes. The other *Antonie* went about and comforted, and wyth teares bad them be of good cheare, but they chearfully taking him by the hande, prayed hym to comfort himselfe, & not to be diseased, calling him Chiefe Generall, saying, they were well, if he were whole: for generally, there was no captaine led a more noble armi, neither in strength nor in patience, nor in boldenesse, in those dayes, than he, nor more reuerence and obedience, with benevolence of all indifferent lye, noble, vnnoble, Rulers, and priuate men, was euer giuen to any

Canidius committeth a greate errour.

A slaughter of the Romanes.

Antonie comforteth his menne, and they him.

Antonie a verye good Captaine.

Captaine, than to *Antonie*; preferring hym before their owne liues and health, wherein he might compare with the auntiente Romanes. Diuers causes were of this, (as we haue saide) gentlenesse, eloquence, plainenesse, liberalitie, and magnificence, & courtesie in myrth and speeche, and for that he would pitie and comforte the sicke, and giue what they needed, he made the sicke and the hurte, the more assured to him.

Causes of the souldiours loue towarde *Antony*.

The enimies for this victorie, were in suche a pride, thoughe they were weary and almost refusing the fight, contemning the Romanes, as that night they encamped hard by them, thinking straight to haue spoiled the voide tents, and sacked the money of them being fled.

When day was come, they were many more, and they saye they were not lesse than fortie thousande horsemenne, the King sending still more vnto them, as to a sure and certaine victorie, but he was not with them, whither they wonne or lost.

When *Antonie* shoulde speake to the souldioures, he woulde haue a blacke garment, that he might the more be pitied, but his frends not suffering it, he came in a Captaines purple robe, and spake vnto thē, praysing thē that had done well, and dispraysing them that fledde, of the whiche, some prayed him to be of good comforte, some confessed their faulte, and offered to be punished euery tenth man, or any other waye to chastice them, onely they prayed him to cease his sorrowe and griefe. Then holding vppe his hands, he prayed the Goddes, that if there were any reuenge towarde, for hys former felicitie, that it might lighte on hym, and that the reste of the armye might haue healthe, and victorye.

Antony discoursed.

Antonies prayer

The nexte day, they marched better guarded: and the *Parthians* that followed were much deceiued of their purpose, for where they thought to come to spoile and pray, and not to fight, beyng resisted with great cheerefulnesse of the souldioures, they were wearie againe. And as the Romanes went downe certaine hills, they came vpon them, and they made a sharpe shotte. The Target men turned vpon them, and couered their shotte with their shields, for the Targets hid them easily, they kneeling on their knees.

The manner of the Romanes against the *Parthians*.

knées. They that stode behind, defended them with their armor, and so did the other. This manner of forme, bowing alike every way, made a figure of a Theatre, and it is the surest waye to auoyde shotte, the arrowes sliding away. The *Parthians* thinking the stouping of the Romanes vpon their knées had bin for heate and thirst, vnbent their bowes, and with their speares came nigh, thē then the Romanes rising sodainly with a crie, set vpon them, and wringing their weapons out of their handes, killed the formost of them, and made all the other to runne away. The like was done other dayes. They giuing little way, and famine falling into the army, little meate being had, because of their often fights, wanting Milles to grinde their corne, being loste with the engines, for they were leste behinde, and because many of the beasts were killed, the sicke and wounded men were borne. So as they say, an *Athens* bushel of wheate was worth fiftie drams, and barley was worth the waighte in siluer.

The *Parthians* deceyued.

The fight at hād

The miserie of the Romanes.

Chœnix attica cōtaineth. 2. *Sextarij*. and *Sextarij*, is the sixte part of *Congio*. *Dragmā* was as muche as a Romane Penny.

Then being driuen to hearbs and rotes, some they found of the vsuall sorte, but being compelled to proue them that were vnknowne, they first lighted vpon an hearbe that brought death with a madnesse. For he that eate it remembred nothing, nor knew nothing. Only one thing they did, moue and turne a stone, as a thing of great waighte to be done. The fielde was full of them that stowped to the grounde and digged, and remoued stones.

Hearbs hurtefull vvhiche the soldioures eate.

An hearbe making men mad.

At length vomiting their choller, they dyed, when wine, whiche was the only remedy, was spent, many being deade, and the *Parthians* not ceassing. They say þ *Antonie* many times cried (O the tenne thousande,) praising them that with *Xenophon* did go a farre longer way from *Babilon*, and fighting many battells saued themselues.

Ten thousande Grecians passed from the field of their loste Captaine vvithout hurte.

The *Parthians* could not draw them asunder, nor breake their order, and being diuers times put to the worse, they fled, waring quiet againe: then they gotte among them that went for forage, & shewyng the strings of their bowes lose, they said they would retire and make an ende of their chase. A fewe *Medians* folowed yet a daye or two, doing no hurte, but onely guarding the townes

of *Media*. By theſe wordes they gaue ſalutations and went on with gentleneſſe, in ſo much as the *Romanes* were cheereful againe: whiche when *Antonie* heard, hee ſayde he would go by the playne, rather than the hylles, where was lacke of water. And mindyng thus to doe, one named *Mithridates* came from the enimies, beyng couſine to *Monæſe*, that had bene with *Antonie*, and had the three Cities giuen hym, and deſired ſome might come to hym that couldo ſpeake the *Parthian* or *Median* tongue. And *Alexander* of *Antiochia*, in credite with *Antonie*, beyng ſente to hym, hee ſayde, that he was come to yelde thankes for *Monæſus*, and aſked *Alexander*, if hee ſawe thoſe highe and long hylles before hym, and when he ſayde he did, vnder them ſayde hee, the *Parthians* lie in wayte for you, with all their armye. This greate fielde ſtretcheth to thoſe hilles, and they thinke that beyng decepued by them, you will leaue the way by the hilles, becauſe there is thirſt and labour: but if *Antonie* goe this way, lette him knowe to fall in *Craſſus* calamitie.

Antonie soone led to hope.

Mithridates ſent by *Monæſus* giueth *Antonie* warning.

Antonie beyng troubled, when he harde this, conferred with his friendes, and *Mardus* the guyde of the way, who thought no leſſe, he knewe that though there were none enimies, the iourney by the playneſſe was wayleſſe, vncertaine, harde and ſtrange to finde. The way by the hilles, had none other difficultie, but wante of water for one day. Beyng turned to this, he commaunded to goe by night, and to carie water. There was wante of veſſelles, therefore they caried water in their headpeeces, and ſome in ſkinnes. Their goyng beyng knowen to the *Parthians*, they came vpon them by night contrary to their maner, and by the ryſing of the Sunne, they moleſted the tayle, now weary with watchyng and labour, for they had gone that night two hundreth and fortie furlongs, & not thinking their enimies woulde haue come ſo ſone, they were diſcouraged, for neyther had they drinke, and muſte fight as they went.

Antonie greeued.

The Parthians come by night.

The former chaunced to meete with a floudde whoſe water was colde and cleare, but ſalte and venemous. The whiche be-

Water hurtful

ing

ing dronke dyd wring the belly with torment, and inflamed their drouthe. And though *Mardus* gaue them warnyng of it, notwithstandyng, they beate them off that wouldе haue stayed them, and dronke it. *Antonie* came among them, and prayed them to be content for a whyle, for there was an other floudde of good water not farre off, and that the residue of the way was sharpe and not for horsemen, at the whiche, their enimies would leaue them.

Then blowing the retreate, he commaunded to pitche their tentes, that at the least the Soldiours might repose them in the shadowe. The tentes beyng sette, and the *Parthians* goyng their way as they were wonte, *Mithridates* came agayne, and wilded *Alexander* that came to him, to see that the armie shoulde take little reste, but goe and make haste to the floudde, bycause the *Parthians* woulde goe no further, but thyther they woulde folow them. A newe warning.

This beyng told to *Antonie*, *Alexander* brought from hym cuppes and vessels of golde, of the which *Alexander* taking so many as he coulde carie vnder his cloke, wente his waye. They remoued, and went the reste of that day, without any trouble of their enimies. But the night, they made to themselues moste vnquiet and fearefull, for they killed them that had any Golde or Siluer, and they spoyled the money that was caried, and in the ende ransacked *Antonies* cariage, and toke awaye his vessell and tables of Golde, and diuided them amongst them. Disorder in the Romanes cãpe amõg themselues.

There was great feare & confusion in the whole armie, for they thought the enemies had turned and spoyled their people. *Antonie* called one of hys garde, whose name was *Rammus*, and made hym to sweare, that when hee commaunded hym, hee shoulde thruste hys sworde thorough him, and cut off his head, that it might neyther bee taken aliue of the enimie, nor knowne when he was deade. His friendes weepyng, *Marcellus* comforted *Antonie*, that the floudde was neere at hande, for *Antonie* in dispayre.

A colde aire declareth a floude to be at hande.

for a moist breath was felt, and a colde ayre came vnto the, that made the breathing swete: and the time (quoth he) of our iorney, doth agree with ỳ measure, for there was but a little of the night left. And then came other and said the tumult did rise of iniurie & spoile among themselues. Therfore bringing the multitude from confusion and feare, to order, he commanded to encamp.

Now day began to shewe, and the army beginning to take a little reste, the archers of the *Parthians*, fel vpon the hindermoste: wherefore token of fight was giuen to the shotte. The armed men couering themselues against with the shields, staied to ioine with the enimy. The fore warde going on, a little after the floud appeared, and the horsemen keeping the enimies off, they carried ouer the sicke men first, and whiles these were fighting, they had leisure and quiet to drinke.

When the *Parthians* saw the floud, they vnbended their bows, and badde the Romanes go on boldely, commending much their vertue. When they were passed with quiet, they gathered together againe, for they had no great truste in the *Parthians*, as they went. The firte day after the last fighte, they came to the floude, *Araxes*, diuiding *Media* and *Armenia*, it appeared both deepe and swift, and it was saide that the enimies came to set vpon them in the passage. But when they were quietly passed and come into *Armenia*, as thoughe they had seene that land from the sea, they kneeled downe, and with teares and embracings one of another for ioye, they ranne togither.

Araxes cõmeth out of the hyll that *Euphrates* dothe.

The reioicing of the Romanes being come into *Armenia*.

But nowe going by a plentifull Country, and al vsing superfluitie after their want, they fell into dropsies, and Chollycke diseases.

Thys warre was not accõpted, for lacke of *Armenian* horsemen.

And when *Antonie* made his mulster, he founde .xx. M. foteme and horsemen to be slaine, not all of the enimies, but more than halfe of diseases. They were going from *Phraata* .xxvii. and twentie daies, and they ouercame the *Parthians* in eighteine battells, but their victories had no substance nor sureties of them that made ofte and small chases. It was well perceiued that *Artabazes* the *Armenian*, was the cause why *Antonie* coulde not bring this war to end. For the sixtene thousande horse that hee ledde

led out of *Media*, might haue done best seruice against the *Parthians*, being armed like them, and accustomed to fight with them: and when they fled from the Romanes fight, they should haue chased them, that being so ouercome, they could not haue bin bold to set vpon them againe so oft. All the army for anger moued *Antonie* to be reuenged of the king. He vsing discretion, did neyther blame his defection, nor change any of his wonted humanitie and honor to him, his army being yet weake and needy, but afterwarde being come againe into *Armenia*, and with fayre words and promises persuading him to come to his handes, he toke him, and carried him bounde to the triumph at *Alexandria*, which most grieued the Romanes, that the godly and comely things of their country, should be translated to *Alexandria* for *Cleopatras* sake. Thus he did. Betweene the kings of *Media* and *Parthia* fell a variaunce, begonne as they say, for the Romanes spoyle: and the *Median* king being in dãger thereby to lose his kingdome, he sent to *Antonie*, promising to make war with him with all his power. Therefore *Antonie* was brought into greate hope, for he supposed, he wanted nothing to ouercome the *Parthians*, but horsmen and archers, the which he saw was now offred him to gratify him without any asking. He prepared to go again into *Armenia*, & to ioyne with the *Median* at the flood *Araxes*, and there to moue the warre, but being called backe by the intercessions of *Octauia* and *Cleopatra*, he deferred the *Median* til the next sommer, although the *Parthians* were at diuisiõ: yet going to him once again, he made league with him, & when he had maryed one of his daughters with a sonne of *Cleopatra*, he returned againe to Ciuil warre.

Antonie taketh the king and maketh a triumph of him at *Alexandria* whi che grieueth the Romanes.

The end of the Romanes vvar with the Parthians.

¶ The Romanes warre with the *Illyriãs*: by *Appian* of *Alexandrîa*.

Illyria nowe *Slauonia*, *Chaonia*, part that is mountaines. *Thesprotia*, that is next to *Chaonia*. *Paonia* is a parte of *Macedonia*. The breadth & length of *Illyria*.

THe *Grecians* thinke them to be *Illyrians*, that haue their dwelling beyond *Macedonia* and *Thracia* from *Chaonia* & *Thesprotia* to the floud *Hister*. The greatnesse of it, reacheth from *Macedonia* and the mountaines of *Thracia*, to *Paonia* and the *Alpes*, three dayes iourney. The length of it, is muche greater by three partes, as the *Grecians* thinke. The Romaynes measurting the ground, thinke it is fiue thousand furlongs in length, and a thousand two hundereth in breadth. And they affirme that countrey to haue the name and beginning of *Illyria*, sonne to *Polyphemus*. For *Polyphemus* had by *Galatia*, *Celtes*, *Illyrius*, and *Gallus*: And that they came out of *Sicelie*, and gaue name to the *Celtians*, *Illyrians*, and *Galatians*. And this I like well of the opinions that haue bene taught hereof. Then they saye that *Illyrius* had these folowing: *Achilles*, *Autarius*, *Dardanus*, *Medus*, *Taulãtius*, & *Perrhebus*: and these daughters, *Partha*, *Daorta*, and *Dasera*, with others, of the which came the *Taulãtians*, *Perrhebians*, *Achilleians*, *Autariãs*. *Dardauans*, *Parthenians*, *Dasaretians*, and *Darsians*: *Autarius* had *Pannonius* or *Paonius*, and *Scordiscus*: *Paonius*, had *Tribalus*, of the which these natiõs haue their names. And these be the antient beginnings of the great countrey of *Illyria*, in the whiche were the *Scordiscians*, and *Triballians*, of so greate possession, as they fought so long together, till the *Triballians*, that were lefte, fled to the *Celtes* beyond *Hister*. This nation was thought mightye tyll the time of *Philippe* and *Alexander*, and now so destroyed, as it hath no man left: and the *Scordiscians* become to noughte also, for they being ouercome by the Romaines, came at lẽgth to dwel in the Ilands of *Hister*. And in continuaunce of tyme, some

Illyrius sonne to *Polyphemus*. *Celtes*, by that part of Fraunce that is about Lions. *Taulantij*, vvent from *Illyria* to *Macedonia*, and builded *Amissa*. *Perrhabi* fled into *Aetolia*. *Achillai* Ilanders. *Autarians* vvere most vvarlike people of *Illyria* first subdued of the *Scordiscians*, and last of the Romaines. *Parthene* of *Macedonia*. *Dalaretians* of *Thracia*.

Scordiscians. *Paonians*.

some of them went abroade again, and inuaded the vttermost part of *Paonia*, wherfore the *Scordiscians*, be now amõg the *Paonians*. Likewise the *Ardeians*, when they had inuaded the beste parte of the *Autarians* groundes nexte the coaste, they beyng seamen, they droue them away. After them, the *Liburnians* had the name to be good with their shippes, another nation of *Illyria*, robbing *Ionium* and the Ilandes with their swifte shippes. Wherefore the Romaynes call the shippes of spéde, *Liburnians*. There is a saying, that the *Autariãs* came to vtter destruction, by the wrath of *Apollo*. For they and the *Celtians* with the *Cymbrians*, did encampe at *Delphos*, and by and by all were dispearsed and fledde, and many of them before the fight, being stroken with raine, tempest, and lightning, and when they that wer left came home, they foũd such a corruptiõ made by frogs in their waters, that they all perished. The vapor of the whiche so infected the Countrey of *Illyria*, as the *Autarians* being most plagued with it, fled: and bycause no man durst receyue them, they went on .xrij. dayes togither, comming to a Fennie grounde vnhabited, and buylded a Citty next to *Bastennia*. They saye also, that *Apollo* dyd destroy the *Celtians* and their Cities, & did not ende the plague before they fled and left their houses, and came into *Illyria*, that had offered with them, whõ being weake for sickenesse, they sone ouer-came, and by handling of their things tooke the infection, and fledde to *Pirene*. And when they moued toward the east, the Romanes being afraid of them with whom they had once foughte an exceding battayle, sente the Consuls against them, least they shoulde passe the *Alpes* and come into *Italy*. And the Romaines hauing the losse of all their armye, the name of the *Celtians* stroke al *Italy* with feare, till they chose *Marius* their generall, which before had ouercome the *Libyans*, *Numidians* and *Marsians*, very valiauntly, and ouerthrew the *Celtians*, and did them many tymes destroy, as I haue shewed in the booke of *Celtica*. And this end had the *Celtians* and *Illyrians* for their wickednesse, yet they did not withholde their wicked handes from holy things, but the *Scordisciani*, *Medans*, and *Dardanãs*, ranne ouer *Grecia* and *Macedonia*,

Liburna. Light shippes.

Cymbri came frõ the north of *Saxon* into *Nirs bonne* in Fraunce vvhere *Marius* ouercame them. Punishment of God.

Fastuma, be at the flourd *Boristhenes* in *Scythia*.

Pirene, is the hill that diuideth *Fraunce* and *Spaine*.

Syllanus Manlius and *Capio*, Consuls ouerthrowen by the *Cymbrians*, &c.

Marius ouerthroweth them.

donia, and spoyled temples, and once againe besieged Delphos, lo sing many of their men being then slaine, two and thirtie yeare after the warre betweene the Romanes and the Celtians, who for their late sacrileage made them warre L. Scipio beyng Captaine then, being Lordes of Macedonia and Grecia. An they saye their neyghboures that were their felowes in this wickednesse, then not ayding them, left them to Scipio, remembryng the plague of the Autarians whiche were vtterlye destroyed through all Illyria. And that Scipio did ouerthrowe all the Scordiscians, and they that could escape wente to Danubio and the Ilands thereof, and that he being corrupted with a couenaunt of holy gold, made league with the Medans and Dardanans, by the which, as many Italians do shew in their wrytings, the state of Rome was stroken with ciuil discorde, vntill it came to the rule of one. These things of Illyria founde among the Grecians, I haue writte at large. The Romanes cal not only these Illyrians, but also the Paonians beyonde them, the Rhetians, the Noricians, and Misians that dwel in Europe, and al other nigh that inhabite the right hand of Hister, by a common name, although they do separate the Illirians from the Grecians, and call euery of them by their proper names. Being ledde wyth this opinion at the first, they chaunged afterward, and would haue the ende of Illyria at the beginning of Hister, to the sea of Pontus, whiche is tributarie vnto them. Howe the Romanes brought them to obedience, whē we wrote of the Celtians, we shewed that we did not well learne neyther the beginnings nor occasions of the warres.

Corruption one cause of ciuil discord at Rome.

Rhetia is at the Alpes, part of the which is nowe Gusoni. Noricia nowe Bauaria. Mysia nowe Iosua and Cernia.

The sea of Pontus from Maotis to Tenedo. Agron. The Illyrian king hauing ouercome the Aetolians, dranke so much wine that he died presently. Agron. Pyrrhus. Epirus, Cimera, or Albania. Corcira, Corfu. Epidamnus. Durasso. Pharus, is an Iland in the Adriaticall sea,

And therefore we haue exhorted them to write, that haue more vnderstanding of the matters of Illyria. But as much as we knowe, we wil declare it.

Agron was king of a part of Illyria, ẏ is at the coast of Ionia which Pyrrus king of Epirus, and such as came of him, had some tyme. And he taking parte of Epirus, and Corcyra beyond that, & Epidanus and Pharus, as a keeper held them styl. When he sailed the rest of the Ionian sea, an Ile called Esus did reuolte to the

Romanes,

Romanes, and sent their Embassadoure to them, to declare what wrong *Agron* had done them. The *Illyrians* saying againe to the, killed *Calemporus* the Embassador of *Essus*, and with them *Coruncanius*, the Romane, (as some say.) For this cause the Romanes inuaded *Illyria* both by sea and land.

Calemporus. *Coruncanius.* Embassadors slaine.

Agron dyed, leauing an infant behinde hym called *Pine*. He leste the gouernement of the countrey to his wife, that she might bring vppe the childe, although shee was not hys mother. *Demetrius* that had *Pharus* belonging to *Agrons* dominion, and after, getting *Corfu*, betraped both to the Romanes. They made amitie with the *Epidamnians*, and sent an armye to helpe them againste the *Illyrians* that besieged them: wherfore the *Illyrians* raised their siege, and some of them called *Atintani*, yelded to the Romanes.

Embassadoures killed, the cause of *Illyrian* vvar.

Pine.

Pharus and *Corfu* deliuered to the Romanes.

Atintani.

The wife of *Agron* sent Embassadours to *Rome*, deliuering the prisoners and captiues, requiring pardon for that was not done of hir, but of *Agron*. The Romanes saide that *Corfu*, *Pharo*, *Essio*, and *Epidamno*, and the *Illyrians* that be called *Atintani*, were of their iurisdiction, and if *Pine* would holde the other Region of *Agron*, hee myghte vse the Romanes friendshippe, if he woulde refraine from the reste, nor the *Illyrians* shoulde go to the *Essians*, but with two boats, and them vnarmed, all the whiche they admitted. And this was the firste doings of the Romanes and the *Illyrians*, after the which, they gaue libertie to *Corcyra* and *Apollonia*.

Peace vvith *Pine.*

Appolonia nowe *Vallona.*

They gaue also rewardes to *Demetrius* for his reuolting, yet despising his infidelitie, that came from him afterwarde. For the Romanes contending three yeares with the *Celtians* aboute the floude *Eridanus*, *Demetrius* not nowe passing of the Romanes, by cause they were troubled with warre, gote *Histria*, an other nation of *Illyria*, and compelled the *Atintanes*, to reuolte from the Romanes. When the Romanes had made an end with the *Celtians*, they went by and by into *Illyria*, and toke the robbers that had ioined themselues with *Demetrius* and the other *Illyrians*. And they killed *Demetrius*, that fledde vnto *Philippe* of *Macedonie*, and retourned wyth an Naupe, and spoiled the Gulfe of *Ionia*, and vtterlye ouerthrewe his Countrey *Pharus*, consp iring with hym,

Demetrius.

Eridanus, nowe Po, the greate floude of *Italie.*

Atintanes.

famine, and pardoned the other *Illyrians*, that dydde agrée with *Pine*.

This was the seconde warre and truce with the *Illyrians*. The reste be described of me not in ozder and time, but by the nations as I haue found them. The Romanes inuaded *Macedonie* when *Perseus* raigned after *Philippe*. *Gentius* an other king of *Illyria*, allured with mony, ioyned with *Perseus*, & stirred the *Illyrians* against the Romanes, and didde caste the Romane Embassadoures into prison, alleadging that they came not as Embassadoures, but as espialls. Wherefoze *Anitius* the Romane Lieutenaunt toke diuers of *Gentius* shippes, and inuading the lande, ouercame hym when he hadde shutte him in a place, and he asked forgiuenesse, he counsailed him to yelde to the Romanes: he desired three dayes respite, which being granted, and in the meane time his subiectes forsaking him, he desired he might come to *Anitius*. Whyche when he did, he kneeled on his knees with great shame, and spake for himselfe. The Romane Presidente toke him by the hand, and badde him be of good cheere, and toke him to a banquet, from the whiche as he was going, he was taken and made prisonier, and carried to *Rome* in triumphe with his sonne.

Gentius imprisoneth the Romane Embassadoures.

Anitius.

Gentius contrary to promise take.

Aemilius Paulus taketh.lxx. cities in a daye, by craftе.

This warre of *Gentius* was finished in twentie dayes. *Aemilius Paulus* that toke *Perseus*, and sente hym to *Rome*, spoiled lxx. of his Cities after this sozte. Going priuily to *Rome*, with great spéede, and returning, he promised the people forgiuenesse, if they woulde bring in all their golde and siluer. They agreeing to it, he brought parte of his armye to euerye Cittie, then commaunding the Captaines of the army, at a daye in the morning, to charge the Citizens by Trumpet, that they shoulde bring all their golde and siluer within three houres space, whiche being done, he gaue the reste to his souldioures for spoile. So *Paulus* in one houre spoiled. lxx. Cities.

Ardeans. *Palerians.*

The *Ardeans* and *Palerians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, inuaded that part that the *Romanes* held, to whom the Romanes for other lettes sente Embassadoꝛs to affray them. They would not obey, wherefoze ỹ Romanes sent an army against thẽ of 10000. fotemen, and 600. hoꝛsemen. They not being readye, sente

Embas-

Embaſſadoures to aſke pardon for their offences. The Senate commaunded them to recompence them, whome they had iniuried, the whiche thing, when they lefte vndone, *Fuluius Flaccus* goeth againſt them with a great armye. The warre conſiſted in *Rhodes*, and was not fully ended. *Fuluius Flaccus.*

Sempronius Tuditanus, and *Tiberius Pandulfius* ouercame the *Iapodes* within the Alpes. Likewiſe the *Segeſtanes* did yelde to *Lucius Cotta* and *Metellus*, all the whiche ſhortely after forſoke the Romanes. *Semp. Tuditanus. Tib. Pandulfius. Iapodes. Segeſta. Segeſtro.*

The *Dalmatians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, inuaded them that obeyed the Romanes, and woulde not admitte the Romane Embaſſadoures that came to them for that purpoſe: wherfore I thinke the Romanes made warre vppon them, when *M. Figulus* was Conſul. As ſoone as *Figulus* came, they ſet vpon the former, and droue them from the army, into the fielde, ſo as they fledde to the floude *Naro*, and then they retyred, for Winter was at hande. *Dalmatia. Sinonius* by ſea. *M. Figulus. Naro*, now *Narenta.*

Figulus then thinking he might of the ſodaine diſperſe them, he droue them all from their places, till he came to the Citie of *Delminium*, whereof the *Dalmatians* haue their name. And where he coulde doe nothing againſt that Citie of the ſodaine, nor raiſe engines for the heigth of the wall, he went abroade againe, all being deſtitute and vnfurniſhed. For the walking aboute *Delminium*, he made certaine pearches of two cubites long, laide ouer with pitch, ſulpher and towe, and with his ſlings, threwe them into *Delminium*, the which being fyred by the violence, and like lamps flæing in the aire, did ſet on fire whatſoeuer they touched, ſo as many were conſumed by fire. Wherof ended the war of *Figulus*. Romanes dryue to the floud. *Narus. Delminium. Deus.* Deuiſe of *Figul.*

In time following, *Cecilius Metellus* being Conſul, when the *Illyrians* had offended nothing, he woulde needes make warre to triumphe of them, of whome being receiued friendly, and remayning in *Salon* their Citie that winter, he triumphed of nothing. *Cecilius Metellus* triumpheth for nothing. *Salon* of the *Aſſyrians* Pollie called his ſonne *Salonius Promona.*

Cæſar when he made warre vppon the *Celtians*, the *Dalmatians* flouriſhed and toke a Citie from the other *Illyrians* called *Promona* which belonged to the *Lyburnians*. The *Lyburnians* gaue themſelues

selues to the Romanes, & fled to *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* sent Embassadors to them, exhorting them to restore *Pomona* to the *Lyburnians*. They despising it he sent an army which was ouerthrown of ꝑ *Illyrians*. *Cæsar* being occupied with other cares, the sedition of *Pompey* following, did nothing to them, but sayled wᵗ his whole armye, in a contrary tempest, to try ꝑ matter with *Pompey* in *Macedonia*. The rest of the army *Antonie* brought to *Cæsar* by *Macedonie*. When in a great tempest, *Gabinius* assayed to bring to *Cæsar*. xl. bands of footmen, & iii. M. horsmen by *Illyria*, whom ꝑ *Illyrians* for feare of that he had done, & thinking the victorie of *Cæsar* would be their confusion, resisted *Gabinius*, & slew al saue a fewe, ꝑ fled with him, & got a great deale of money, & infinite spoile. *Cæsar* dissembled at thys for the necessitie of the war with *Pompey*. When *Pompey* was ouercome, & *Cæsar* went about to dispatch al the rest, he returned to *Rome*, & determined a war againste ꝑ *Getes*, & the *Parthians*. When the *Illyrians* heard of this, and feared that *Cæsar* would take them in his way to *Parthia*, they sent Embassadors to *Rome*, to aske pardon of their faultes, and extolled the worthie nation of the *Illyrians*, and would become frendes.

Cæsars army ouerthrowne of the *Illyrians*.

The *Illyrians* destroy the armye that *Gabinius* bringeth to *Cæsar*.

Cete, be people of *Scythia* in Europe, of some called *Daci*, but divided, that *Daci* be they that are neare *Germany*, vvhom some call *Dani*, vvhich for their seruile behaviour be vsed for names of seruaunts in Comedies.

Cæsar being minded to go against the *Parthians*, answered them sharpely, that he would not haue them for frendes, that had vsed him so vnfriendly, yet he woulde spare them, if they woulde paye tribute, and pledges. They promising bothe, hée sente *Atinius* to them with three legions, and a great band of horsemen, to take pledges and small tributes. When *Cæsar* was dead, they thought that the power of *Rome* would die with him, & so refused to obey *Atinius*, neither paying tribute, nor giuing hostages. *Atinius* sending .v. bands against them, they ouercame them, and their leader *Bebius* a Senatour. *Atinius* with the reste, fledde to *Epidamno*. When the Senate appointed to *M. Brutus* and *C. Cassius* that killed *Cæsar*, *Macedonia* and *Illyria*, with *Syria*. So they making warre wyth *Antonie* & *Cæsar* that was called *Augustus*, ꝑ *Illyrians* had no quietnesse. The *Paones*, a gret nation inhabiting alongst *Hister*, stretcheth from the *Iapodans*, to the *Dardanes*. They are called *Paones* of the *Grecians*, and of the Romanes *Pannonians*, and of them, (as wée haue sayde) they bee called parte of the *Illyriane*

Bebius ouercome *Durazzo*.

Prouinces to M. *Brutus* and C. *Cassius*.

Paone. *Pannonia* nowe *Hungarie*.

lyrians, of the which now I will speake somewhat, beeyng about to shew the *Illyrian* state. They glorie much in ỳ *Agrians* which were *Macedonians* comming out of *Paonia*, & did great seruice vnder *Philip* & *Alexander*. And after *Cornelius* was ouerthrowne of the with al his army, the fame of the *Paonians* waxed very great, & made *Italie* afraide. Therfore of a long time after, the Consulls woulde not take vppon them to warre with the *Paonians*. And these great things haue I founde of the *Illyrians*. But in *Cæsars* Commentaries, that was called *Augustus*, I finde no auntient matter of ỳ *Paonians*. It should seeme, there was an other part of *Illyria*, that did obey the Romanes, but what the name was I can not tel. For *Augustus* didde not write other mens actes, but his owne, howe he brought them that reuolted from the Empyre, to Tributes, and ouercame other that liued vnder their own lawes: and lastely how he conquered the barbarous nations, that dwell in the heigth of the Mountaines, that were nerte *Italie*, and vsed by stealth to molest it. And surely I maruell, that so manye armies passing from *Rome* ouer the Alpes, did contemne these nations. For *Caius Cæsar* so happy a man in warre, and leading so manye armies against the *Celtes* and *Iberians*, did likewise little passe of these nations, when he lay euery Winter, not far from them, by the space of tenne yeares. But I thinke these menne, making haste onely to that they purchased, did care for no more, but for passage ouer the Alpes. *C. Cæsar* being long about *Celtica*, thought it ynough to end that, the ciuill warre of *Pompey* calling him from the rest. And where he seemed to chose both *Celtica* and *Illyria*, he toke rule not of all, but of them that belonged to ỳ Romanes. But *Cæsar Augustus* got al, & when he accused the ydlenes of *Antonie* to the Senate, he shewed how he had made the fierce nation of ỳ *Illyrians*, so oft rebelling, tame: he subdued with great experience, ỳ *Oxeans*, *Perthenetans*, *Bathiates*, *Taulantians*, *Cambians*, *Cinambrans*, *Merromenans*, and *Prisseans*. And thẽ ỳ rebelled, which were the *Docleatans*, *Carinians*, *Interfrurians*, *Narisians*, *Clintidians*, & the *Taurisians*, which he compelled to pay their tributes after they had denied them, the which being ouercome, the nerte, that is, *Ippisinans* and *Bessians* for feare, did yelde vnto him. And hee ouercame the *Corcyrians* & *Melitinans* with greate fight by sea, bicause

Agrians.

Cornelius ouerthrowen of the *Agrians.*

Commentaries of *Augustus* of his owne actes.

Cæsar did not passe of *Illyria.*

Cæsar Augustus talketh of hys conquest of the *Illyrians.*

Nations of *Illyria* subdued by *Augustus.*

Melita, *Malta*, *Corcyra*, *Corfu*, cruelly vsed of *Augustus.*

they were rouers on the sea. The children he killed, the other he solde. And toke the shippes from the *Liburnians*, bicause they also robbed on the sea. Of the *Iapodans* that dwel within the Alpes, the *Moentines*, and *Aedeatians* yelded to him when he came. The *Auruncians*, whiche were many and warlike, of the *Iapodan* kind, went oute of the countries into their Cittie, and when he came they lurked in woodes. He toke their Cittie, but would not set it afyre, thinking they would yelde to him at length. Which being done, he gaue them their cittie to inhabite. Of al other, the *Salassans* and *Iapodans*, that dwell beyonde the Alpes, made him to haue moste to do, with whom the *Segestanes*, *Dalmatians*, *Daisians*, and *Paonans* ioyned. They keepe the toppes of the hilles, that be mountaines vnpassable, an harde and narrowe way, leading to them, by truste whereof they liue of themselues, and take toll of them that passe. *Veterus* comming sodainelye vppon them, gote the straightes of the place by policie, and besieged them two yeares.

Moentines, Aedetians. Auruncians.

Salassii, Iapodes. Segestani. Dalmatia. Daisij, Paones. The Alpes.

Veterus.

VVant of salte.

They wanting salte, wherof they had moste nede, receiued garrisons. After rebelling from *Veterus*, and casting down the defences, they got the streights, and laughed at them that *Cæsar* sent, bicause they could do little against them. Therefore *Cæsar* beginning warre against *Antonie*, lette them liue as they would, and forgaue them that molested them that obeyed the Romanes, till *Messala Coruinus* sent of *Cæsar* to subdue them, ouercame them by famine. And so the *Salassians* came into the Romanes power. The *Iapodans* that inhabite beyond the Alpes, a moste fierce nation, and almoste wilde, diede reiecte the Romanes twice in .xx. yeares, and ranniged to *Aquileia*, and spoyled the Romanes land called *Torgius*. When *Cæsar* wente againste them, they were the more fierce agaynste hym, and cut down wod to stop him. And when *Cæsar* went to an other wod, they fled, and as he followed they layde traines for him. *Cæsar* suspecting it, sent some of hys, to the toppes of the hilles, to sette vppon them on bothe sides. He comming eally, and cutting the woodes, they sodainely appeared from the traines, and hurte many. But when the other were come from the toppes, they were destroyed. The reste fledde into the

Messala Coruinus.

Aquileia, is now of the Venetian iurisdiction. Torgius.

Cæsar Augustus defeateth the *Iapodans.*

the woddes againe, leauing their Citie, whose name was *Terponus*. *Cæsar* toke it, but did not burne it neither, thinking they also woulde render, as they didde. Then he went to an other Cittie, whiche they call *Metulio*, which is the chiefe City of the *Iapodans*. It is scituate vppon two hilles, in a woddy place, betweene the whiche, a little valley goeth. And the youth to the number of three thousande well practised in armes, did easily repell the Romanes from the walles. The Romanes set vppon a mounte, the whiche they within, and the other without, runnyng daye and nighte, didde muche hinder, hauyng some engines, whyche they hadde gotten in the warre, whereby they made the Romaynes to lye further off. For they hadde gotten theyr engines in that place where *Brutus* foughte with *Cæsar* and *Antonie*.

Terponus.

Metulio.

Engines taken at the place vvhere *Brutus* & *Cassius* fought vvith *Cæsar* and *Antony.*

But when the Romanes hadde beaten downe parte of theyr walles, they made foztes within, and when they were wearye, they leapt into them that they had nowe made.

The Romanes taking the wall that they hadde lefte, burned it, and sette two mountes against the other, from the whiche they made also foure bzidges to the walles.

Brydges made from mountes to the vvals, breake.

When all was readye, *Cæsar* badde some goe to the other side of the Citie, to dzawe the Citizens asunder, and willed the other to goe vppon them on the bzidges, and he stode and loked vppon an highe Tower what was done. The *Barbarians* came to resiste them that gaue the assaulte at the wall. The other laying traynes behinde, beating the bzidges with their long speares, wared moze fierce.

And when two of the bzidges were bzoken, and the thirde lyke to fall, the Romanes were in suche a feare, as none woulde go to the fourth.

Cæsar rebuked them from the Tower, but they woulde neuer the soner goe. Wherefoze he toke a shield and ran to the bzidge, & with him *Agrippa*, *Hierom* and *Lucius*, that were Capitaines, & *Volas* one of his Guard, only these iiij. and fewe other Targatebearers went on the bzidge. When *Cæsar* was on the bzidge, the Souldioures being ashamed, ranne straighte vnto him, by the

The boldnesse of *Cæsar Augustus*

reason whereof, the bridge being ouer laden, brake, and manye fell to the grounde, of the whiche some dyed. *Cæsar* beyng hurte on the right leg, & the arme, went to the tower again, some of the chiefe following him, ý he might shewe himselfe euidently to be aliue, least some tumulte might be made for his death, or the enimies thinke he had fled, and by & by commanded an other bridge to be made, which thing chiefly made the *Metulians* afraide. The nert day sending Embassadors for peace, they promised to deliuer v.C. pledges, & receiue a garrisō. And leauing the higher hill, they al went into the other. When ý garrison cōmanded thē to leaue their armor, they were grieued, & putting their wiues & children in their Senatehouse, & receyuing the garrison, they tolde the *Romanes*, that if they required of them any vnreasonable thing, they would burne that place, & set vpon the Romanes for desperation. Which when they had said, they al went from the lowe place to the higher. Then the garrison set ý house afyre, many of the women killed themselues, & their children, some brought their children aliue, & threw thē into the fire. So al the youth of the *Metulians* perished with battaile, & the vnprofitable sort with fire, & the city was so burned, that as great as it was, there was not a tokē lefte of it. The *Metulians* being ouercome, the rest of the *Iapodans* pælded to *Cæsar*. Thus the *Iapodans* beyond the Alpes, became subiecte to the Romanes. When *Cæsar* was gone, the *Possenians* rebelled, whom *Marcus Elbius* ouercame, & killed thē that were cause of the rebellion, & made the rest slaues. The Romanes hauing gone twice against ý *Segestanes*, neither toke hostages nor any thing else from them, wherefore they were the more boldened. *Cæsar* went against them, through the *Paonian* land, who wer not yet obedient to the Romanes. Their land is woody, & stretcheth alōg from the *Iapodans* to the *Dardanans*. The *Paonians* haue no cities, but lands & houses together, nor any common Iustice, or Princes, to rule ouer them. They had an. C. M. fighting men of the best yeres, but bicause they had none to command thē, they came not together. Whē *Cæsar* came, they ran into the woddes, & if they found any stragling, they killed them. *Cæsar* thinking they wold haue come to him, did neither burne their fields nor their

The fourth bridge breaketh *Cæsar* hurte.

Prudence of *Cæsar Augustus*.

Desperate at *Metulo*.

Possenians. *M. Elbius*.

Paonians in the wyaye to the *Segestanes*.

Paonians haue no Cities nor common place of Iustice. Muche people wythout a head. *Cæsar* burneth the villages.

villages

but bicause they came not, he set all on fire, and eight dayes together, did them much harme, and so passed to the floude *Saue*, in the banke of the whiche was a Cittie strong by the floude, and a great ditche. Wherfore *Cæsar* assaulted it as a store house for the warre, against the *Daceans* & *Bastarnans*, which dwell beyond *Hister*. This floude in that place, is called *Danubius*, and going to other lower places, hath the name of *Hister*: *Saua* rēneth into it. *Cæsar* had shippes in the floude, that might bring victuall to the armie by *Danubio*: for this *Cæsar* would haue the citie of *Segesta*, as he went forward. The *Segestanes* sent Embassadours vnto him to know what they should doe, he willed thē to receyue garrison and deliuer pledges, that he might haue their citie, as a store house, for his warre against the *Daceans*, & as much corne as they could bring. The chiefe men thought good to do it, but the people began to rage, and cared not for the hostages, bicause they should be of the great mē: but when the garrison came, they could not abide to sée them, but ranne vpō them furiously, and shutte the gates, and shewed themselues agayne vpon the walles. Wherefore *Cæsar* made a bridge ouer the floudde, and rayled trenches & ditches about it. And when he had shut them in their citie, he erected two mountes, which they hindred as much as they might: but when they could not defeate the mountes, they threwe fire and burning linkes vpō them frō an higher place. Ayde was comming to them, from an other nation of the *Pæonians*, against whome *Cæsar* layde ambushes, and so killed parte of them, and parte fledde, so as there came no more helpe to the *Segestans*. They enduring the siege very valiantly, were ouercome the. xxx. day at a harde fight, and then learned to make supplication, whose vertue *Cæsar* marueling, and moued with pitie of their prayers, did not kill them or otherwise molest them, but punished them by the purse, and placed them in an outwarde parte of the Citie, and put in thirtie bands for their garrison. This done, he went to *Rome*, to returne againe into *Illyria*. When it was tolde, that the *Segestanes* had slayne the garrison whiche was in the Citie, he came agayne with all spéede, though it were winter. Then

Saua runneth by the mountaynes of *Illyria* into *Danubio*.

Hister.
Danubius.

Segesta.

Daci be *Scythians* of *Europe*, now *Vallachia*.

The people of *Segesta*, refuseth the garrison.

Cæsar spared the *Segestanes* for their valiantnes.

False rumor causeth *Cæsar* to haue a vvinter iourney.

hearing the rumor to be false, he vnderstode of truth that they were in daunger: That the *Segestanes* had sodainly sette vpon them and killed many, but that the next day the souldiours had giuen an onset vpon the Citizens, and gotten the Citie. Wherfore he turned his warre to the *Dalmatians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, next the *Taulantians*. The *Dalmatians* after they had giuen an ouerthrowe of fiue bandes vnder *Gabinius*, and taken fiue ensignes, they were proude of their prosperitie, & were in armour ten yeares togither, and when *Cæsar* came, decréde to helpe the *Segestanes*. They were aboue 12000. good fighting mẽ, & had made one *Persius*, their captaine: He inuaded again *Pomona*, a citie of ỹ *Liburnians*, & defensed it with trenche & ditch, & got other strong places of ỹ countrey. For it is al hillie, the toppes whereof stand vp like pynacles. The greater part of thẽ were in the Citie, and the rest kept the hil toppes, so as they might easily sée the Romanes armye. *Cæsar* dessembled as thoughe he would enclose them al in a wall, but priuily had the bolde sorte to go to the mountaynes, & to espie what was to be done there. They going by the woods secretly in the night, set vpon the kepers, whom, being yet aslepe, they killed, and signifyed to *Cæsar* that they were at the end of their iourney, and must haue more men to get the Citie, and let some go from the hils to tel others that were in other mountaines. Wherfore the *Barbarians* were put into great feare, when they saw themselues beset on euery side, & chiefly they that were in the higher hils, for lacke of water, & fearing the wayes would be shut on all sides, they got thẽ into *Pomona*. *Cæsar* enclosed the Citie, & two of the highest hylles that were yet holden of the enimies xl. furlongs about, & in the meane season gaue an onset vpon *Teutinus* another captaine of the *Dalmatians*, & put him to flight, and chased him by the mountaines, & toke the citie in his sight. For ỹ Citizens cõming out before the preparation was finished, they had a repulse, and the Romanes, in the flight, got into the Citie with thẽ, & when they had slaine the third part of the Citizens, they droue the rest into the Castle. There was one bande of the Romanes that kept the gats, vppon whom, when the *Barbarians* islewed the fourth night

Segestanes, destroyed of the garison.

Taulantians leauing their lande, went to inhabite that part of *Macedonie*, that is next the Gulfe of *Venise*, not far from *Durasso*, & inhabited a City *Arnisse*.

Dalmatians ouerthrowe *Manonians* ouer *Gabinius*.

Persius captaine.

Lack of water.

Teutinus.

Pomona taken.

night, they were afrayd and forsoke the gates, but *Cæsar* came & repulsed the enimies, and the next day they yelded to them. Of the band that offended, he punished euery tenth man by lot. Of ỳ Captaines of ỳ bands, he chastised two of euery ten, the other, al the sommer, he cõmaunded to eate barley in stead of wheate. Thus was *Pomona* taken. *Augustus* punisheth his soldiours.

Teutinus had diuided his army into diuerse parts in the hils, wherefore the Romanes did not folow them farre, being ignoraunt of the way, and fearing the vnknowen and confounded pathes. For there is no entrie into the woods by any plain way, and the *Dalmatians* did lurke betweẽ two hils, when they layd wayte for *Gabinius*, in the which place they set also an ambushe for *Cæsar*: but he burned the woods on eyther side the way, and sent his army by the hils, and himselfe went by the vallies, cutting downe the woods, inuading the Cities, and burning what so euer was in his way. He besieged the Citie *Setonia*, into ayde of the whiche, came a great number of *Barbarians*, with whom *Cæsar* met, and wold not suffer them to passe. Being hurt in that fight in the knee, he lay sicke many dayes. Being recouered, he went to *Rome* for the Consulshippe, which he toke with *Barbatio Tullo*, leauing *Statilium Taurum* to ende the warre, he entring his office at the beginning of the month. That daye, *Antonie* being appointed to his charge, he went again against ỳ *Dalmatians*, keping yet the power of the three men, for now the seconde fiue yeares were expired, the which they toke of themselues, & the people confirmed it. Therfore the *Dalmatians* being in wãt of victuals on euery side, they came of thẽselues to *Cæsar*, humbly yeelding, and deliuering seauen hundered hostagies of their owne children. *Cæsar* commaunded them to bring the ensignes that they had taken from *Gabinius*, and to pay the tribute, whiche they promised to *Caius Cæsar*, and had deferred to this tyme. And so they were made the more obedient to the Romaines euer after. *Cæsar* set these ensignes in the Gallerie that is called *Octauia*. When the *Dalmatians* were ouercome, the *Derbanes* came to yelde themselues, and to deliuer pledges, and pay tributes, which they had so long omitted. *Teutinus*. *Cæsar* burneth wvoddes. *Setonia*. *Augustus* hurte. *Barbatius Tullus*. *Statilius Taurus*. The authoritie of three men renued in *Rome*. Seauen hundred Hostagies. Ensignes recouered. *Derbani*.

The

Then *Cæsar* came nérer to them, and they deliuered their pledges, which in his absence being sicke, they refused to do. These are thought to be the lasse, whiche *Cæsar* brought to obedience, whiche before had reuolted and were not acquainted with others rule. Wherefore the Senate appoynted him to triumphe of the *Illyrians*, which he did when he had ouercome *Antonie*. The other *Illirians* that the Romanes had before the *Pæonians*, were the *Retians*, *Norigians*, & *Mitians*, whiche inhabite at the *Euxine* sea. I thinke *C. Cæsar* did subdew, the *Retians* and *Norisians*, when he made warre vpon the *Celtians*, or that *Augustus* did conquere them, when he inuaded the *Pæonians*, for they haue their habitation betwéene both, I finde no warre made against them of purpose, wherfore I thinke they were ouercome, with their neighbours. For *M. Lucullus*, *L. Lucullus* brother, that ouercame *Mithridates*, did ouerrunne all the region of the *Mysians*, and helde his course to the flood, in the which place there be foure Greeke cities next to þ *Mytians*, that is, *Histros*, *Dionisopolu*, *Odisus*, and *Mesembria*. Then he brought out of *Gallia* that great *Appollo* that standeth in the palace. I do not remember that any other that ruled that common wealth, did bring the *Mytians* to tribute, or *Augustus*, but *Tiberius* which reigned after *Augustus*, had them. But these things are shewed of me in their place. Before they had *Egipt*, what the Emperours did after *Egipt* was wonne, or how they spedde in warre, we haue shewed them, as their proper acts, after these cõmon enterprises: in the which many things be also conteyned of the *Mysians*. Now seing the Romanes take the *Mysians* to be *Illyrians*, this booke shalbe named of me the *Illyrians*, the which I wrote, that it might be an absolute matter. For *Lucullus* ruling in the peoples time, did ouerrun the *Mysians*, and *Tiberius* did receyue them vnder his Monarchie.

Cæsar Aug. triumpheth of the *Illyrians*.

Rhetians, be they in the hilles that be called *Grisones*.

Noritia, some thinke to be *Bauaria*, some *Stiria* and *Carinthia*.

Mysii, nowe *Bosna* and *Sernia* nigh *Hungaria*.

Istri, *Dionisopolis*, *Odisus*, *Mesembria*, nowe *Mesembler*.

Tiberius.

Lucullus.

The

¶ The *Romanes* warre with the Celtes.



THe *Celtes* did firſt inuade the *Romanes*, and toke *Rome* without the *Capitoll*, and burned it. *Camillus* did ouercome them, and dryue them away, and when they came agayne another time, he dyd ouerthrow them, and triumphed of them whē he was foureſcore yeares of age.

Celta be thoſe Frenchmen that inhabite from the floud *Seine* to *Garona*. *Camillus*.

The thirde time they came into *Italy*, when they were deſtroyed by the *Romanes*, vnder *Titus Quintius* their Generall.

After them, the *Boians*, a moſt fierce nation of the *Celtes*, came vpon the *Romanes*, and *Caius Sulpitius* Dictator, weute agaynſte them, and vſed this policie. He bad the Souldyoures of the front to caſt their darts, and ſtreight way to ſet downe, till the ſeconde, thirde, and fourth, had done the like, then euery one ſtouping, when they had done their ſhotte, that the contrarie weapons mighte be throwne in payne, when the laſt hadde throwne, then to runne all with one force and crye with violence vpon the enimie, for ſo they ſhoulde affray them, if they came ſo ſuddaynely to fight with them at hand, after ſo greate a brunt of ſtrength. Their weapons were not like the dartes which they of *Rome* call *Geſe*, the halfe of a ſquare ſtaffe, with a peece of yron ſquare alſo, and that ſoft, beſide the poynt, and euen thus theſe *Boyans* were deſtroyed of the *Romanes*, with all their armie. *Popilius* ouercame other *Celtes*, and after him *Camillus*, ſonne to *Camillus*, did the ſame, and *Paulus Aemilius* ſette vp tokens of victorie againſt the *Celtes*. Before the Cōſulſhips of *Marius*, a greater number more warlike, and for age to bee feared, inuaded *Italy* and *Gallia*, and ouercame ſome Conſuls of *Rome*, and ouerthrewe their armies, againſte whome *Marius* went, and ouercame them all. The laſt and greateſt fight with the *Galles*, was done by *C. Caeſar*, being generall, there fortie hūdred thouſands of fierce nations did he ouerthrow in tenne yeares, whiche if a man will put togither in one ſumme, he

Boy were part of the French about *Lyons*. *C. Sulpitius* his policie.

The French call their darts *Geſa*, The *Macedonians Laraſſe*, The *Romanes* *Pila*. *Popilius*. *Camillus*. *P. Aemilius*.

This *Gallia* was where now *Lombardy* is. &c.

C. Caeſar.

The victories of *Caeſar*.

shall finde they were about foure hundreth thousande, it is certen that a hundred thousand were slayne, a hundreth thousande taken, foure hundreth nations, eight hundred Cities, some reuolting, & some frely yeldyng, he brought to obedience. Before *Marius Fabius, Maximus Aemilianus* leadyng but a meane armie, did ouercome a hundreth and twentie thousande *Celtes*, with the losse of fiftene men. And though he were wounded on the knee, yet he rested not to ryde aboute, and encourage his armie, instructyng them how to fight agaynst the *Barbarians*, sometime carried in hys Chariot, and sometime ledde by hand. *Aemilianus.*

Caesar makyng warre agaynst them, did firste conquere the *Luetians* and *Tigrians*, to the number of two hundreth thousande. For the *Tigrians* afore tyme, *Piso* and one *Cassius* being leader, ouerthrew the *Romanes*, and put them vnder the yoke, as *Aspinus Claudius* wryteth in the olde Monumentes. *Labienus* the Lieftenant ouercame these *Tigrians*, the reste *Caesar* subdued, and the *Triconians* helpyng them. Then he conquered the *Germanes* with *Ariouisto*, whose greatnesse passed the greatnesse of all other: they haue moste fierce maner, hardy in giuyng battayle, not afrayde of death, for the hope to ryse agayne. They can abyde colde and hunger when nede requireth: their horses many tymes are fed with shrubbes, yet they were, as is thought, not very paynefull in warre, nor goyng to it by order, but in rage lyke brute beastes, and so they were conquered by the *Romanes* patience and sufferaunce: for they woulde runne about the *Romanes* battayle with great violence, and the *Romanes* kepyng order, after the discipline of warre, easily ouercame thē, and at tymes, killed. lxxx. thousande of them. After them *Caesar* inuaded the *Belgians*, with whome he mette at a passage, and killed so many of them, as he made a bridge of their bodies. Notwithstandyng the *Nernians* made him once goe backe, comming dyon hym sodainely, and killyng many of his people, for they slewe almoste all the Capitaynes and Leaders, and besieged him in an hill, where he was driuen with his Garde: but when the tenth legion came on their backes, they killed lx. thousande of them, whiche were of *Teutones* and *Cymbrians*.

Luetians, Heluetians, Tigrians, nowv *Zurick*, put the *Romanes* vnder yoke. *Labienus.* *Ap. Claudius.* *Germanes* passe in greatnes despising death in hope to liue agayne. *Triconi.* *Belga*, is from Scalde to Sequane. *Neruij*, be people about *Tornay* *Teutones* Germanes. *Cimbrians* Danes.

Caesar

Cæsar also did ouercome the *Allabrogians*, nations of the *Vsipetans* and *Tantherians*, some of them good in the warre, and some not: the *Sicambrians* with fiue hundreth horse put to foyle fiue thousande of *Cæsars* by a suddaine onset, but they were plagued for it. *Cæsar* was the first that passed the riuer of *Rhene*, and caried his armie into *Britaine*, the greatest Ile in the earth, where was no feare of him: he passed at the flodde, and first had losse by sea, and was tossed with the waters, which were first calme, and after violent, so as he got into *Brytaine* by great payne and sufferaunce.

Allabrogians Sauoyans. *Vsipetans*, Tantharians. *Sicambria* Gelderians.

Cæsar had losse in the lovv countreys, and sayled into England.

There is no more founde of this matter.

Faultes escaped in the Preface.

The first side. Line.16. Mariæa. line.22. Palæstines. line. 21. Arabians. line.24. put out pere Miharis, and lay Palmyrians.

The second side. Line.12. Thracius. line.15. Axenus.

The third side. Line.3 Danubius. line.6. Mnesie. line.7. Myrtoo. line.13. seme. line 22. the sentence beginneth at Two hundred yeares.

The fourth side. Line.11. the sentence beginneth at But after. line.27. sentence beginneth at But they had great. line.28. sentence beginneth at The dominion. line.30. ye. line.25. sentence beginneth at, For the.

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The seuenth side. Line.10. sentence beginneth at And this Booke, for

Faultes escaped in the forren wvarres.

FOlio.1. line.28. Thracius. folio.5. line. 25. make the cõma at succeeded. folio.6. line.21. Booke. folio.6. line 29. put out and. fol.8. line.29. Pericles. fol.26. line. 26. a full poynt at remayning. fol.28. lyne.25. Sylla. fol.29. line.7. Chalcidia. fol.60. lyne.19. Chotenians. fol.70. lyne.20. Magnopolis. fol.70. lyne.28. Triario. fol.40. lyne.8. Colchians. fol.61. lyne 17. allyance. fol.51. lyne.14. Tigranes. fol.7. lyne.14. sette. fol.73. lyne vlt put out ciuill. fol.74. lyne.34. Granata. fol.76. lyne.24. others. fol. 26. lyne.32. Zenobius. fol.87. lyne. vlt. sentence beginneth at Afterwhall. fol.93. lyne.12. Sophonisba lyne wyfe. fol.95. lyne.8. yccept. fol.97. lyn.1 of. fol.101. lyne.15. hy. fol.113. lyne.30. and.32. Cæpio fol.98. lyne.21. Blesius. fol.115. lyne lyenal. Nominatines. fol.119 lyne.12. companyons. fol.49. lyne.25. Anxolycus. fol.130. lyne 5. dispensation. fol.51. lyne.14. Tigranes. fol.127. lyne 5. still. fol.158. lyne.2. Manlius. fol.180. lyne.12. Adrumentũ. fol.19. lyne. 29. Dimochetes. fol.197. line.28. Afteruball. fol.28. lyne.24. Dorilaus. fol.173. lyne.6. she. fol.129. lyne.16. χοιλη. ibid. 20. one. fol.131. lyne.22. Fumenes. fol.137. lyne.25. Romanes. fol.141. lyne.17. Manius. fol. 140. lyne 2. one. fol.149 lyne.29. India. fol.157. lyne.18. Leucra. fol. 168. lyne.12. Queene. fol.176. lyne.24. adde to. fol.205. lyne. 10. τιτυρισαι that. fol.224. lyne.3. long. fol.261. lyne.31. detecting. fol.265 line.6. legiõ. fol.253. lyne.4. rodes. fol.233. lyne.29. Hippozaretũ. fol.269 lyne.3. Phraates. fol.269. fol.10. Arsacides. fol.282. lyne.27. Getes. fol.138. lyne.14. adde at Larilla. fol.262. lyne.10. Orodes. fol.3. lyne.17. Temples. fol.280. lyne 1. put out famine. fol.289. lyne.32. Pyrilleas. fol.249. lyne.22. wag. fol. 223. lyne.31. Xolla. fol.256. lyne.30. Acharus. fol.175. lyne.2. Zantippus. fol. 179. lyne 15. he. fol 216 lyne.28. we. fol 244. lyne vlt. Crassus. fol.363. lin. 17. then. fol.273. lyne.3. made. fol.206. passer fol.270. lyne. 25. Phraates fol.258. line.29. Agbarus. fo.285. lyne.10 Corfu. fol.233. lin.24. Mastabales. fol.164. line.15. Nicator. fol.295. lyne vlt. put out and. fol.288. line. Promona.294. fo.64. lyn.17. Xiphares. fo.72. li.28. Triario. fo.250. li.24. thou.

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